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The Rise and Decline of Catholic Lay Movements
in New York City: 1933-1967

Florence Mary Henderson Davis

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Religion

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

February 1988

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ABSTRACT

The Rise and Decline of Catholic Lay Movements in New York City: 1933-1967

Florence Mary Henderson Davis
Concordia University, 1988

This thesis is a study of five movements of the lay apostolate, namely, The Catholic Worker, The Grail, Friendship House, The Third Hour and the Young Christian Workers. It focuses upon their presence and activity in New York City from 1933 to 1967. The dates chosen are not arbitrary. The first number of The Catholic Worker was issued in May 1933, and The Third World Congress of the Lay Apostolate was held in Rome in 1967.

The history of these movements is given, but they are studied because they exemplify a problem wider than themselves. This problem is the largely latent contradiction between traditional Catholic ideas and beliefs and the social and political culture of America. The members of these lay movements looked to the Middle Ages as representing the Catholic ideal to be reproduced, admittedly with modifications, as the New Christendom. Gradually the unsuitability and impracticality of this ideal came to the surface. What was not realized was that the spontaneous pursuit of the American ideals of freedom, toleration, democracy, participation in decision making was a return to

the ideals of the Catholic Enlightenment as found in American history.

An introductory chapter presents the five movements and outlines the problematic of the thesis. The second chapter sketches the medieval ideal and the questions it raises. The third chapter examines the Catholic Enlightenment, tracing the double stream in American Catholic history and the stifling of American innovations with the condemnation of Americanism and later of Modernism. The fourth chapter examines then in detail the five movements. The fifth chapter offers an interpretation of their decline at the very moment with the Second Vatican Council that one would have expected an expansion. A short epilogue highlights the main conclusion.

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Piety is that gift of the Spirit that makes us revere our teachers. When one comes to an intellectual crossroads, such as gaining a doctorate, the whole procession of teachers emerges from our past. Each has been unique and has made the next step possible. I feel tremendously indebted to every teacher I have ever had, but a few stand out and I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to them.

First of all, I should like to thank Janet\Kalvin. I am far from the only person at Grailville who received her first challenge to pursue enlightenment from Janet Kalvin. She has been bountiful with her great intellectual gifts. The second person on my list is the Reverend Dr. Donald Campbell whose classes in psychology were truly liberating and whose kind direction was most encouraging. He made my years at St. Francis Xavier a turning point in my life. My husband, Charles Davis, was first of all my mentor. For him the life of the intellect is exhilarating and he has communicated that love to me and to our children. Finally, I come to the Department of Religion at Concordia University. The atmosphere of friendship and encouragement that exists there would be hard to equal. Without Dr. Sheila McDonough I would never have had the courage to start on this project. Dr. Michael Fahey of Concordia's Theology Department endured my theological thaw after a number of years and turned me in a hopeful direction.

Dr. Fred Bird, as my advisor, is the person with whom this thesis gradually took shape. He possesses the perfect combination of talents needed in an advisor; he is patient, critical, long-suffering, available and persistent. But his greatest attribute as an advisor is his ability to "get inside" the other person's idea. For his many years of encouragement and guidance, I am eternally grateful.

My two children, Claire Susanna and Anthony Charles deserve special thanks. They were always supportive and in the end it was their prompting that made me put all my energy into finishing. I want to end these acknowledgements with a special word of thanks to my mother, Florence Pitcher Henderson. She has always been my loving support and for this I thank her.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the 1930s a number of Catholic movements sprang up in and around New York City. These movements were a part of a world-wide awakening of the laity in the Roman Catholic Church. During the thirty years under consideration the Catholic laity underwent a dramatic change in ideals and attitudes. The opening of this period is one of confident, obedient trust that the Roman Catholic Church is the one, true Church with a mandate from its founder, Jesus Christ, to bring about the conversion of the world. The end of the period finds an educated, articulate, critical laity calling for a democratization of the power structure and an updating of ethical norms in the Church. The New York movements under consideration were unconsciously part of the process. It is by studying a number of these movements that we hope to come to a new historical perspective on the events of that period and the radical change that has taken place, especially as regards the laity in the Roman Catholic Church.

