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The Witness of the Central American Martyrs: A Social Justice Aesthetic at U.S. Jesuit Colleges and Universities

*Tim Dulle, Jr.**

In 1989 the Salvadoran military murdered six Jesuit priests and two of their companions at the Universidad Centroamericana (UCA), the Jesuit university in San Salvador. The killings ignited international protests, and the victims, well-known for their advocacy of human rights and social justice, quickly became celebrated martyrs. The Jesuits of the United States, who maintained a strong relationship with their Central American counterparts, were especially active in mobilizing their network in remembrance of the UCA martyrs. In the decades since their deaths, these figures have become important symbols representing a social justice vision for Jesuit higher education in the U.S. The network's members often made use of aesthetic commemorations to invite others into the martyrs' ongoing legacy, thereby staking a position in the ongoing contest concerning the soul of U.S. Catholic higher education.

Keywords: Society of Jesus; Jesuits; Catholic higher education; social justice; visual culture; El Salvador; Ellacuría, Ignacio, S.J.; Universidad Centroamericana; Rockhurst University; Xavier University; Ignatian Solidarity Network

During the early hours of November 16, 1989, the Salvadoran military murdered six Jesuits and two companions at the Universidad Centroamericana (UCA) in San Salvador. In the midst of El Salvador's decade-long civil war, the killings, ordered directly by military leadership, were a response to both the Jesuits' increasing public advocacy on

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behalf of the poor and their outspoken condemnation of the ruling regime's brutal repression and its furthering the massive inequality, which was among the war's causes.

In the intervening years, the memory of the UCA martyrs has become a powerful force inspiring others to embrace social justice ideals. In El Salvador, the martyrs' memory offers a compelling reminder of the country's past. University students, faculty, and staff continue to commemorate the anniversary of their deaths with vigils and the creation of *alfombras* (dyed salt rugs) memorializing them.¹

The martyrs' legacy holds power beyond El Salvador. Throughout the United States, they illustrate viscerally otherwise abstract, institutional mission rhetoric and inspire action on behalf of social justice, making them an important pedagogical, even devotional, focus at Jesuit colleges and universities. At U.S. Jesuit schools, these martyrs have become powerful symbols deployed in service to a particular vision of education and formation, emphasizing action for social justice as constitutive of the Christian life.

How do students, faculty, and staff come to know the martyrs? They are encountered in Latin American history and liberation theology courses, during the meetings of groups focused on social justice, and through evocative paintings or memorial statues on campuses. In innumerable ways, the UCA martyrs become present and announce potentially uncomfortable lessons. As figures whose outspoken advocacy for the poor and marginalized led to their violent deaths, their ideas necessarily question established notions of success. Their memory, the German theologian Johann Baptist Metz might say, is a "dangerous" one.²

While the martyrdom of the UCA Jesuits and their companions has been documented and analyzed in scholarly literature, less formal attention has been given to their influence in the U.S. context, and virtually no attention has been directed to how students, faculty, and staff are introduced to these modern-day exemplars of Jesuit ideals.³ This research highlights and analyzes

1. For more on the culture of martyr commemoration among progressive Catholics in El Salvador, see Anna L. Peterson, *Martyrdom and the Politics of Religion: Progressive Catholicism in El Salvador's Civil War* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997).

2. On the idea of "dangerous memory," see Johann Baptist Metz, *Faith in History and Society: Toward a Practical Fundamental Theology*, trans. J. Matthew Ashley (New York: Crossroad, 2007), 66–67.

3. See Robert Lassalle-Klein, *Blood and Ink: Ignacio Ellacuría, Jon Sobrino, and the Jesuit Martyrs of the University of Central America* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2014); Jon Sobrino, *Witnesses to the Kingdom: The Martyrs of El Salvador and the Crucified Peoples* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003); Teresa Whitfield, *Paying the Price: Ignacio Ellacuría and the Murdered Jesuits of El Salvador* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

three aesthetic examples—paint, sculpture, and ritual—by which the UCA martyrs have become present on Jesuit schools’ U.S. campuses.

Among the three aesthetic examples is the artwork of Rockhurst University (Kansas City, Missouri) student Mary Pimmel-Freeman, who in 2006 painted a series of portraits of the Jesuits and their companions, utilizing figurative elements and vivid colors to bring them alive. These portraits have become important visual representations throughout the Jesuit network of schools. A second example is the UCA Martyrs Memorial and Peace Garden at Xavier University (Cincinnati, Ohio), where four stone sculptures mark space at the spiritual heart of campus, instantiating their legacy in the built environment.⁴ The third example is a yearly prayer vigil at the Ignatian Family Teach-In for Justice (IFTJ), in which attendees ritualize their shared remembrance of the martyrs to spiritually ground present-day political participation.⁵ Examining these separate but related commemorations reveals how each draws students, faculty, and staff into the martyrs’ living legacy, making them part of the Jesuit schools’ educational vision of “the service of faith and the promotion of justice.”⁶

History informs these commemorations’ role within the Jesuit network. The key context is the Salvadoran civil war and the murders themselves, during and after which the Jesuits earned a reputation as activists for a Gospel-informed vision of social justice. The Jesuits’ extrajudicial killings by the Salvadoran government transformed them into martyrs in the eyes of Christians who shared their convictions. Commemorations of the martyrs in the U.S. context also build on important currents of reform within Jesuit education following the Second Vatican Council. Under the direction of Superior General Pedro Arrupe (1965–1983), the Society of Jesus discerned the relationship between its historic role as educators of the social elite and

4. Monuments, sculptures, or other markers dedicated to the UCA martyrs exist on the campuses of many Jesuit schools. Though no comprehensive listing exists, they include Xavier University, Loyola University Chicago, Santa Clara University, University of San Francisco, College of the Holy Cross, Loyola University New Orleans, and Seattle University.

5. The adjective “Ignatian” is derived from the name of St. Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) and refers to the spirituality and worldview that has evolved out of his life and spiritual writings, especially his *Spiritual Exercises*. This term is used frequently in discussing the mission and charism of Jesuit colleges and universities, and the adjectives “Ignatian” and “Jesuit” are often used interchangeably.

