

China During an Era of Change

Abstract It was into violent conflicts between the Chinese and Japanese, and Nationalists and Communists, that McCarthy entered China. He arrived in Shanghai in 1943, undergoing internment under Japanese occupation. Charles McCarthy was among those Californians sent to Zikawei, where he joined French and Chinese Jesuits, taught as a faculty member in the Society's schools, served as vice-rector of the theologate, and then as vice-superior of the California Jesuits in China. From 1948 to 1949 he was editor of *Catholic Review*, Assistant Director of the *Hua Ming News Service*, and directed radio work. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, the Communist party moved aggressively against the Church, inaugurating anti-Christian campaigns. Letters home included increasingly traumatic accounts.

Keywords California missionaries to China · Maison Chabanel in Beijing · Jesuit letters · Zikawei · Shanghai Jesuit mission · Hua Ming News Service

Father Charles McCarthy joined the Society of Jesus just 1 year after the first American Jesuits had set sail for China.¹ The original five California missionaries, Father Pius L. Moore, SJ, Father John Lennon, SJ (1887–1948), and scholastics, were, as Father Peter Fleming, SJ, has aptly described, “chosen for China,” and this first group docked in Shanghai on September 21, 1928. They were followed by 50 more

brothers, priests, and scholastics before the mission was closed down by the Communists during their rapid rise to power just two decades later.² From the outset, it was a mission built on sacrifice and hope—the first Jesuit priest to be ordained in China was murdered by bandits likely known to him, and he to them. To die under these circumstances was, some argue, to die for the faith. Many of the rural Chinese of that area still lived in the memory of the Boxer Uprising (1898–1900); they feared and despised all things foreign, including Catholicism. The possibility, or hope, that martyrdom awaited those who served in China was fresh in the minds of Jesuit recruits assigned to the Far East.

In an early photograph, McCarthy is shown with his “missioners cross,” given to him at his departure ceremony in 1941; another Jesuit writes of this ceremony in this way: “The Missionary Cross was placed about my neck—and I lost my breath. The Cross again—the inescapable—giving meaning to every sacrifice.... I, God’s weakest one, chosen to raise the Christ upon it over China.”³ Charles McCarthy came to know sacrifice well during his time in China, and he exemplified the Christian understanding of the cross in the missionary work he conducted during the turbulent years of twentieth-century China.

For this early group of American Jesuits, life in China was extremely difficult as each man struggled to adjust to new foods that often brought nausea and illness, while also undergoing the rigors of a language education process that appeared little focused on practical acquisition. The hallowed but archaic system of language study devised by the French Jesuits focused primarily on learning the written system of ancient Chinese, while the California men wished to study the modern spoken language in order to better access the common Chinese, with whom most of their contact was made.

The French and American missionaries were at odds. Ten years after the Americans had arrived in China, the Jesuits had established *Maison Chabanel* in Beijing, offering language instruction to the foreign Jesuits who arrived in China by using modern techniques with an emphasis on colloquial language. The name *Maison Chabanel* perhaps served to warn the fledgling missionaries how *not* to behave, as it was named for the tomahawked Father Noël Chabanel (1613–1649), whose stubborn persistence rooted him to a mission he disliked and ended in his brutal martyrdom. Early Zikawei California missionary, Francis A. Rouleau, SJ, had envisioned such a school as *Maison Chabanel*, realizing early on

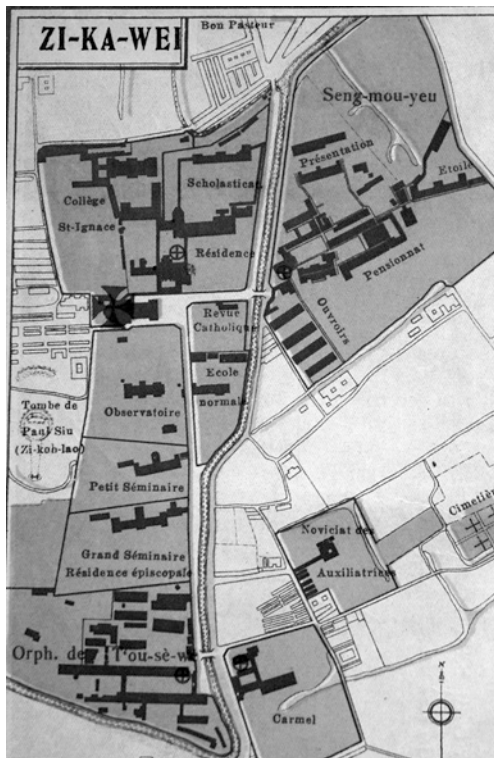


Fig. 2.1 The original Jesuit language school in Beijing, Maison Chabanel, where Charles McCarthy studied Chinese after his arrival to China. 1937. Society of Jesus Archives of the China Province, Taipei

the faults of the application of the classics-based language instruction at Zikawei in Shanghai.

Perhaps it was Rouleau's perseverance that precipitated the establishment of Maison Chabanel in Beijing, and it was there that Charles McCarthy applied himself to learning this complex language in the dominant dialect, Mandarin. Taking the Chinese name Dì Guānghuà 翟光華,⁴ meaning "Luminous Blossom," McCarthy devoted himself to the study of spoken and written Chinese at the Maison Chabanel in Beijing from October 1941 until February 1943 (Fig. 2.1).⁵ Missionaries of all orders had complained fiercely of the "impossible" nature of the Chinese language with its nonalphabetic writing system and hundreds of regional dialects, each incomprehensible to the other. The challenge of learning to speak Chinese further added to the frustrations of mastering the use of chopsticks and untangling the numerous social customs entwined with Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucian traditions.

Fig. 2.2 Map of the Zikawei (Xujiahui) Jesuit mission in Shanghai; the scholasticate where Charles McCarthy taught is seen in the upper section of the map. 1937. Society of Jesus Archives of the China Province, Taipei



It was into the violent conflicts between the Chinese and Japanese, and the Nationalists and Communists, that McCarthy had entered China in 1941, and it was within the uncertain outcomes of these conflicts that he devoted himself to language study at Chabanel, and, as in the USA, he was a quick study and generous personality with his fellow missionaries and new Chinese friends. While some of his confreres struggled with the intensity of learning Mandarin, the pangs of homesickness, or acute culture shock, we discern in McCarthy's copious letters home a warmth and interest in new friendships that he extended to those he met while adjusting to his new life in China.⁶ If he had misgivings, he rarely expressed them in writing. Following closely in the vein of Francis Rouleau and their predecessor, Matteo Ricci, these men performed their mission work with an abiding respect for the Chinese people and with a desire to build bridges of friendship.

In a letter dated February 26, 1943, Charles McCarthy wrote to his parents in San Francisco: “For a long time, it seemed that I was destined to remain in Peking for the duration of the war then out of the blue sky I received permission from the authorities to go to Shanghai.”⁷ Permission for his transfer to Shanghai came quickly and McCarthy only had a few days to pack and depart. The reason for his hasty move was that Father McCarthy was promoted to professor of dogmatic theology at the Bellarmine School of Theology, the scholasticate, at Zikawei in Shanghai (Fig. 2.2). He arrived there in March of 1943 and remained until the summer of 1946, undergoing, as he wrote “internment [under the Japanese] and teaching dogma.”⁸ He would arrive in Shanghai just in time to be interned under the Japanese occupation of the city.