Perhaps the change in attitude which I referred to above is best illustrated by the two following quotations. The first is from Frank Sheed's book The Church and I. Sheed is

recalling those early days when he and his wife Maisie Ward were first married and starting the publishing house of Sheed and Ward. Sheed, a lawyer by training, was completely committed to the apostolate of the Catholic Church. An Australian taking a break in England, Sheed became involved in the Catholic Evidence Guild; the Guild trained lay men and women to speak on street corners about the truth of the Catholic Church. Hyde Park was their most illustrious site but not their only one, not by a long way. They opened the New York office of Sheed and Ward in 1933, the same year the Catholic Worker first came off the press. Their novelist-son, Wilfrid Sheed, has said that he never met a Catholic college graduate from those years who had not heard his father speak. Here is how Sheed sums up the feeling of Catholics in the '30s:

I have talked of the Catholic euphoria of the twenties and thirties We returned to England in which writers kept joining the Church. We were now sure of first-rate books to publish We had a couple of lecture tours in America, which led in 1933 to the founding of our New York House. There we found the same atmosphere of quiet confidence -- the Church was growing, how long could the other religions last?¹

This hopeful, optimistic attitude is in dramatic contrast to the description of the opening talk given at the Third World Congress of the Lay Apostolate held in Rome in 1967. This talk was given by Thom Kierstens, a name well known in Pax Romana circles. However, it was not as a member of Pax Romana that he spoke but as the secretary-general of the International Christian Union of Business Executives. This

was not Kierstens' first appearance at an international congress of the laity. In 1957 he was among the speakers for the Second World Congress which also included Aldo Moro from Italy, the Canadian lay leader of the Young Christian Workers, Romeo Maione, as well as Frank Sheed, himself. Kierstens hit at the authoritarian attitude of the Pope and the Roman Curia. He called for an updating of concerns on the part of the Catholic Church away from hidden diplomacy and self-interest, away from censorship and punitive measures against questioners and dissidents. This event of the Third Congress of the Lay Apostolate is recorded in the French Canadian Jean-Guy Vaillancourt's published Ph.D. thesis, Papal Power, A Study of Vatican Control Over Lay Catholic Elites. Vaillancourt says of the opening address:

Kierstens ... opened with a speech which was blunt and frank. Its insistence on freedom and autonomy (for lay movements) set the tone for discussions and exchanges which were to follow.²

Summarizing the gist of Kiersten's talk, Vaillancourt writes:

He called for a "democratization of theology," an updating of Christian ethics, and a reorientation of the Church toward the problems of war and peace, of the thirst for freedom and unity, of the equality of women, of Third World poverty, of radical injustice, of alienation especially among the young in the increasingly affluent countries and of rising expectations and increasing turbulence in developing countries.

The major prerequisites for this reorientation, according to this Dutch businessman and intellectual would be a greater autonomy of speech and action for the laity, better lay-clergy relations and communications, and organizations that would function with democratic procedures and be open to change.³

I have chosen the year 1967 to end this study because

the Third Congress of the Lay Apostolate marks the final attempt of this vigorous, assertive, independent lay apostolate to find a place within the official structure of the Roman Catholic Church. But the point that is important here is that a change had taken place during the thirty years from the opening of the New York office of Sheed and Ward to the 1967 meeting in Rome. Sheed was an educated man, so it was not just education, although that was part of it. More American Catholics had a college education in 1967 than in 1933. David Lodge, the English Catholic novelist on CBC Toronto's television program Realités, put his finger on the birth-control issue as the turning point. Catholic lay men and women were forced to face this issue in a new way because of the discovery of the Pill. With great difficulty and with much soul-searching they came to an independent decision. They accepted birth control not only as morally permissible but in some cases morally imperative. This was done despite the continued teaching of the Catholic Church that contraception, except the rhythm method, was wrong. In the past Catholics who had practiced artificial birth control had accepted the fact that they could not receive Holy Communion because they had put themselves in a state of excommunication. Their modern counterparts did not accept the Church's authority in this area and continued their membership in the Catholic Church in good conscience. The hold of the teaching authority of the Roman Catholic Church on the consciences of the laity had been broken. This revolutionary step had vital

repercussions.