6. This phrase has become emblematic of the mission of worldwide Jesuit higher education since the Jesuits’ General Congregation 32, held in 1975, particularly its Fourth Decree, “Our Mission Today: The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice.” See John W. Padberg, ed., *Jesuit Life & Mission Today: The Decrees & Accompanying Documents of the 31st–35th General Congregations of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2009), General Congregation 32, Section I, Decree 4, “Our Mission Today: The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice,” 298–316.

its new imperatives both in the postconciliar Church and within the order, imperatives that emphasized the “preferential option for the poor” as a measure of authentic Christianity.⁷ As highly visible social activists informed by liberation theology, the UCA Jesuits were at the forefront of these shifts. Lastly, the response in the U.S. following the murders at the UCA, which often included explicit articulations of what the martyrs’ legacy represented for U.S. Jesuit higher education, founded a culture of martyr-remembrance that deeply informs the three instances of commemoration considered here.

These contexts inform a close reading of these examples of commemoration. One might question the reason for focusing on three memorialization forms that, for the most part, do not share time, place, or “genre.” Admittedly, to place into conversation a series of aesthetic forms creates the potential for methodological haziness. However, this diversity of forms could offer an understanding of martyr remembrance as a dynamic phenomenon in a nationwide educational network. This variety can improve understanding of how these examples exist not solely as isolated art objects or rituals but how their presence and use in different times and places create a culture into which participants can enter. For example, that copies of Pimmel-Freeman’s art are traditionally displayed during the IFTJ’s prayer vigils reflects how the portraits and prayer service mutually inform one another.

What is gained from focusing on the aesthetic dimensions of UCA martyr remembrance in the U.S. rather than focusing on the reception of the martyrs’ ideas and legacies in U.S. Jesuit higher education? The answer is twofold. First, this approach emphasizes that religion is not exclusively, maybe not even primarily, an intellectual enterprise. Therefore, focusing on visual, material, and ritual dimensions of martyr remembrance offers a fuller understanding of how participants relate to the martyrs and their legacy.⁸ Second, and closely related, these aesthetic iterations of the martyrs’ legacy have a function that is not reducible to the ideas informing them. That is, rather than advancing a set of propositions with which participants may more or less agree, aesthetic commemorations invite participation into the martyrs’ legacy.

7. On the history and development of the term “preferential option for the poor,” see Donal Dorr, *Option for the Poor and for the Earth: Catholic Social Teaching* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2012).

8. Significant theoretical sources that shaped my approach include David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), and David Morgan and Sally M. Promey, eds., *The Visual Culture of American Religions* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001).

At the nexus of history, spirituality, and aesthetics, the martyrs' U.S. legacy offers a unique lens to examine Jesuit higher education, especially the effort to balance a progressive- and social justice-oriented educational mission with more traditional notions of educational success. Commemorations of the UCA martyrs at U.S. Jesuit colleges and universities invite students, faculty, and staff into a vision of higher education that prioritizes activism and advocacy for social justice as constitutive of Catholic and Jesuit higher education. The UCA martyrs are powerful symbols for the conviction that one of Jesuit education's primary goals ought to be educating students toward "the service of faith and the promotion of justice."

The UCA and Twentieth Century Jesuit Education

In 1965, the Jesuits established University of Central America José Simeón Cañas (UCA) in El Salvador's capitol of San Salvador. The founders initially envisioned the university as a single entity with campuses throughout Central America, though this never came to fruition. What remained consistent, as Robert Lassalle-Klein notes, was the desire to "create a truly modern Catholic university; one with sufficient religious and secular autonomy to fully engage the new Latin America emerging during the 1960s."⁹ From its inception, its founders intended the UCA as a progressive force in El Salvador. Crucially, its founding in 1965 meant that, while its mission was originally articulated in terms of the developmental framework popular at the time, the university quickly transformed itself into a center of liberation thought.¹⁰ It was not alone in experiencing these shifts, especially after the Latin American bishops convened their episcopal conference at Medellín, Colombia, in 1968, which made the preferential option for the poor a central emphasis of the post-Vatican II Latin American Church.

By 1979, when the Jesuit priest Ignacio Ellacuría assumed leadership at the UCA, the university was firmly committed to social justice at the same time that a coup pushed the country to civil war. For the next ten years, Ellacuría worked to bring peace and justice for exploited Salvadorans. In addition to writing a string of influential editorials, Ellacuría marshaled the UCA's intellectual resources to alleviate the country's collective suffering. He founded several institutes—the Human Rights Institute, the Forum on National Reality, and the Institute of Public Opinion—designed to perform the intellectual work necessary to offer Salvadorans greater clarity in an uncertain and volatile climate. In Michael Lee's assessment, "The work of

9. Lassalle-Klein, *Blood and Ink*, 27.

10. For more background on "developmentalism," see Whitfield, *Paying the Price*, 35–36.

social projection embodied in the Institutes and the forum sprang from a commitment to serve the national reality and, given the reality of poverty and oppression, to transform the society.”¹¹ The UCA’s Jesuits recognized the danger in taking such public stands, regularly receiving death threats. Their status as clergy brought little protection. In 1977, the Jesuit Rutilio Grande was murdered near San Salvador for his social activism. In 1980, Oscar Romero, the archbishop of San Salvador, who regularly criticized the military during his popular radio broadcasts, was assassinated while celebrating Mass. The same year, the Salvadoran government killed four U.S. churchwomen for their activism among the poor.¹² Ellacuría noted during a 1989 lecture in Barcelona that “we have often put our institution in danger of being bombed, of being shot at. Just now when I left El Salvador, a bomb exploded very close to the university. For that reason I sent a note to the newspaper saying that I was leaving the country, so they would not bomb my companions while I was away.”¹³

While the UCA Jesuits played an important role in Salvadoran politics through their intellectual activism and their sponsorship of social research, more significant is the motivation that undergirded these efforts: Ellacuría’s idea of a university. In an early signal of his influence in the U.S., Santa Clara University awarded Ellacuría an honorary degree in 1982. Accepting the honor as recognition of the collective work of the UCA, he stated, “Our university’s work is oriented, obviously, on behalf of our Salvadoran culture, but above all, on behalf of a people who, oppressed by structural injustices, struggle for their self-determination—people often without liberty or human rights.”¹⁴ He asserted that a university has two functions, the first is intellectual and cultural, and the second, “because a university is inescapably a social force: it must transform and enlighten the society in which it lives.” Calling the university to immersion in its social reality, he asked, “What then does a university do, immersed in this reality? Transform it? Yes. Do everything possible so that liberty is victorious over oppression, justice over injustice, love over hate? Yes.” This was the definitive task of a university, since “without this overall commitment, we would not be a university, and even less so would we be a Catholic university.”¹⁵ Scholars should seek this social trans-

11. Michael E. Lee, “Introduction,” in *Ignacio Ellacuría: Essays on History, Liberation, and Salvation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2013), 15.