ZIKAWEI: CITY WITHIN A CITY

The central and flourishing Jesuit enterprise in China with its sprawling complex located at Zikawei in Shanghai was comprised of studious scholastics and Jesuit brothers and priests from a variety of nations, the majority being French.⁹ It was a mission that Father Francis Seeliger, SJ (1893–1962), Provincial of California, later spoke of, recalling, “Humanly speaking it was an imprudent venture,”¹⁰ since China in the twentieth century was in a near-constant state of political turmoil. What awaited Charles McCarthy and his confreres was:

Shanghai! – “The Gateway to China,” the World’s Greatest Potpourri, the city with a “billion dollar sky line,” the world’s most cosmopolitan stage with a cast of fifty nationalities supported by more than three million Orientals, pagodas and church spires, skyscrapers and mud huts, aeroplanes and wheelbarrows, battleships and sampans, millionaires and coolies, libertines and intellectuals, pagans and christians, – in a word, Shanghai is THE “City of Contrasts.” And all of these contrasts crowd their way in riotous profusion into the mind of the visitor.¹¹

This was the opening to the preface of *A Guide to Catholic Shanghai*, published in 1937 by the Jesuit-operated T’ou-sè-wè Press at Zikawei. This small publication was envisioned as a guidebook for the Catholic pilgrim to Asia’s most Catholic, yet most debauched, city; these pilgrims were anticipated to pass through the port city during their journey to the Eucharistic Congress in Manila.¹² An ambitious missionary



Fig. 2.3 Panorama of the Jesuit mission in Shanghai, Zikawei (Xujiahui), including the Gothic-style church named after St. Ignatius of Loyola. c.1935. Société des Auxiliaires des Missions, Whitworth Digital Commons

such as young McCarthy could not have helped but marvel at this “Paris of the Orient,” where the Bishop of Cercina and Vicar Apostolic of Shanghai, Auguste Haouisée, SJ (1877–1948), wrote in the *Guide* that the Church in 1936 alone had “distributed *more than two million communions*... in this city of Shanghai, this passionate city, this head and heart of China.”¹³ McCarthy was bound for a foreign mission that would demand his entire attention and all his energy.

If Matteo Ricci had blazed an Italian trail to China during the imperial era, the French Jesuits blazed another in early twentieth-century Shanghai, building Zikawei on land donated by the Catholic Xu family, an imposing complex including a seminary, school, orphanage, churches, workshop, and outbuildings that comprised a small city within a city (Fig. 2.3). The Great War depleted French missions worldwide, as would-be missionaries became fallen soldiers in war-torn Europe. Following the advice of St. Ignatius that only the “best men” be sent to foreign missions,¹⁴ Jesuits from the California Province stepped forward to fill the vacancies in Shanghai, with the first five men departing for China in 1928. They arrived at their new lives in China to experience, as they described, more culture shock in the French composition of Zikawei—including a lack of mirrors in order to encourage the French missionary practice of beard growing—than in the anticipated exotic context of Chinese culture.

Charles McCarthy was among one of the later groups of Californians sent to Zikawei, where he joined his fellow French and Chinese Jesuits, taught as a faculty member in the Society’s schools, served as vice-rector

of the theologate, and then as vice-superior of the California Jesuits in China. In a letter home, he wrote of his residence in Shanghai: “Zikawei used to be a suburb, two or three miles from Shanghai, but during the rosy twenties and thirties the city grew out, around and beyond it. Now flimsy factories and Chinese homes with walls of pressed earth and roofs of grey tile are packed fairly solidly around the Church’s orphanages, schools, seminaries, and observatory of Zikawei, which themselves cluster confidently near the tall-towered St. Ignatius church.”¹⁵ St. Ignatius church was and is a center of Catholic culture in Shanghai.

After earlier debacles involving American confreres sent to Shanghai, McCarthy was among those selected because he was deemed to have the gift of “sound practical judgment.”¹⁶ In many ways, he modeled in real life the image of the thoughtful, caring missionary depicted in Gregory Peck’s (1916–2003) portrayal of the Scottish missionary in China, Father Francis, in the 1944 blockbuster film, *The Keys of the Kingdom*.¹⁷ China, a complex, ancient society, required missionaries who were sensitive to cultural difference yet firm in the essentials of Catholic belief. In 1940s China, American missionaries such as Charles McCarthy were particularly well suited to the task of mitigating the challenging personas of priests, remaining sound ambassadors of the Christian faith, while also displaying one’s support of China’s long cultural heritage.¹⁸

McCarthy managed to maintain his demanding schedule teaching dogmatic theology at Zikawei while being under house arrest by the invading Japanese who occupied Shanghai from 1942 to 1945.¹⁹ Several persons, carried away with the drama of Father Charles’s experiences in China, have extrapolated that Father McCarthy was “imprisoned”—implying a prison building—by the Japanese,²⁰ while others exaggerate even further, stating that McCarthy was sent to a Japanese “concentration camp.”²¹ No credible sources indicate that Father McCarthy spent time in either Japanese-run prison compounds or concentration camps. Indeed, while they certainly were under house arrest for the long duration of 1943 to 1945, McCarthy and others interned at Zikawei suffered far less under these circumstances than they would later in Chinese Communist prisons. Some Jesuits such as Rouleau, even jokingly noted that for the studious book lover being interned at Zikawei allowed for an abundant reading time, though this statement was likely to reassure those at home in the USA, as food shortages were rampant. Once released, Father Charles reflected on his experience from within the walls of Zikawei:

The Catholic missionaries had been forewarned about the war and probably internment. Most Protestant missionaries returned to America or Europe before Pearl Harbor. They had wives and children to protect. But the Catholics stayed. The Chinese Christians are still like young shoots that need nurturing, or like lambs that need protection, and we, their shepherds, felt obliged to stay with them as long as possible.²²

During these years, Father McCarthy continued his post as professor of dogmatic theology at Bellarmine in Zikawei.²³ His days were full of student-centered activities and ever-expanding Jesuit work within the Society as well in the greater community. On August 15, 1946, on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, McCarthy took his final vows in the Society of Jesus.²⁴ This Jesuit pronouncement renews the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience²⁵; it is through this process that the Jesuit fills his “toolbox,” as historian Father Michael Maher, SJ, has called it, with the intellectual and spiritual gifts that make the Jesuit particularly well-suited to the mission field. The vow of obedience, suggests Maher, is additionally an obedience to, as Saint Ignatius noted, recognize the good in all people—people, in the case of a foreign mission, who are not only non-Christians, but whose very worldview and understanding of natural law may differ widely from the Catholic Church. The Jesuit missionary to China, as argued by Maher regarding the forerunner Matteo Ricci and seen in later Jesuits such as Charles McCarthy, is an implicit searching for the intrinsic goodness in those they met—a feature of their vocation that made them particularly successful both in gaining friends and winning converts.²⁶