The goal of this thesis is to explore five movements of the lay apostolate during the years from 1933 to 1967. These were not initially radical movements. They did not challenge the teaching authority of the Church. They developed an idea of the Church from the books they read, books of the Catholic Revival in England and France; they were sustained in their spiritual life by the liturgical movement which stressed the participation of the laity in the Mass and sacraments as well as in the celebration of the liturgical year in the home. They could accept the fact that there was sin in the Church but not that the Church could be wrong. The Church was perceived in mystical terms as the spotless Bride of Christ untainted in the midst of its earthly existence. Once this image of the Church was broken their relationship to the Church had to change.

What is the state of the question at present?

There are a number of converging trends within the scholarship on this subject. First of all, there are the books written during the '60s. They are barometric indicators of the approaching storm. Soul-searching and concerned, they point to various areas of disquiet and conflict within the broad realm of what we might call the general lay apostolate. Two titles by outstanding Catholic laymen will stand for a long list of similarly concerned writings. They are, The New Church by Daniel Callahan⁴ and Bare Ruined Choirs by Garry Wills.⁵ Rosemary Ruether's⁶ The Church Against Itself is one

of the best theological diagnoses of the then developing situation. Serious historical background to the present can be found in such writings as Lawrence T. Barman's⁷ book on the modernist crisis in the Roman Catholic Church, Baron Friedrich Von Hügel and the Modernist Crisis in England, Joseph Chinnici's⁸ The English Catholic Enlightenment and the comprehensive history of the Catholic Church in America, Jay P. Dolan's⁹ The American Catholic Experience.

Studies of the lay movements are less numerous. There are biographies of Dorothy Day¹⁰ and of the Catholic Worker Movement,¹¹ an unpublished thesis on the Grail,¹² a lay movement for women. The Australian, Sally Kennedy,¹³ in her book Faith and Feminism, writes about the struggle of the Grail for self-definition and independence, which is relevant to the analysis of the Grail in the United States. Two autobiographies, Fragments of My Life, by Catherine de Hueck Doherty¹⁴ founder of Harlem's Friendship House and No Time to Grieve by Helene Iswolsky,¹⁵ the guiding spirit behind the ecumenical movement known as The Third Hour, which was published posthumously.

The movements that I am investigating in this thesis are Five: The Catholic Worker, The Grail, Friendship House, The Third Hour and The Young Christian Workers. Sheed and Ward, the Catholic publishers were not in themselves a movement but they influenced these other movements in important ways, perhaps most importantly in turning the attention of the educated segment of the Catholic population to the so-called

Catholic Revival in England and Europe.

An adequate, straightforward descriptive account of these movements is still lacking. The general histories mentioned do not do them justice. Outside of Helene Iswolsky's own autobiography, there is, to my knowledge, total silence about The Third Hour, which however anticipated the later developments in ecumenism. Against a broad historical background of the period I want to bring into full light the activities of these movements.

These movements were viewed as harbingers of a new, vital Catholicism. They were controversial. They appeared liberal or radical. In time they did arouse many Catholics to become more concerned with the Church's role in relation to the poor, with better interracial relations, with ecumenism, with a more fitting role for women within the Church, with the need for a new, more personally grounded spirituality geared to an active rather than a contemplative life, with a role for the Catholic Church outside its own ghettos, making a more open yet assured contribution to the debate in a pluralistic society. However, by the end of this period, these movements had largely lapsed. They inspired individuals but brought about no real changes in the Church or in the role of the laity within the Church. Why did these movements which seemed so promising (and to some so threatening for that reason) not really fulfill these promises? Why did they diminish in importance and attractiveness? That is the subject of this thesis. To examine this question, we need to look beyond these movements, and to

situate them as particular expressions of a much broader movement, namely, twentieth century movements inspired by notions of a lay apostolate. We also need to examine alternative visions of the laity which had another origin, in the Catholic Enlightenment and American experience.