12. Theresa Keeley, *Reagan’s Gun-Toting Nuns: The Catholic Conflict Over Cold War Human Rights Policy in Central America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020); Eileen Markey, *A Radical Faith: The Assassination of Sister Maura* (New York: Nation Books, 2016).

13. Ignacio Ellacuría, “Latin American Quincentenary: Discovery or Cover-up?” in *Ignacio Ellacuría: Essays*, 29.

14. Ignacio Ellacuría, “Commencement Address,” Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, California, June 1982, <https://www.scu.edu/ic/programs/ignatian-worldview/Ellacuria/>.

15. Ellacuría, “Commencement Address.”

formation, he continued, *universidadamente*, in the manner particular to a university:

The university must carry out this general commitment with the means uniquely at its disposal: we as an intellectual community must analyze causes; use imagination and creativity together to discover the remedies to our problems; communicate to our constituencies a consciousness that inspires the freedom of self-determination; educate professionals with a conscience, who will be the immediate instruments of such a transformation; and constantly hone an educational institution that is both academically excellent and ethically oriented.¹⁶

Informed by liberation theology and his experiences amid the troubling reality of El Salvador, Ellacuría sought to guide his own university to more adequately fulfill this mission and called others to do likewise.

Crucial to understanding Ellacuría's vision of a Catholic university and its reception in the United States is Jesuit education's trajectory in the post-Vatican II period. Conciliar documents such as *Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et Spes* called Catholics' attention to the "signs of the times," seeking to move society toward the council's vision of peace and justice. In response, religious orders such as the Jesuits worked toward this renewed vision in their institutions. Regarded since their early years as effective educators, the Jesuits had long cultivated a corporate reputation as teachers of the elite.¹⁷ However, in light of Vatican II's reforms, the rise of liberation theology, and the focus of Jesuit Superior Pedro Arrupe, many members discerned their educational endeavors anew.

In a landmark 1973 speech given in Valencia, Spain, Arrupe told Jesuit high school alumni, "Education for justice has become in recent years one of the chief concerns of the Church. . . . Because there is a new awareness in the Church that participation in the promotion of justice and the liberation of the oppressed is a constitutive element of the mission which Our Lord has entrusted to [the Church]." Turning a critical eye toward his order's work, he asked, "Have we Jesuits educated you for justice?" Arrupe believed that "No, we have not" was the honest answer: "If the terms 'justice' and 'education for justice' carry all the depth of meaning which the Church gives them today, we have not educated you for justice."¹⁸ The Jesuits of El Sal-

16. Ellacuría, "Commencement Address."

17. See John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

18. Pedro Arrupe, "Men and Women for Others," Valencia, Spain, 1973, <https://online.ministries.creighton.edu/CollaborativeMinistry/men-for-others.html>.

vador, including some of those killed at the UCA, were frequently leaders of this debate within the global Society of Jesus.¹⁹

In the U.S. context, this question took on special valence with regard to Catholics' social location. For white Catholics at least, Catholic education had long worked to shield a heavily immigrant, and not especially affluent, population from their often nativist and anti-Catholic fellow citizens while also facilitating upward mobility and assimilation into the American mainstream.²⁰ Only decades after white American Catholics achieved a new level of integration, the Jesuits were being called to re-evaluate their role in educating a new class of socially-elite Catholics.

As Casey Beaumier, S.J., has shown, U.S. Jesuits in this period were caught between these two imperatives, often working across generational divides within the order to negotiate their corporate educational mission in the Vatican II era, the 1960s counterculture, and declining membership in religious orders. Based on surveys commissioned from the Jesuit sociologist Joseph Fichter, many Jesuits realized that, in their students' eyes, religious formation was "not nearly the institutional end that Jesuit high school rhetoric professed it to be." Rather than passing on Jesuit education's distinct charism, "the schools were instead becoming a means for American Catholics to strive toward membership within the American secular elite in a distinctively Jesuit way."²¹ Beaumier further suggests that "there has been no greater division in the Society of Jesus than the tension surrounding the place of prominence given to the Jesuits' involvement in the social apostolate, work that involved implementation of a preferential option for the poor in order to further the pursuit of social justice." This was precisely because some Jesuits "maintained that its pursuit liberated their schools from being abused as means to social advancement into the elite level of society," while others saw this emphasis on social transformation as "an abrupt interruption to the ongoing project of creating the influential Catholic [elite] whom they believed would bear great fruit for the future Jesuit missions in America."²² Jesuit educators never fully resolved this tension, and ongoing debates about the nature and purpose of Jesuit education in the U.S. became the context for receiving the UCA martyrs' legacy.

19. Whitfield, *Paying the Price*, 58–60.

20. Among the most impactful studies on American Catholic education are Philip Gleason, *Contending With Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) and David J. O'Brien *From the Heart of the American Church: Catholic Higher Education and American Culture* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994).

21. Casey C. Beaumier, S.J., "For Richer, For Poorer: Jesuit Secondary Education in America and the Challenge of Elitism" (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston College, 2013), 171.

22. Beaumier, "For Richer, For Poorer," 224–225.

The murders shocked into action communities across the United States.²³ Dean Brackley, a Jesuit who left Fordham University after the murders for a place on the UCA faculty, penned a 1999 remembrance for *Conversations* magazine describing the killings' effects. "Beyond El Salvador," he wrote, "shock waves reverberated far and wide, but nowhere more than in the United States." While the Salvadoran civil war's long duration numbed many observers, Brackley recalled, "The UCA murders woke us from our bipartisan slumber." Many citizens protested on behalf of a congressional inquiry headed by Representative Joe Moakley (D-Massachusetts). As Brackley noted, the outraged response to the UCA murders helped halt U.S. funding to the Salvadoran government and deeply hurt the military's credibility, both major factors in bringing an end to the war.²⁴

In addition to spurring congressional actions, the murders galvanized activists in the United States. In 1990, Maryknoll priest Roy Bourgeois led a protest at Fort Benning, Georgia, a military base and home to the School of the Americas (SOA).²⁵ The SOA, which the U.S. military founded to train Latin American soldiers in the fight against communism, had educated many of the soldiers responsible for the raid on the UCA. While the SOA protest became a significant yearly event for progressive activists, more notable for this article was the association of the Ignatian Family Teach-In for Justice (IFTJ) with the SOA Vigil. Beginning in 1996, the IFTJ became a coordinated gathering of students, faculty, and staff from Jesuit colleges and universities to raise consciousness about social justice issues from an Ignatian perspective, to network with like-minded delegates from across the Jesuit network, and to commemorate the UCA martyrs, in the hope that attendees would continue efforts for justice upon returning home. Though the IFTJ disassociated from the SOA Vigil in 2009 to host its own yearly gathering in Washington, D.C., the vigil remains a major outlet for commemorating the martyrs.