A MARQUETTE JOURNALIST IN CHINA

Many Americans returned to US shores in the months that followed the end of World War II (1939–1945); Father McCarthy did as well, though the vantage from which he had viewed the war—from inside Japanese occupied territory—was quite different from most of those who returned from Europe after serving in battle. He arrived in San Francisco in July 1946,²⁷ and soon after studied journalism at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, from 1946 to 1947.²⁸ Writing from Marquette, in a letter to his brother Walter in January of 1947, Father Charles reminisces on the old days at Mount St. Michael’s Jesuit scholasticate in Spokane, Washington, and then remarks on a trip made to

Washington D.C., during which he met with the press department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) about his supplying them with news from Shanghai in exchange for some of their releases making it into the Catholic papers circulating then in China.²⁹ McCarthy spent a day learning the ropes of the fine-tuned NCWC, thinking carefully on how to create a similar service in China. While in D.C. he also explored expanding the mission library at Zikawei with surplus copies of books from the Library of Congress. As a budding journalist, he also made a point to study the newspapers in all the various cities in which he stopped as he made his train trip across the country.³⁰

In this letter, the reader acquires a strong sense of Father Charles's passion for life and love for his family; his writing is full of mirth and playful turns of phrase, ranging from topics of nieces and nephews to sports teams and minor travel adventures. One gets the sense of a man fully at home in his homeland, a spark that would fade gradually over the course of letters to follow from China. On August 27, 1947, he left Wisconsin for Beijing by way of San Francisco, making those all-too-brief stops to visit dear friends and family in the Bay Area, and meeting his infant niece Mary Jo for the first time.³¹ He quickly put to use his graduate studies in journalism soon after returning to China.

Arriving in Beijing in early autumn 1947, Father Charles again committed himself to a rigorous language schedule that included "five sessions of the language each day." There were 25 students in his first-year language class and other classes dedicated to Chinese newspaper reading³²; McCarthy was part of the first generation to benefit from more practically minded methods of Chinese language acquisition, with its focus on current events, politics, and the everyday Mandarin used by the common person. Simultaneous to his intensive language study at Chabanel in Beijing, Father McCarthy was made minister of scholastics and subminister of the hall, thus becoming acquainted with additional duties and Jesuit finance, which he mentions was at first a bit wearying to him.³³ While Father Charles reveals in his letters of this time the typical Jesuit support for Chiang Kai-shek's rule of China (r. 1928–1975), he nonetheless remarks on how the generalissimo's speeches were "not [a] very heartening message for the rank and file Chinese farmer who has been paying plenty for this luxury of war all these years."³⁴ And musing on the complex history of the Marco Polo bridge—seen as a location where the Second Sino-Japanese War started—Father Charles writes: "The bridge is a sort of symbolic span between two ages of human

history; and yet human nature on either side is about the same. It's up to us Catholics, priests, and missionaries, to try and make men better."³⁵ China had been at war for decades and was again torn by internal conflicts.

The Jesuits continued their efforts to open a university in Nanjing—an enterprise that would remain unrealized in the wake of war and Communist takeover.³⁶ Writing from Maison Chabanel on November 9, 1947, Father Charles apologizes to his brother Walter for his delayed letter; it was his practice to write home each Thursday evening. He reports that the formerly Protestant universities, such as Tsinghua and Yenching, had been on strike, and that wayward students were paid to demonstrate in political parades. Catholic schools, however, such as Beijing's Fu Jen University, remained in session. At the writing of this particular letter, blackouts were a common daily occurrence during the Chinese Civil War battles between Communists and Nationalists, a season known as the Autumn Offensive of 1947. Chabanel Hall was distributing flour to poor families in the neighborhood, about nine pounds per family, which is "only a drop in the bucket to what is needed to get the people off the danger line of hunger," he writes.³⁷ McCarthy, showing his usual generous nature, did not fault those who hid their furniture or borrowed other families' babies in order to increase the donation ration. He writes, "The poverty they suffer every day is so much greater than any inconvenience we are up against; and anyhow, the good Lord knows we're trying to help...."³⁸ Meanwhile, new young Jesuit scholastics continued to arrive to undertake Chinese language training, and often they struggled with more than language learning; Father McCarthy writes: "a fellow should know himself well before coming out here on the missions... there are things that missionaries need more than bread and butter."³⁹ We get minor glimpses into his own discomforts in brief mentions about such occurrences as hot water for showers being available only on Saturdays and thus curtailing his usual interest in sports and exercise.

Beijing was intriguing to McCarthy, as the culture and climate were quite different from Shanghai. He writes of Beijing as, "a city that's always interesting to me," saying that:

...homes are behind high walls. And the more a home has gardens and nice buildings, the higher the wall built to protect it. There is one hill, and only one in the city. It was built by hand when three lakes were dug out in the heart of town to guarantee a water supply within the walls in case

of siege. From the top of that hill the city looks like a vast park, there are so many trees visible. But down in the hutongs you move along between walls ten or twelve feet high, and see a great deal of refuse. The avenues down in the business section, or around the Forbidden City of the emperors are cleaner and much wider.⁴⁰

Certainly, Beijing appeared less lascivious compared to Shanghai.

The Nationalist government was still predicted at this time to win victory, putting down banditry as well as Communist guerillas, and as Father Charles prepared for a high mass on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, he recalled that the last time he was in Beijing for this feast the Japanese had taken the city and declared war. From political insights to simple pleasures, McCarthy wrote excitedly in his letter about the diocesan newspaper from home that he was able to read and requests that another subscription be given to him for Christmas and that it be delivered to the Jesuits in Nanjing, where he planned to summer. He relished keeping up with developments in journalism. He asked for continued prayers and lamented receiving so few letters from home.⁴¹ Recording the events of daily life, Father Charles recalled in a January 8th letter:

I am composing, and trying to memorize, a sermon in Chinese for our dining room the evening of January 18th. It's part of the course, that all the second year students preach a 15-minute sermon in Chinese, and my turn finally came around. It would be a lot easier to give a simple talk to good simple farmers in country chapel than to practice before the professional corps and language students here; they know too many of the rules. But there's a comfort that we always have working under our vow of obedience: if the good Lord gives us a job to do, we can count on His help to carry the task out.⁴²

Among his many tasks was hearing confessions in three languages—English, French, and Chinese—though he remarked on other priests hearing confessions in five languages.⁴³ Masses were increasingly well attended, with Papal Internuncio Archbishop Antonio Riberi (1897–1967) celebrating a pontifical high mass for Christmas; McCarthy writes: “you could not help but be impressed how our Infant Savior brings people from every nation and continent and degree of prosperity.”⁴⁴ He also notes that while Chiang Kai-shek and his wife were invited to attend, they did not; and yet this shows a certain loyalty by



Fig. 2.4 Bishop Yü Bin (left) with the famous Chinese ex-Jesuit, Ma Xiangbo (right). 14 April 1937. Société des Auxiliaires des Missions, Whitworth Digital Commons

the Catholic community in Beijing toward the Nationalist government. The Communists took power the following year, and the situation for Catholics grew increasingly complex. Put through by a Chinese Catholic in government, China's new Nationalist constitution was made effective that Christmas evening, 1948, making Christmas also a national secular holiday, and thus a benefit to the Christians, a ruling which is still observed in Taiwan today (Fig. 2.4). Archbishop Paul Yü Bin (1901–1978) joined the Jesuits for dinner that Christmas and shared with them the turkey that Madame Chiang Kai-shek had personally sent them.⁴⁵ Christmas day of 1948 concluded with Father McCarthy broadcasting his Christmas sermon in English over the Chinese radio waves.⁴⁶

After returning to Shanghai, McCarthy was editor of the *Catholic Review*, assistant director of the *Hua Ming News Service*, and directed radio work from 1948 to 1949.⁴⁷ An active journalist, he reported for the *Catholic Central Bureau*, served as the Shanghai correspondent for the NCWC, and correspondent to Fides International, the news arm of world Roman Catholic missions,⁴⁸ while encouraging parish Sodalities in

the pre-Liberation years from 1948 to 1949.⁴⁹ He writes: “I am doing work (as correspondent here for NCWC, Fides, and Hua Ming) that seems to me very important, and no one else in the city seems to be as qualified and willing for the work as I. It seems we have a responsibility to make known the ruthlessness of Communist aims and methods.... I think I should stay as long as possible.” McCarthy was resolute about staying in China even amid turmoil and crisis.⁵⁰

All these duties added to his other responsibilities as a priest; like other Jesuits in China, he was quite busy. Charles McCarthy exemplified what mission specialist Pierre Charles, SJ, said when he asserted that it was Americans who made the best missionaries as they were exceptionally “enthusiastic” and “cheerful.”⁵¹ McCarthy embodied the comfortable assurance that the American Jesuits were known for worldwide. The 50 California Province Jesuits in Shanghai embraced their new home, regularly taking hikes into the hills and bicycle rides through the winding countryside. In unheated Zikawei rooms, they suffered silently during the damp chill of Shanghai winters, bundling up as if out-of-doors when they dined, and then, in turn, enduring the sweltering summers.⁵² The French-enforced Zikawei culture dictated extended periods of daily silence with eyes downcast when walking the halls.⁵³ Despite these relatively small difficulties McCarthy and his American confreres remained upbeat and optimistic in their work.

SUPPORT FROM HOME

Foreign mission stations such as those in Beijing and Shanghai required both the financial and spiritual support from those back home in America. In 1945, Cardinal Francis Spellman (1889–1967), Archbishop of New York, addressed the assembled members of the Catholic Students Mission Crusade (CSMC) at St. Patrick’s Cathedral in New York City, reminding them that missionaries are “gallant soldiers of Christ... for them no gold stars glisten in the windows. But there are shrines burning in the hearts and homes that they left, and in the houses of those to whom they brought the starlight of faith in the world’s remotest regions.”⁵⁴ The CSMC was founded by two members of the Society of the Divine Word who sought to create a Catholic rival to the similar—and widely successful—Protestant movement, the Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. Rallying support and raising funds were central to the CSMC and counterpart groups. American youth, having joined,

promised to pray, study, and sacrifice for the needs of the mission. Membership also potentially encouraged future missionary vocations while addressing immediate financial needs. Hundreds of thousands of American children were saving their pennies and donating them to the mission enterprise overseas.⁵⁵

Lives of the missionaries in foreign lands appealed to the minds of young American boys, in particular, offering a slate of heroes seen as part of the army of saints on earth, members of the Church Militant. Rigor and hardship were valorized in the presentation of these heroic figures. As early as 1930, *Jesuit Missions* magazine promoted such stereotypes depicting a world map showing a Jesuit mission station with the caption, “No vacations here.”⁵⁶ Hardship was promoted as a blessing rather than a curse, and, as Peter Fleming noted, this campaign laid sentiments of guilt on American readers who would then open their wallets in response: “The appeal went on to say that while the people of the USA had the leisure to relax during the summer vacation, missionaries had no vacation time.”⁵⁷ Catholic media attention to the American foreign missions and the corresponding outpouring of support paralleled the rise of the Catholic Church in America in the early twentieth century and fed into a swelling interest in mission work.⁵⁸

In addition to the more common missionary-focused articles, *Jesuit Missions*, published in New York and edited by Joseph Gschwend, SJ, featured a poetic genre known as “mission poetry.” This literary genre, while somewhat short lived, illustrates the romanticism with mission work in exotic, far-off lands, capturing the imagination of American readers. While Jesuits from across the country contributed their poems to this journal, the California Province Jesuits focused the efforts of their literary output on their own publication, *The Western Jesuit*. All of these publications served to increase fervor and support for their cause. When Calvert Alexander, SJ, succeeded Gschwend as editor he stated that the goal of the periodical was to “excite zeal for our missions...; arouse missionary spirit in our youth and encourage missionary vocations; to stimulate the generosity of Catholics...” and to advance the missionary interests, primarily for the Society.⁵⁹ American Catholics were thus kept informed regarding the importance of the missions through image and verse, as a companion to statistics and journalistic articles. If the missionaries were presented as larger-than-life, it was to further a cause that at times felt desperate.

Commitments of spiritual and financial support were wide reaching. The US-based Society of the Propagation of the Faith encouraged classroom curricula that consisted of a clever alphabet of support: “A is for *assistance* of our missions in need. B is for *babies* saved by pennies.... D is for *duty* we owe to the missions.”⁶⁰ In addition to monetary help, Charles McCarthy and his confreres were buoyed in the promises of prayer. Just as American children heard of the mission enterprise in the classroom and from the coffee-table Catholic magazine, the missionaries themselves read these publications while abroad, many of whom—like McCarthy—received gift subscriptions from home.

The Society for the Propagation of the Faith’s *Catholic Missions* magazine published a roll of honor that included the names of American missionaries abroad. Honor rolls such as those found in the *Catholic Missions* magazine bolstered support for the work these young Americans were doing abroad. Many young missionaries, however, strove for recognition beyond that of an honor roll within Catholic media; many wished for the palm of martyrdom while serving in the field. Missionary letters home are replete with references to the hope for martyrdom—the ultimate sacrifice within a field already defined by sacrifice and strife. Even those efforts that did not end in martyrdom were heralded as a gift of love, manifest both by those who went to serve China and for the Catholic Church as a whole. And though they may have been viewed—as Fleming has called them—as “soldier-heroes,” McCarthy’s own letters reveal that he was less interested in being at “war with the enemy” as he was on a mission of friendship.