At Jesuit schools in the U.S., immediate responses to the murders also provided initial momentum in establishing the martyrs' legacy. Fordham University President Joseph O'Hare, S.J., articulated at a memorial Mass in

23. See Theresa Keeley, "Déjà Vu: Jesuits and Maryknollers," in *Reagan's Gun-Toting Nuns*, 211–239.

24. Dean Brackley, "Remembering the UCA Martyrs: Ten Years Later," *Conversations* (Fall 1999), 16; *Conversations in Jesuit Higher Education* is the official magazine of the National Seminar on Jesuit Higher Education, an organization within the Association for Jesuit Colleges and Universities.

25. For more on the history of the School of the Americas protest, see Kyle B.T. Lambelet, *¡Presente!: Nonviolent Politics and the Resurrection of the Dead* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2019). Bourgeois was dismissed from the Maryknoll order and laicized in 2012 due to dissent against church teachings, including the ordination of women, and his participation in a women's ordination rite.

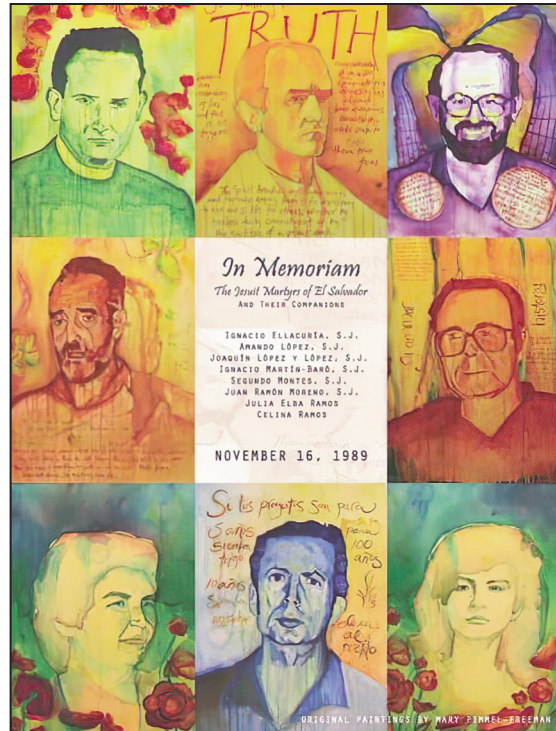
New York City on November 22, 1989, the foundational ideas for which the victims became symbols. In a homily about one week after the murders, O'Hare said that "our sorrow is based on a strong sense of solidarity . . . a solidarity based on a common faith in a God of justice, on a common mission that all Jesuits share with the Jesuits of El Salvador and on the common identity that unites a Catholic university in El Salvador with all Catholic universities throughout the world." Recalling Ellacuría's words at General Congregation 33, O'Hare noted, "Father Ellacuría's words echoed the common commitment of Jesuits today to serve faith and promote justice and to see in this twofold mandate the grand intention that would inform all Jesuit works, no matter how varied." O'Hare cited the declaration on Jesuit identity from General Congregation 32, which asked and answered the question: "What is it to be a companion of Jesus today? It is to engage, under the standard of the cross, in the crucial struggle of our time: the struggle for faith and that struggle for justice which it includes. . . . Thus, the way to faith and the way to justice are inseparable ways."²⁶

The UCA martyrs' legacy continued to inform U.S. Jesuit education. Through countless lectures, discussion groups, and immersion trips, the martyrs have inspired and motivated three decades of students. Many pursued opportunities working for social justice, ranging from legislative advocacy to spending a year in the Jesuit Volunteer Corps or another postgraduate service program. Financial success and prestige were frequently sacrificed in careers oriented toward the common good. As Dean Brackley implored students who visited El Salvador or attended the Ignatian Family Teach-In for Justice, "I invite you to discover your vocation in downward mobility. . . . The world is obsessed with wealth and security and upward mobility and prestige. But let us teach solidarity, walking with the victims, serving and loving. I offer this for you to consider—downward mobility. And I would say in this enterprise there is a great deal of hope."²⁷

Commemorating the martyrs builds an important bridge between their legacy and the Jesuit network's contemporary members. Commemorations that include an aesthetic dimension create additional possibilities for students, faculty, and staff to imagine themselves in relationship with the martyrs.

26. Joseph A. O'Hare, S.J., "In Solidarity with the Slain Jesuits of El Salvador," New York City, New York, November 22, 1989, reprinted by *America* magazine, November 16, 2017, at <https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2017/11/16/solidarity-slain-jesuits-el-salvador>.

27. Dean Brackley's call has been frequently repeated at gatherings of Jesuit students, faculty, and staff. See Dean Brackley, S.J., "Downward Mobility: Social Implications of St. Ignatius's Two Standards," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, January 1988, 1–40. This quote comes from Chris Kerr, "Dean Brackley, S.J. | Let Us Teach Solidarity," last modified October 15, 2013, <https://ignatiansolidarity.net/blog/2013/10/15/dean-brackley-s-j-let-us-teach-solidarity/>.



Prayer card produced by the Ignatian Solidarity Network featuring Mary Pimmel-Freeman's portraits of the UCA Martyrs. Clockwise from top left: Amando López, S.J., Ignacio Ellacuría, S.J., Ignacio Martín-Baró, S.J., Juan Ramon Moreno, S.J., Celina Ramos, Joaquín López y López, S.J., Elba Ramos, and Segundo Montes, S.J. (Courtesy of Mary Pimmel-Freeman).

Commemorations of the UCA Martyrs

Paint

As a student at Rockhurst University, Mary Pimmel-Freeman painted seven portraits depicting the six Jesuits and their two companions who were killed at the UCA.²⁸ Pimmel-Freeman's choice of subject was rooted in her own experience as a student learning about the martyrs, traveling to El Salvador, and finding inspiration in their story.²⁹ In painting the portraits, she hoped both to learn more about the martyrs and lift them up as exemplars.