SHAPING A VIEW OF THE MISSIONS

The multitude of periodicals and mission magazines of the time visually displayed images that communicated the efficacy of the mission with bold images, often highlighting the churches and other structures they built abroad as well as examples of the suffering they and their flock had endured. The frontier nature of the enterprise was made clear through depictions of struggle. Not surprisingly, as the number of American priests who were traveling abroad on mission ventures increased, so too did the American interest in seeing reports on this venture. In 1907, the Maryknolls began publishing the China-focused *Field Afar*, while the Columban Fathers published *The Far East* out of Nebraska, and the

Passionists produced the monthly *Sign* magazine from 1921 to 1982. In addition to these somewhat marginal, specialized publications, the mainstream Catholic media likewise picked up an increasing number of articles on the topic of Christianity in China, as shown in *America* magazine, *The Catholic World*, *La Civiltà Cattolica*, *The Commonweal*, and in secular publications such as the *Atlantic Monthly*.⁶¹ China was even more in the news with the discovery of Peking Man in 1927. The famous French Jesuit, Teilhard de Chardin, SJ (1881–1955), traveled to China to study the 450,000-year-old fossil, staying with the Jesuits at Maison Chabanel in Beijing, and making quite an impression on the seminarians he encountered there, quickly becoming a sought-after spiritual director.⁶²

The world was focused on “war-torn China” and Americans in the missions, but for the Jesuits living in China, these early years were less about heroics than on making inroads in a diversity of ministries. The Californians had opened in Shanghai Gonzaga High School and Sacred Heart parish, as well as taking over the pastoral care of Christ the King Parish, while hoping also to expand further with an inland mission site. Their media endeavors were also growing, with the Shanghai Catholic Radio League broadcasting out of Shanghai and the inauguration of the monthly *Catholic Review*. The Jesuits were also seeking to establish an institute in Nanjing that would include a publication component. Life was busy and the California Jesuits had become leaders in addition to the “soldiers” they anticipated being—we see this in the series of notable posts held by Charles McCarthy.

For some, the grueling life in Shanghai was less exotic—or heroic—than imagined. The rigors of learning Mandarin and the seemingly insurmountable gulf between cultures proved too hard for some; in 1937 Jesuit Pius Moore returned home to California. Moore had been disgruntled and cantankerous in China, but he proved invaluable in the USA, where he promoted the mission with a previously unknown fervor. Within 6 years he had nearly single-handedly raised more than \$200,000 for the California Province mission in China, largely through small and private donations. In his fundraising efforts Moore relied heavily on the publications coming from the Jesuits in Shanghai, particularly the *The China Letter*, edited by Daniel P. Clifford, SJ (1911–1986), and Robert H. Dailey, SJ (1913–1995), which was flush with engaging photographs and detailed articles describing the missions and the day-to-day life of a China missionary.⁶³

Missionary promotion in America included several Zikawei media outreach projects such as the Shanghai Catholic Radio League, the monthly *Catholic Review* magazine, and the illustrated *The China Letter*, which highlighted the lives of priests, along with *The Western Jesuit*, and *Jesuit Missions* publications. The “Shanghai Catholic Hour” modeled itself after the popular “Catholic Hour” featuring Bishop Fulton J. Sheen (1895–1979), which was then being aired in the USA.⁶⁴ In addition to the “Catholic Hour,” the Shanghai Catholic Radio League also broadcast organ recitals and Sunday solemn high masses from Shanghai, extending the reach of Jesuit influence and promotion of the faith far beyond the Zikawei compound walls.

McCarthy’s training in journalism was quickly put to work upon his return to China. From 1947 until August of 1948 (when all broadcasting ceased), McCarthy delivered numerous talks on the Shanghai Catholic Hour, in addition to broadcasting St. Louis Sacred Heart radio programs such as Fr. Peyton’s Family Theater and the Ave Maria Hour, which also played across the airways in Shanghai.⁶⁵ Untold thousands tuned into these compelling programs, which were popular with audiences far beyond the sweep of church-going Catholics. Through various printed media, including *The China Missionary Bulletin* and the Catholic Central Bureau’s *Hua Ming News Service*, and as correspondent for the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Vatican Fides News Service, many came to read the detailed and eloquent articles of Father Charles McCarthy. He was among a handful of journalists reporting on the early advances and takeover of Communism, and he later interviewed persecuted missionaries and native Chinese Catholics.⁶⁶ Peter Fleming writes: “McCarthy was responsible for transmitting within and out of China news which covered the early Communist advances and the Communist takeover. His views reflected those of the Catholic Church and the China missionaries regarding Communism.”⁶⁷ As tensions within China increased, McCarthy recognized that it was not just those outside of China who needed newsworthy updates, but those within the Great Wall as well. In June of 1949, McCarthy started to write a “weekly letter” for China missionaries.⁶⁸

Those living in China, as well as those in the Vatican, believed that the Nationalist party would triumph in 1940s China. In many ways, Chiang Kai-shek’s version of government more closely resembled democracy as it was understood by Americans, and many US missionaries living in China optimistically believed that the Nationalists would ultimately win, even

until the last hour when many within Zikawei were shocked to hear the news that the Communists had succeeded. The Catholic press as well as the American press wrote vehemently against Communism in the world and in “Red China” in particular. Jesuits spoke out within their own publications and through convened assemblies. Father Charles wrote of this regime stating:

A prisoner in Communist hands is completely helpless. He has no rights. He can communicate with no one outside the prison nor insist on a trial at any given date. The judiciary is an instrument of the executive power... entirely in the hands of the Party. And the Party is avowedly merciless towards every non-conformist, towards everyone who dares to disagree with them.⁶⁹

The Jesuit Superior General, Włodimir Ledochowski, SJ (1866–1942), decried Communism as the “great and growing evil of our time.”⁷⁰ He called for Jesuits to place persons within a variety of organizations—from Boy Scouts to convents—to further the anti-Communist agenda, declaring “world-wide systematic warfare against [a] common enemy.”⁷¹ If the rhetoric of the *ecclesia militans* had once been directed toward the heathen to be evangelized, it was now directed with military fervor toward the rise of Communism.

In May 1949, cannon fire could be heard in the suburbs of Shanghai, though no shells had fallen in the city; from rooftops, fires could be seen burning in the surrounding countryside. Refugees were being kept out of the city and food shortages were feared. McCarthy’s May 18 letter was mailed by means of a religious sister who was flying out from Hong Kong, as all air traffic had ceased coming or going from Shanghai.⁷² Father McCarthy said hopefully, “The Commies have won; now it’s up to us to make the best of a bad job, and to begin the work of converting them, and helping the people oppressed by them.”⁷³ The mission’s own poverty prevented them from taking on “rice-Christians,” though McCarthy lamented not being able to do more for the many who came to the Jesuit mission asking for assistance. In signing off his May 18th letter written from the Church of Christ the King, he wrote, “There’s been some boom-booming, and thud-thumping that rattles the panes and shakes our brick house while I was writing, but it still seems about 10 miles off...”⁷⁴ Though desperate for an end to struggle, that era was far from over.

The Jesuits within the California Province—who had missionaries currently assigned in Communist counties—responded with alacrity and gusto. University of San Francisco president Raymond T. Feely, SJ (1895–1965), wrote several acidic anti-Communist works, and the political science department introduced a yearlong required undergraduate course outlining various stratagems used by Communist promoters. Leading a rising movement against Communism in America, the university’s proactive moves were noted in *Time* magazine:

The prospectus for the new course, announced last week by the University of San Francisco, had an ominous ring: “A basic course on the nature of the enemy”... the first required course in the tactics and strategy of domestic Communism.... [S]tudents will read everything from *Das Kapital* to transcripts of the Hiss trial. They will interview local C.P. members and FBI men, write detailed term papers on local Communist-front activities and how they operate. [Anthony] Bouscaren’s idea is not to turn his students into amateur counterespies, but to give them a firsthand look at “what we’re fighting against.”⁷⁵

Whereas the plea for mission funds in the 1920s and 1930s had been primarily for the sake of struggling mission upstarts and starving babies, attention now turned to funding the fight against the rising tide of Communism. In *Jesuit Missions* in the 1940s, China missionaries Francis Rouleau and George Bernard Wong, both wrote against Communism’s threat to civilization, as did George Marin, SJ (1895–1956), who in particular requested funds and prayers be sent to the China mission in its fight against Marxist ideology.⁷⁶ Later Father Charles, too, responded to the perceived threat to civilization and humanity writing:

Most of the many political prisoners whom I knew in China were men, quiet, but courageous and decent. There was a line which they would not cross, a depth to which they would not stoop, because they wanted to remain men. They would not abandon the hope, nor deny the right, of the mind of man to search for truth, and to state it honestly.... If we bought Communism, we would pay for it with a most precious birthright, our human dignity.⁷⁷

Images depicting the imprisonment of multi-generation Catholic Chinese families were presented in articles with titles such as “Behind China’s Red Curtain,”⁷⁸ which evoked fear and motivated action among

American readers who sought to preserve the efforts they had been funding during the past decades. As would be seen in the coming years, such fears were not unfounded.

Tensions increased as America drew dividing lines between Communist sympathizers such as Edgar Snow (1905–1972), who published *Red Star Over China*, and anti-Communist intellectuals who used the book of Revelation to describe communist China as the “dragon and his beasts.”⁷⁹ The Chinese population, however, had endured decades of banditry, disorganization, violence, and starvation; initially, the Communist party appeared compassionate and organized, a so-called “army in sneakers.” Charles McCarthy had echoed this sentiment of the situation in “Checking on Chiang,” his book review of *Thunder Out of China* by Theodore White (1915–1986) and Annalee Jacoby (1917–2002). In this review, he observed that the authors were overly critical of the missionaries and sympathetic toward the Communists.⁸⁰ Many more were frustrated with the US nonintervention policies, which seemingly kept America out of the line of fire. McCarthy, who would be imprisoned in 1953, theoretically could have been released in late 1955 after the conclusion of the talks in Geneva between the USA and the People’s Republic of China when there was issued an announcement that Americans held in China would be released.⁸¹ Several of McCarthy’s confreres were released in 1956, however, and McCarthy himself—after the request of a retrial—was held until 1957. Charles McCarthy’s 1946 criticism of White and Jacoby proved well founded.

As the situation worsened for the foreign missionaries who remained in China during the early years of the Maoist era (1949–1976), McCarthy sustained his optimism by turning his attention to the simple joys and pleasures he heard about from his family back in America. Responding to family updates from his brother, Walter, in San Francisco, McCarthy wrote in November of 1950: “while the news is not exactly exciting on that front, it’s the news that keeps the world sane and its wheels turning.”⁸² These simple pleasures would soon be denied to him and his fellow Jesuits in China, and while the deprivations he endured may not appear to be explicit maltreatment, his context was a deliberate erosion of that which kept his world intact. Father McCarthy lamented that he had received no recent mail, and the newspapers reported that mail traffic was being refused for “such scoundrels as we are said to be.” Some 30 news columns per day expounded relentlessly on the theme of “What’s Wrong with America,” which, being largely unfounded

accusations, he wrote, “they think up almost all of their stuff out of their heads and the clear, dry air of Peking.”⁸³

But even as this state-contrived salvo of negative media coverage continued, the Catholic faithful flocked to Shanghai’s churches, filling them with, as McCarthy described, a sight of, “amazing fidelity and fervor.... For a solemn high Mass, they turn out a whole squadron of altar boys, who start about a foot and a half off the ground and range upwards fairly close to six feet, robed in scarlet cassocks and snowy surplices, looking handsomer and holier by far than they ever do off duty.” It was these native faithful who gave McCarthy a sense of hope within China’s political unease. Inspired by this he wrote that there are parts of the mass “that are especially touching to a missionary’s heart when he’s amidst a great throng of reverent Chinese loyally avowing their allegiance to Christ even through deafening propaganda shouts all round them.”⁸⁴

THE POWER OF PUBLICATION

Throughout the 1940s the flow of literature written by Jesuits against the Communist surge in China was relentless; California Jesuit James F. Kearney, SJ (1896–1967) wrote 14 articles for *America*, *Columbia*, the Knights of Columbus magazine, and *Jesuit Missions*.⁸⁵ Published by the Jesuit California Province missionaries in Shanghai, the *Catholic Review* was edited by Charles McCarthy from 1948 to 1949—he was in fact the last editor of the magazine when it closed as the Communist regime tightened its grip on information flowing both in and out of China. This periodical, which included literary and philosophical essays, had sweeping coverage of global Catholic news as well as historical and devotional topics. The first editor, James Kearney, stated that their aim was to, “produce an interesting, readable magazine, with...interviews with Catholic personalities”—a “youthful voice of the Church’s mature wisdom,” asserted the French Shanghai bishop, Auguste Haouisée.⁸⁶

Kearney had ambitious plans for the magazine, which he hoped would become the journal for the institute being developed by Jesuits in Nanjing. Each edition was approximately 50 pages long and included easy to read educational material. It likewise included broadcast schedules for local Catholic radio and Legion of Decency film ratings regarding the Shanghai cinema. Similar to Catholic periodicals in the US, advertisements for local Catholic businesses assisted in covering the costs of the publication. But even this underwriting could not curtail the

shortage of paper as Shanghai gave way under seemingly endless war and struggle; the magazine was eventually reduced to a bimonthly publication for this reason.⁸⁷

While the news was flowing out of China and into the USA, it was difficult for those within Zikawei to know precisely how the information was received by the American public. Father McCarthy wrote to his provincial:

Most of us here were very much surprised that scholastics from the juniorate are being sent to Manila. Things must certainly look far different from outside China than they do from inside.... The Prime Minister, Chou En-lai, declared three months ago: "Churches in China must become fully indigenous, in government, in support and in personnel. Missionaries now in China will be allowed to remain, unless the government has something against them individually. But, definitely, no new missionaries will be admitted into China, not even those now outside on furlough. In finance, the shift to complete independence can be somewhat gradual, if there are no (political or imperialistic) tags on the donations. But in principle, the churches will use neither foreign personnel nor foreign money."⁸⁸

McCarthy's continued plea for funds to keep the mission vibrant, even through trying times, can be seen in this letter. The need for foreign support and news updates to those constituencies remained.