28. The two companions, Elba and Celina Ramos, are depicted together in a single portrait.

29. Kevin Kelly, "Artist Brings Slain Jesuits Back to Life," *The [Kansas City-St. Joseph, MO] Catholic Key*, November 21, 2014, <https://catholickey.org/2014/11/21/artist-brings-slain-jesuits-back-to-life/>.

As she told a parish group in Kansas City during an event marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the UCA murders, “The people we look up to are saints and martyrs, but when we put them on a pedestal, we can forget their humanity. . . . Their lives and their struggles as human beings can teach us.”³⁰ Tellingly, she titled the series “Falling in Love,” alluding to a prayer attributed to Pedro Arrupe, well-known at Jesuit schools, and which declares, “Nothing is more practical than finding God, than falling in love in a quite absolute, final way. What you are in love with, what seizes your imagination, will affect everything. . . . Fall in love, stay in love, and it will decide everything.”³¹

In Pimmel-Freeman’s portraits, the colors, symbols, text, and other small details work to convey aspects of the figure’s personality.³² For instance, Joaquín López y López, S.J., appears in blue to reflect, as the artist said, “his described calm and quiet personality.” The only native Salvadoran among the Jesuits, López y López helped to found the UCA, as well as the local chapter of *Fe y Alegría*, an international organization in Latin America dedicated to creating educational opportunities for poor children. Painted in his hair are faces, likely representing the Salvadorans with whom the organization works. López y López’s focus on community education is channeled into the portrait’s quote, painted in Spanish, that when translated states, “If your projects are for five years, plant wheat; for ten years plant a tree; and if they’re for 100 years, educate a village.”

Juan Ramon Moreno, S.J., trained in theology at St. Louis University, taught several subjects at the UCA and filled various administrative roles. Some of his subjects (grammar and history) are written on either side of him in his portrait. Because Moreno, as novice master, guided the formation of new Jesuits, Pimmel-Freeman included a quote from St. Ignatius’s *Spiritual Exercises*: “It will be beneficial to have a faithful and competent person to instruct and teach the novices how to conduct themselves inwardly and outwardly.” She described Moreno as a man “whose ordinariness I so admire and respect,” but she learned he would often “catch fire” when speaking on liberation theology and accordingly painted him in orange.

30. Kelly, “Artist Brings Slain Jesuits Back to Life.”

31. Despite the frequency with which contemporary sources attribute this prayer to him, Pedro Arrupe is not its author but rather Joseph P. Whelan, S.J. See Barton T. Greger, “Myths, Misquotes, and Misconceptions about St. Ignatius Loyola,” *Jesuit Higher Education: A Journal* 5, no. 1 (May 2016), 11–12.

32. In 2014, Pimmel-Freeman spoke about the portraits at the IFTJ to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the killings. Quotes about the portraits are drawn from the video of that speech unless otherwise noted. See Grace Donnelly, “Mary Pimmel Freeman | Ignatian Family Teach In for Justice 2014,” last modified May 2, 2016, <https://ignatiansolidarity.net/blog/2016/0/02/mary-pimmel-freeman-ignatian-family-teach-in-for-justice-2014/>.

The portrait of Amando López, S.J., is tied to his love of gardening. While Pimmel-Freeman heard he was “a boring classroom instructor,” she also learned that “he was a great spiritual counselor, and people would come to speak with him.”³³ His love of gardening helped him balance his demanding work with leisure. To illustrate this, López appears in green, with splashes of red that suggest flowers. Though Pimmel-Freeman did not state it, for those who visit the UCA murders’ site, the red flowers likely recall the rose bushes planted by Elba Ramos’s husband Obdulio Ramos to commemorate the victims. López’s portrait includes a quote referring to the Jesuits’ reason for staying at the UCA even as the situation grew more dangerous: “We sometimes talk of leaving also, but our hope is not in leaving. It is here. If I leave, the crisis will stay. Here I may be able to affect change.”

In the portrait of Ignacio Martín-Baró, S.J., Pimmel-Freeman humanizes him and pushes viewers toward critical reflection. She viewed him as a focused academic, sometimes overly absorbed in his work, but coming to life while playing guitar at celebrations in the rural villages. She painted him in purple and included guitars to unify these two sides. Pimmel-Freeman explained, “I brought together that seemingly colder side of him with the red compassionate side and it’s his love of the guitar that unites the two.” As a prominent social psychologist whose work uncovered the psychological trauma of the war, Martín-Baró drew attention to the conflict’s less obvious tragedies. Pimmel-Freeman included a quote from him, which reads in part, “There is an aspect of war that is of great importance and should be analyzed by social psychology: its way of defining all that is social.” At a university dedicated to uncovering the truth of the warring factions’ attempts to define reality, his work was crucial.

Segundo Montes, S.J., a primary founder of the Human Rights Institute at the UCA and an international expert on immigration and refugees, made a point of visiting communities to learn from them as a scholar and to minister to them as a priest. Pimmel-Freeman understood him to be a “fierce and fiery individual with a very commanding personality.” In tribute for his commitment to those displaced by the war, his portrait includes a quote asking, “How can we be free if our brothers and sisters are not free?” and declaring, “This is my country and these are my people. We here are not just teachers and social scientists, we’re also parish priests and the people need to have their church stay with them in these terrible times. The rich as well as the poor. God’s grace does not leave, so neither can we.”

The final UCA Jesuit is Ignacio Ellacuría, the university’s rector and, unquestionably, the military’s primary target. Ellacuría’s brow is furrowed, and

33. Kelly, “Artist Brings Slain Jesuits Back to Life.”

his gaze is directed not at the viewer but into the distance. This contemplative aura is complemented by the word “TRUTH” painted above him, suggesting his deep concern to unmask the distortions that the warring parties promoted in the media and through the rightwing military. Speaking in 2014, Pimmel-Freeman noted that Ellacuría’s “commanding personality still intimidates me, eight years after painting this portrait.” The two quotes on Ellacuría’s portrait speak directly to his vision of the university’s mission and the potential consequences. The first asserts that “telling the truth becomes an unmasking of lies and that is not forgiven. Communicating it in a way appropriate to a university has always been dangerous because the idols seek to hide their true faces.”³⁴ The quote at the bottom reads, “The Spirit breathes in many ways, and supreme among them is the disposition to give one’s life for others, whether by tireless daily commitment or by the sacrifice of a violent death.”