Each form of Catholic media supported another in a strong American, Jesuit voice. The *Catholic Review* was pitted against the Communist press. One priest wrote home, "The Reds continue to write all kinds of things against the Church and Her priests.... [O]ur telephone has been cut off."⁸⁹ News sources such as the *Catholic Review* were seen as the voice of the Vatican in far-flung mission stations. Though evocative of the spirit of the French notion of *la mission civilisatrice*, the colonial "civilizing" mission, these publications stood symbolically as vestiges of nobility and dignity in a war-torn country.⁹⁰ In June of 1949 the last issue of the *Catholic Review* was released showing an iconic image of a Vincentian sister at play with three Chinese children, the words reading, "...The Future Belongs to Love."⁹¹ For Charles McCarthy these words were prophetic—his mission of friendship and appreciation for the Chinese people would eventually lead him to serve the Chinese diaspora in the Philippines.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, the now fully empowered Communist party moved

aggressively against the Church, inaugurating anti-Christian campaigns that paralleled their political rise. At that time the Society of Jesus still had 36 brothers and priests on the Mainland, 29 of whom were summarily expelled, and many of whom fled to Hong Kong, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Thailand. Father Paul O'Brien, SJ (1908–2001), was expelled from Yangzhou and was designated as the vice visitor for expelled Jesuits from China. He later moved to Baguio in the Philippines, where he served as rector and welcomed the Jesuit priests leaving China.⁹² Baguio is a location one reads of often in the narratives of the Jesuits of that era; it was a place of solace and recuperation, and lament for those who wished to return to serve the flock in China.

Father Charles McCarthy wrote thousands of letters during his lifetime, replete with news, didactic exhortations toward holiness, and largely joy-filled stories; he was indeed an example of the Jesuit ideal, to “give and not count the cost,” overflowing with a love for China. In the turbulent year of 1951, he wrote: “God’s power is infinite and His love for the Chinese people is immense, so perhaps brighter days are not so far-off.”⁹³ In some of the darkest days of the Shanghai mission, *America* magazine noted in a 1957 column, “we are confident ... a new chapter is about to be written. Out of the anguish of today’s imprisoned missionaries will come the joy of a rich Chinese harvest. So it has been for centuries.”⁹⁴ Such a turn was coming, and Shanghai’s Catholic population would later flourish under Bishop Aloysius Jin Luxian, SJ (1916–2013), but not for decades after McCarthy and his American confreres had left China.

NOTES

1. Taheny, memorial mass homily transcription, December 15, 1991, MFPC.
2. Taheny, “California Jesuits on Mission,” 20.
3. Alden Stevenson, SJ, ed. “The Diary of a China Missionary,” *Western Jesuit* 19 (January 1944), 1.
4. Fleming, *Chosen for China*, 659.
5. “Charles J. McCarthy, SJ,” *Western Jesuit: Jubilarian Issue* (Autumn 1989): 5.
6. His initial letters were slow to arrive home, as we discern from a letter from his father Frank McCarthy to his superior, Francis Seeliger, dated 26 December 1941, Frank states, “We received only one letter from him—just as he was leaving Shanghai...so we are presuming that he received

- our letters and we hope the Christmas thoughts that the family forwarded to him about the 9th of November—arrived safely.” Letter from Frank McCarthy to Rev. Francis J. Seeliger, SJ, dated December 26, 1941, MFPC.
7. Quoted in a letter from Frank McCarthy to Father King, SJ, dated August 28, 1943, MFPC.
 8. Father Felipe Ortiz, SJ, funeral mass homily transcription; MFPC. Fleming, p. 559, recounts that McCarthy studied in Beijing from 1941 to 1942 and that he held the rank of professor from 1942 until 1946; and, letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to “Erwin -P.C.,” dated June 16, 1950, MFPC.
 9. For further reading on this topic see Anthony E. Clark’s “Sealing Fate and Changing Course: French Catholicism and Chinese Conversion,” pages 121–140, in Anthony E. Clark, ed., *China’s Christianity: From Missionary to Indigenous Church* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).
 10. Theodore (Ted) T. Taheny, SJ, “California Jesuits on Mission: A Historical Overview of a Complicated Story Which Begins in 1928,” *Western Jesuit: California Missionaries* (Winter 1993), 27.
 11. Auguste Haouisée, SJ, “Preface,” *A Guide to Catholic Shanghai* (Shanghai: T’ou-sè-wè Press, 1937).
 12. See Jeremy Clarke, *Catholic Shanghai: A Historical, Practical, and Reflective Guide* (Shanghai: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2012).
 13. Haouisée, “Foreword,” *A Guide to Catholic Shanghai*. Italics original.
 14. Peter Fleming, SJ, *Chosen for China: The California Province Jesuits in China 1928–1957: A Case Study in Mission and Culture*, PhD Dissertation (Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union, 1987), 8.
 15. Letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to “Dear Friend,” dated December 1, 1950, MFPC.
 16. Fleming, *Chosen for China*, 269.
 17. The film was based on the popular book: A. J. Cronin, *The Keys of the Kingdom* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1941).
 18. Letter of Joseph J. King, SJ, to the California Province, July 16, 1947, California Province Archives, Paul O’Brien File (1947), in Fleming, *Chosen for China*, 405.
 19. “Charles J. McCarthy, SJ,” *Western Jesuit*, 5. Fleming uses the term “internment” on page 559 in *Chosen for China*. Francis Rouleau likewise discussed life under Japanese occupation in his letters and McCarthy reflects on this as well in the De La Salle interview.
 20. Taheny, memorial mass homily transcription, December 15, 1991, MFPC.
 21. Biography of Father Charles McCarthy SJ in program for the awarded Signum Meriti Medal, De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines, April 30, 1981, MFPC.

22. Document written by Father Charles as a “talk to Serra Club,” dated 1946, MFPC.
23. Regarding years 1945–1946; posthumous résumé of Father McCarthy, MFPC.
24. Fleming, *Chosen for China*, 559.
25. “Tertianship & Final Vows,” (<http://www.thinkjesuit.org/tertianship-final-vows/>). Some sources indicate that McCarthy may have been home in San Francisco during 1945.
26. See the chapter by Michael Maher, SJ, “Jesuit Formation and Its Influence on the Methods of Matteo Ricci” in Anthony E. Clark, ed., *A Voluntary Exile: Chinese Christianity and Cultural Confluence since 1552* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014): 39–58.
27. Posthumous résumé of Father McCarthy, MFPC.
28. “Charles J. McCarthy, SJ,” *Western Jesuit*, 5; and Father Felipe Ortiz, SJ, funeral mass homily transcription, MFPC. Sources are somewhat unclear about how long McCarthy was there and whether he completed a master’s degree; Peter Fleming records he received the MA in 1947, Fleming, “Chosen for China,” 559; and, letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to “Erwin -P.C.,” dated June 16, 1950, MFPC. Noted also in this letter, Fu Jen, still located in Peking is under the care of SVD fathers, “A Divine Word Father was staying there, who had been a student at Chabanel Hall in Peking, and whom I had known very well over there, Father John McDonough. He is doing graduate work at Chicago University now, preparatory to teaching at Fu Jen, the Catholic U. of China in Peking.”
29. Letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to Walter McCarthy, dated January 12, 1947, MFPC.
30. Ibid.
31. Posthumous résumé of Father McCarthy, MFPC.
32. Letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to Walter McCarthy, dated October 13, 1947, MFPC.
33. Fleming, “Chosen for China,” 559; Fleming states that he returned to Beijing for one year from 1948 to 1949. The Posthumous résumé of Father McCarthy, MFPC, states that he was minister of scholastics from 1947–1948; the reader may note differing dates.
34. Letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to Walter McCarthy, dated October 13, 1947, MFPC.
35. Ibid.
36. Fleming, “Chosen for China,” 559.
37. Letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to Walter McCarthy, dated November 9, 1947, MFPC.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.

40. Letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to Walter McCarthy, dated December 5, 1947, MFPC.
41. Ibid.
42. Letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to Walter McCarthy, dated January 8, 1948, MFPC.
43. McCarthy's linguistic fluency additionally extended to Latin and Greek.
44. Letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to Walter McCarthy, dated January 8, 1948, MFPC.
45. Yü Bin is one of the more famous figures of the Chinese Catholic Church during the twentieth century; the cardinal served as Archbishop of Nanjing.
46. In this letter he also notes: "Frs. Rouleau and Kearney were up from Shanghai, Father Klement over from Yangzhou, and Frs. O'Brien, Murphy, O'Hara, Clifford and Bourret were already at Nanking." Letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to Walter McCarthy, dated January 8, 1948, MFPC.
47. Posthumous résumé of Father McCarthy, MFPC.
48. Fleming, "Chosen for China," 559.
49. Taheny, memorial mass homily transcription, December 15, 1991, MFPC; and, letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to "Erwin -P.C.," dated June 16, 1950, MFPC.
50. Letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to Very Rev. Paul O'Brien, SJ, dated February 29, 1948, MFPC.
51. *Jesuit Missions* 13 (September 1939), 198.
52. Fleming, *Chosen for China*, 216–217.
53. Ibid., 219.
54. *Jesuit Missions* 19 (January–February 1945), 3. Note that families in the US had placed large gold stars in their windows when their sons died in battle, hence the reference to memorializing gold stars in this quote.
55. See David J. Endres, *American Crusade: Catholic Youth in the World Mission Movement from World War I Through Vatican II* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2010), *passim*.
56. *Jesuit Missions* 4 (July–August 1930), 10.
57. Fleming, *Chosen for China*, 6.
58. Endres, *American Crusade*, 91.
59. Calvert Alexander, SJ, *Jesuit Missions* 12 (September 1938), 199.
60. William A. Griffin, *Insinuating the Mission Idea in the Classroom* (Paterson, NJ: St. Anthony's Guild, 1941), *passim*.
61. See note 15 in Chap. 3 of Fleming, *Chosen for China*, 522.
62. See Claude Cuenot, *Teilhard de Chardin: A Biographical Study* (Baltimore: Helicon, 1958).
63. Fleming, *Chosen for China*, 280.

64. Ibid., 376.
65. The station was called XORA. John K. Lipman, SJ, "On the Air," *China Letter* 34 (Winter 1939), 1–2.
66. In an email exchange with Mary Jo McCarthy Reynolds, China scholar Paul Mariani, SJ, writes, "Shanghai in the 1950s was a fascinating and terrifying time for the church, and thanks to Fr. McCarthy, we have an almost step by step of the process" (November 14, 2009, MFPC).
67. Fleming, *Chosen for China*, 428.
68. Posthumous résumé of Father McCarthy, MFPC, and Father Felipe Ortiz, SJ, funeral mass homily transcription, MFPC.
69. Charles J. McCarthy, "The High Cost of Communism," *Philippine Studies* 8 (1960): 631–639.
70. Włodimir Ledochowski, SJ, Letter to the American and Canadian Provincials, April 17, 1934, *Acta Romana Societatis Jesu* 8 (1937), 740–743, in Fleming, *Chosen for China*, Chap. 5, note 56, 566.
71. Ibid.
72. Letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to Walter McCarthy, dated May 18, 1949, MFPC.
73. Ibid. In this letter as well, Father Charles mentions that Father Paul O'Brien has taken over duties as rector of the scholasticate, and that Father Ed Murphy is rector of the Nanjing school.
74. Letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to Walter McCarthy, dated May 18, 1949, MFPC.
75. "Communist ABCs," *Time* 57, no. 20 (May 14, 1951), 84. Anthony Trawick Bouscaren wrote several anti-Communist tomes, including: *Imperial Communism* (1953), *Is the Cold War Over? A New Look at Communist Imperialism* (1973), and *Enduring the Soviets* (1987).
76. Respectively, George Bernard Wong, SJ, "Red Star Over China," *Jesuit Missions* 19 (January–February 1945), 7; "There's a Little Quiet in China," *Jesuit Missions* 21 (June 1947), 116–117; and, George Marin, SJ, "Eight Long Years," *Jesuit Missions* 21 (July–August, 1946), 142–144.
77. McCarthy, "The High Cost of Communism."
78. See Calvert Alexander, SJ, "Behind China's Red Curtain," *Jesuit Missions* 21 (June 1947), 170–172.
79. Michael J. Gruenthaner, SJ, "Enemies of True Peace," *Jesuit Bulletin* 25 (February 1946), 12.
80. Charles J. McCarthy, "Checking on Chiang," review of *Thunder Out of China*, by Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, in *America* 76, no 9 (November 30, 1946), 243.
81. See the US Department of State Office of the Historian documents, Milestones: 1953–1960, U.S.-China Ambassadorial Talks, 1955–1970 <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/china-talks>.

82. Letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to brother Walter McCarthy, dated November 11, 1950, MFPC.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid. In an email exchange between Mary Jo McCarthy Reynolds and Paul Mariani, SJ, the latter writes: "The story really is quite tragic given the persecution, but I really do believe it was the church's finest hour and Fr. McCarthy had an important role to play" (November 19, 2009, MFPC).
85. Fleming, *Chosen for China*, see Chap. 5, note 70, 567.
86. James F. Kearney, SJ, "Changes in the Making," *China Letter* 42 (Autumn 1941), 1.
87. Fleming, *Chosen for China*, 381.
88. Letter from Father Charles J. McCarthy to "Father Provincial, -P.C.," dated August 15, 1950, MFPC.
89. Letter by unknown author, "American Jesuits in China, News from Shanghai," Rouleau Collection, "Jesuits in China, 1953b" folder, Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History at University of San Francisco, San Francisco, CA, August 2015.
90. Auguste Alphonse Pierre Haouisée, SJ, "The Bishop to His People: Noblesse Oblige," *Catholic Review* 7 (September 1941), 7. "The Bishop and His People" was an ongoing editorial by Haouisée in each issue of the magazine. Regarding the *mission civilisatrice*, see also Anthony E. Clark, "China Gothic: Indigenous' Church Design in Late-Imperial Beijing," Whitworth University Digital Commons (2015). <http://digitalcommons.whitworth.edu/historyfaculty/10>.
91. Fleming, *Chosen for China*, 381.
92. Taheny, "California Jesuits on Mission," 20.
93. Letter to Patricia Briggs from Charles J. McCarthy, dated September 14, 1951, Scholasticate, Zikawei, Shanghai, China, MFPC.
94. "End of a Chapter," *America* 97 (July 6, 1957), 374.

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China's Last Jesuit

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