Pimmel-Freeman’s series also includes a double portrait of the mother-daughter martyrs: Elba and Celina Ramos. While it contains no quotations, their combined portrayal testifies to their bond, as they were reportedly killed holding one another.³⁵ Their piercing gaze adds significance in light of their deaths occurring merely because they were staying at the Jesuit residence the night of the murders. By their presence, they became witnesses. In their portrait, roses surround them, another reference to Obdulio Ramos’s iconic rose garden.

“Falling in Love” also includes a portrait in the background of the central tile. This version, produced by the Ignatian Solidarity Network, includes Obdulio, somewhat abstract in watercolor, tending roses. In the background is a list of names, presumably victims of the civil war’s violence. Referring to the martyrs is a quote from Dean Brackley which links their ideals and his vision for a Jesuit university: “They remain a symbol not only of life, but also of what a university can and should be: a place where life is cultivated and blossoms, where the life of the poor is defended, a place where love searches for the truth, unmasking lies, and speaks a credible word about Jesus and His reign.”³⁶

While it is difficult to predict how viewers might interact with these portraits, we can infer some effect based on their display and usage. At Rockhurst University, they hung on the first floor of Sedgwick Hall, formerly the

34. While it is unattributed in the portrait, this quote is drawn from Jon Sobrino, *Witnesses to the Kingdom: The Martyrs of El Salvador and the Crucified Peoples* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003).

35. Whitfield, *Paying the Price*, 72.

36. Unattributed in the painting, the quote is from a short book produced by the UCA and sold in its visitor center, Dean Brackley, *The University and Its Martyrs: Hope from Central America* (San Salvador: Centro Monsenor Romero, Universidad Centroamericano, “Jose Simeon Canas,” 2008).



UCA Martyrs Memorial and Peace Garden at Xavier University in Cincinnati, Ohio (Courtesy of Xavier University).

primary humanities building.³⁷ In 2014, for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the murders, the Ignatian Solidarity Network combined the images and printed them on posters and prayer cards to sell at the Teach-In and through their online store. Along with their annual display at the event, these posters and prayer cards make the UCA martyrs spiritually present in homes, offices, and churches. Presumably, those who acquire these items learned the martyr's story so that their engagement with, possibly even their devotional contemplation of, the portraits serves to refresh their memory, providing inspiration and motivation.

Sculpture

The UCA Martyrs Memorial and Peace Garden at Xavier University emphasizes many of the portraits' themes. Xavier's memorial is one of many similar sites in the Jesuit network, testifying to administrators and mission officers' conception of the values of Jesuit higher education. Created in 2015 and sculpted by artist Karen Heyl, its major features are four pieces of stonework, each bearing the name and partial likeness of one UCA martyr

37. Sedgwick Hall is currently under renovation, and future plans to display the portraits are not yet established.

on the front and another on the back. As part of the campus's built environment, the memorial and peace garden creates a space for students, faculty, and staff to reflect or gather for events, such as prayer services. The symbolism designed into this memorial is complemented and clarified by the university's written resources, which offer insight into how it conveys the specific ideals of the university's Jesuit mission.

The four slabs of stone, just less than waist-high, rest on a set of steps, at the top of which is a large cross attached to the side of the university's Belarmine Chapel. In a nod to the often-intertwined legacies of the UCA martyrs and St. Oscar Romero, a stone at the base of the cross bears his likeness. In terms of their form, the university describes the stones as "altar-tombs," a direct claim about the nature of the Jesuits' priesthood and martyrdom. Echoing the quotes employed in the Pimmel-Freeman paintings, these altar-tombs insist on the related character of priestly duty and self-sacrifice.

The martyrs' partial portraits engraved on the altar-tombs also use symbolic imagery to instruct viewers about the martyrs' characters. Grapes appear alongside Ellacuría, suggesting the wine that becomes the blood of Jesus during the Mass and evoking Jesus' own death at the hands of the Roman government. Jesus' passion is imaged by the palms that accompany López y López's likeness because the Gospels depict crowds waving palm branches upon Jesus' triumphant entry into Jerusalem the week before his death.³⁸ For contemporary Christians who receive palm branches on Palm Sunday, an additional resonance is seen through the traditional burning of palms to create the ashes applied to participants' foreheads the following Ash Wednesday. Other altar-tombs depict wheat, symbolic of the bread transformed into Christ's body in the Eucharist; a dove carrying a branch, a traditional symbol of peace; and, on the stone depicting Elba Ramos, roses.

A university-produced guide, *The Martyrs of the University: A Virtual Pilgrim Walk*, introduces visitors to the memorial, articulating the relationship between the martyrs' legacy and the university's mission. The booklet interprets the memorial through the Christian lens of a pilgrimage site. The foreword notes, "This booklet is a tribute to the Martyrs of the *Universidad Centroamericana* in San Salvador as well as a challenge from them. It offers a virtual walk to the pilgrim who turns its pages and ponders the meaning for us today of the lives and work and deaths of the eight 'Martyrs of the University.'" ³⁹ Here, despite little or no walking, the recognizable Christian devo-

38. See John 12:13.

39. *The Martyrs of the University: A Virtual Pilgrim Walk* (Cincinnati, OH: Xavier University Center for Mission Identity, 2016), 3.

tion of pilgrimage is invoked as a framework for martyr veneration. It insists on the relationship between action and contemplation in the form of walking and “ponder[ing],” while subtly likening the participant to St. Ignatius, who referred to himself as “the pilgrim.”⁴⁰ In narrating their story, the booklet articulates the university’s vision embodied by the martyrs, stating that the martyrs “heard the call in the Church to turn to the poor. They worked at the [UCA]. They taught. They wrote. They uncovered the structures of exploitation, the systemic violence.”⁴¹ In brief, then, this commemoration distills the numerous and diverse responsibilities of the university’s professors and administrators in the fundamental tasks of teaching, writing, and uncovering structures of exploitation. Further arguing for the necessarily interrelated character of social involvement and Christian mission in the life of a Jesuit university, the booklet asserts that the martyrs “had a vision of a new world of justice and peace, of the University as a social force that could enlighten and transform the society in which it lives, a vision of God’s reign coming to be.”⁴² Not merely a pious memory, the booklet stresses the exhortatory character of the martyrs’ legacy: “The martyrs’ commitment to social justice continues to inspire people around the world, each in their own particular situation. Therefore, let all those with an Ignatian spirit take note of the tradition to which we belong—and strive to live up to it.”⁴³ In the same sense that the memorial and peace garden is near the center of campus and adjacent to the chapel that is the heart of the university’s liturgical life, so too does the UCA martyrs’ legacy inform the heart of the school’s mission.

Ritual

The annual Prayer for Jesuit Martyrs at the Ignatian Family Teach-In for Justice (IFTJ) is a third example of how aesthetically-informed modes of commemoration shape remembrance of the UCA martyrs for U.S. Jesuit colleges and universities. Held in Washington, D.C., on a weekend near the November 16 anniversary of the murders, the event bills itself as the nation’s largest annual Catholic social justice gathering. It brings the “Ignatian Family” together from across the country to remember the martyrs, learn about contemporary social issues, and witness publicly to “a faith that does justice.” Images and rhetoric about the martyrs are omnipresent, and, as a participatory networking event, the IFTJ generates a response that is typically more visible than the other examples cited. While it is impossible to

40. “Contemplation in action” is a core value for many Jesuit institutions; for Ignatius’s self-reference as “the pilgrim,” see his autobiography, *St. Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings* (London: Penguin Books, 1997).

41. *The Martyrs of the University: A Virtual Pilgrim Walk*, 7.

42. *The Martyrs of the University: A Virtual Pilgrim Walk*, 11.

43. *The Martyrs of the University: A Virtual Pilgrim Walk*, 17–19.

map every way individuals engage with a series of paintings or a monument, the IFTJ attendees necessarily participate in the martyrs' legacy, enabling a rich analysis of the event's context, intention, and effect, in which aesthetics play a significant role.⁴⁴

The present iteration of the Teach-In is an outgrowth from the original School of the Americas Vigil, organized by Roy Bourgeois in 1990. During the 1990s, that gathering grew in scope to become one of the largest national gatherings of progressive activists. While the effort to shed light on, and, it was hoped, bring about the closure of the School of the Americas, remained a central focus of the vigil, the event attracted activists supporting a wide variety of causes. The vigil, then, functioned as a national networking event and reunion for progressive activists, having been originally founded by members of the Catholic Left. As Kyle Lambelet notes, "Emerging initially from the Central American Solidarity Movement and the Catholic Left, the SOA Watch became increasingly plural as waves of newcomers from the anti-globalization and anti-war movements swelled the movement's ranks."⁴⁵ Furthermore, the vigil lifted up civil disobedience as a primary form of activism, with many participants choosing to "cross the line" onto the military base each year, offering up their bodies for arrest in protest of injustice and in witness to their convictions.

Within this larger milieu, since 1996 the Ignatian-Family Teach-In had been held concurrently with the vigil. From a small hotel to a large tent along the Chattahoochee River, the Teach-In expanded annually until 2006, when it re-located to the Columbus Convention Center. The Teach-In gathered members of the national Jesuit network for more focused reflection than the wider SOA Vigil, particularly about the impact of the martyrs' legacy on the life and mission of Jesuit schools. In 2010, not without controversy, the IFTJ re-located to Washington to enable students' engagement in legislative advocacy rather than civil disobedience.⁴⁶ This shift from civil

44. While readers may expect to consider a prayer service mainly through the lens of ritual theory, I maintain that, because the Prayer for Jesuit Martyrs as scripted is an assemblage of various themes, ideas, images, and gestures from the larger repertoire of martyr remembrance, Ignatian spirituality, and Jesuit history, and because it shares so much content with the previous examples, it is intelligible as an aesthetic production that functions to pass on the martyrs' legacy.

45. Lambelet, *¡Presente!*, 18; for a broader history and descriptive account of the SOA Vigil, see *¡Presente!*, Chapter One, "Introduction: Join Us In This Vigil," and Chapter Two, "Crossing the Line: Liturgical Protest and the Tasks of Practical Reason."

46. See "Ignatian Family Teach-In for Justice History: From the Gates of Ft. Benning to the Halls of Congress," <https://ignatiansolidarity.net/iftj/iftj-history/>. This split is covered in Lambelet, *¡Presente!*, 67–69. Briefly, many participants in the SOA Vigil believed that the IFTJ sacrificed the opportunity to practice a more radical form of resistance, while IFTJ planners hoped to involve students in reform-minded action within existing political structures.



The main stage at the 2019 Ignatian Family Teach-In for Justice, including Mary Pimmel-Freeman's portraits of the UCA Martyrs in the foreground (Courtesy of the Ignatian Solidarity Network).

disobedience and prophetic witness to professionalized networking and legislative advocacy illustrates important tensions that remain instructive for understanding ongoing shifts in U.S. Jesuit education.

How does the legacy of the UCA martyrs fit into the re-located Teach-In? To begin, the martyrs' images, often Mary Pimmel-Freeman's portraits, are placed at the foot of the stage, which is the gathering's central hub. Program booklets include a short narrative of their story and the songs attendees are invited to sing, which come from the Latin American folk repertoire. Frequently, keynotes and breakout sessions reflect on the martyrs' legacy and example.⁴⁷ The major commemoration, however, occurs on Saturday evening, during the Prayer for the Jesuit Martyrs.

Although the Teach-In began in explicit commemoration of the UCA martyrs, its Saturday evening prayer service memorializes all Jesuits killed since 1972, further expanding to include lay and religious women. Presumably, this reflects a desire to be gender-inclusive; however, this expansion,

47. See, for instance, the 2014 keynote address by Ellacuría scholar Michael Lee. See Grace Donnelly, "Michael Lee, Ph.D. | Ignatian Family Teach-In for Justice," last updated May 2, 2016, <https://ignatiansolidarity.net/blog/2016/05/02/michael-lee-ph-d-ignatian-family-teach-in-for-justice/>.

from UCA martyrs to Jesuit martyrs to lay and religious women also reflects the growing sense of the UCA martyrs as part of a progressive litany of the saints. Oscar Romero and the four U.S. churchwomen martyred in El Salvador are frequently remembered and, indeed, venerated in the same spaces and events.⁴⁸

Each year, the lights dim and leaders call the boisterous student delegations to a reverent quiet. The weekend's lead musician begins to sing a rendition of the Ignatian *suscipe* prayer: "Take Lord, receive, all my liberty, my memory, understanding, my entire will. Give me only your love and your grace, that's enough for me." A speaker then steps to the podium and reads the text, repeated each year:

In 1972, the Superior General of the Jesuits, Father Pedro Arrupe, began to encourage Jesuits worldwide to dedicate themselves to the service of faith and the promotion of justice. Recognizing that for Jesuits, their lay colleagues, and the people they served, faith and justice must go hand in hand, Father Arrupe warned that Jesuits and their colleagues would suffer greatly if they boldly engaged in the struggle for justice, which is a hallmark of our times.

Another speaker reads (using 2019 numbers):

Forty-seven years have now passed since this call from Pedro Arrupe, and the Society of Jesus has indeed suffered. Sixty-three Jesuits have been martyred, along with many others who have witnessed to a faith that does justice. Alongside these Jesuit martyrs, we remember St. Oscar Romero, Archbishop of San Salvador, and twenty-five lay and religious women who have also given their lives in the struggle for a more just world. Let us pray that we may follow in the footsteps of so many women and men who have courageously lived the Gospel, walking humbly with God, not counting the cost.

A Jesuit then reads, "And so tonight, we invite the presence of these martyrs into this space, as we call them each by name, home to the Ignatian Family." Then begins the commemoration, in which a speaker reads each martyr's name and the location and year of his or her death. For every name, a delegate approaches the stage, receives a lit candle, and then joins others to line the ballroom's walls so that as their light multiplies, the martyrs' spirits symbolically surround those present. Following the reading of a group of names, the speaker and participants intone "*Presente.*" Finally, a closing prayer asks God's mercy for the victims and his blessing on the delegates' efforts to emu-

48. It was customary to include Romero in these litanies prior to his formal canonization in 2018.

late their work for justice. The final lines state, “Today we remember their faithful witness in the face of death. Teach us to be more like them; to do, instead of just praying; to become, instead of merely wishing; that our world may be safe, and our lives may be blessed.”⁴⁹

With the formal prayer service concluded, the Teach-In’s events end for the day before resuming on Sunday with more keynotes, breakout sessions, and a closing liturgy. However, the spiritual successor to Saturday’s prayer service occurs on Monday. The delegates are encouraged to rally on Capitol Hill, after which school delegations meet with their elected officials. The commemoration of the UCA martyrs is situated within a larger history of persecution, contextualized with reference to a specific vision of Jesuit education grounded in “the service of faith and the promotion of justice,” and carried forward into political advocacy for social justice.

The Martyrs’ Challenge

In the three decades since their deaths, students, faculty, and staff have consistently looked to the UCA martyrs’ example for guidance in the complex task of putting their university missions into action. Writing in 2009 for *explore*, which is published by the Ignatian Center at Santa Clara University, Suzanne C. Tolton modeled this connection and the task of translation across time and space:

While our tendency may be to dismiss [the martyrs’] challenge by thinking “That was 20 years ago”; or “That was a civil war”; or “That was El Salvador and this is the U.S.”; or “We are not the UCA,” we risk the opportunity to examine more carefully what our universities are doing and how they might become more effectively engaged in the struggle for justice. While the U.S. is not El Salvador and our universities are not the UCA, our Catholic mission and identity require that we respond to the death and continued suffering [in the world]. What makes the UCA’s leadership so extraordinary is that they allowed the reality of the suffering that surrounded them to place a moral claim on the conscience and the very soul of the university, so much so that both they and the

49. In recent years, the Jesuit-run *America* magazine has filmed the Teach-In, and I have drawn on these videos, in addition to personal experience, in describing the prayer service. See America Video, “Watch | Ignatian Family Teach-In for Justice 2019,” last updated November 12, 2019, <https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2019/11/12/watch-ignatian-family-teach-justice-2019>; America Video, “Watch | Ignatian Family Teach-In for Justice 2018,” last updated November 2, 2018, <https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2018/11/02/watch-ignatian-family-teach-justice-2018>; and America Video, “Watch | Ignatian Family Teach-In for Justice 2017,” last updated November 4, 2017, <https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2017/11/04/watch-ignatian-family-teach-justice-2017>.

university were transformed into becoming effective instruments for justice and peace.⁵⁰

Conversations concerning religious identity at U.S. Catholic colleges and universities have been a reality for at least a century. The UCA martyrs' story, accessed through commemorations like those described here, offers a powerful venue for members of the U.S. Jesuit network to shape their own experience of Catholic identity and mission.

Into these conversations, the UCA martyrs introduce powerful interventions. To name two: they present a vision of suffering as the most immediate locus for encountering the divine, and they present alleviation of others' suffering, or at least solidarity with victims, as the central ethical imperative of the Gospel guiding Jesuit education. From the quotes which animate Pimmel-Freeman's portraits (e.g., "our hope is not in leaving. . . . Here I may be able to affect change"), to the altar-tombs at Xavier University, to the IFTJ's remembrance of an expanded group of martyrs, the path to holiness envisioned in their story is more in solidarity than staid devotion. Furthermore, the martyrs model faith in the context of a university as necessarily animated by, following Gustavo Gutierrez, a vision of "theology as critical reflection on praxis in light of the Word."⁵¹ In the quotes that ornament Pimmel-Freeman's portrait of Ellacuría, in the Xavier University guide that notes the essential witness of the martyrs who "heard the call in the Church to turn to the poor" and then "uncovered the structures of exploitation," to the IFTJ's connection of liturgy to legislative activism, these commemorations inevitably establish social analysis and action as constitutive of Ignatian identity. Likewise, the notion of educational "success" inherent in the martyrs' story profoundly reorients education's task in the twenty-first century. Rather than seeking high-paying jobs and social stability, the martyrs' example calls devotees to solidarity with the cast-offs of society. Though not all students, faculty, and staff embrace this legacy, since General Congregation 32, the increasing prominence given by university leaders to the martyrs reflects the effort to realize a renewed vision for Jesuit education. Though "downward mobility" has yet to appear on Jesuit schools' marketing materials, for many tasked with articulating Ignatian identity in the twenty-first century, the memory of the UCA martyrs represents the most persuasive manifestation of that vision. These contemporary forms of commemoration, as expressed through a shared aesthetic, help make that vision more of a reality.

50. Suzanne C. Tolton, "The Summons of the UCA's Martyrs to U.S. Catholic Universities," *explore* 13, no. 1 (Fall 2009), <https://www.scu.edu/media/ignatian-center/fall-2009/explore-fall09.pdf>.

51. Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988), 11.