In searching for answers to the above questions I shall follow this pattern. First, I shall lay before the reader the relevant historical themes which evolved over the centuries.

From the Gregorian Reform to the Enlightenment we have the emergence of an hierarchic, clerical, static institution which the Enlightenment sought to challenge. In the period of the reconstruction of the Church after the French Revolution we are looking at a Church that, though seemingly flourishing with the spread of new popular devotions and an enhanced loyalty to the Holy See, was deliberately fighting for its life by developing a spiritual monarchy. Finally, the Catholic Church in America has a distinctive history not always known or understood by American Catholics themselves. The positive contribution of democracy as a viable form of Church government is a specifically American thing. The heresy labelled "Americanism" prevented the U.S. hierarchy from continuing its exploration of democracy in the Church. However, in the way forward this still seems to be America's unique contribution. Against this background I will examine the five lay movements selected for study, outlining their history and analysing their strengths and weaknesses.

A question of immense importance when analysing these

movements is, "Was the Catholic Revival a positive force, or, in fact, was it yet a more sophisticated way of yearning for a past age?" The Catholic Revival with its roster of writers, lay and clerical, was heralded as the Catholic Church meeting the modern age. But did the Catholic Revival say anything new, or did it repeat the so-called eternal verities in modern language? Could this Revival meet the challenge of the new scientific-technological age that was in the making with an authoritarian, hierarchic vision of social organization? I shall try to show in the final chapter how the Vichy experiment was the realization of this approach. As we come closer to the period of the '60s the debate centers more and more around what we might call the New Christendom ideal versus the Secular City and pluralism.

It would be interesting to compare these twentieth-century Catholic movements with the indigenous American nineteenth-century movements of social reform. There was a parallel alienation from the modern world, finding expression in an anti-urban bias. There was also a similar seeking for a new community in communes. Further, in the 1890s there was the establishment of Settlement Houses. Where there were dissimilarities (apart from the later date and context of the Catholic movements) was in the apolitical character of the Catholic groups, bound up with the looking to Europe for authority, particularly to Rome, which obscured the distinctively American elements that were also present.

The Catholic movements declined because they offered no

real challenge to authority, the kind of challenge which was called for to make the movements truly effective. They arose, when they did, because in Europe it was the period of the swing back from the anti-modernist repression, which coincided in America with the emergence of Catholics into American public life. The common delusion was that the Catholic Church was entering the modern world. The Second Vatican Council although full of promise left the hierarchical structures of the Church intact. Two alternatives presented themselves to the Catholic laity. One was to simply seek a meaningful commitment to social issues outside the Catholic context. The other was to continue in the Catholic Church on their own terms, deciding themselves who was "in" and who was "out," pressing for a democratic process wherever possible as a strategy of change.

CHAPTER II

MEDIEVALISM AS A MODEL FOR THE LAY APOSTOLATE

The idea that the civilization of the West depended on the revitalization of the Catholic Church had wide currency after the First World War. The orgy of blood and death unleashed by that conflict among Christian nations frightened Europeans. There had been wars and skirmishes all during the history of Europe. But this was something different. The young men of a whole generation were wiped out. The scale and ferocity of the war struck terror into the hearts of all who witnessed it. The film All Quiet on the Western Front portrays the meaninglessness of the conflict for the ordinary soldier. Why were they killing one another? Was this war a sign, auguring the end of their civilization? Was the new force gathering in the East, the force of atheistic communism, a punishment for the lukewarmness of the faith of twentieth-century Catholics? Searching for answers many turned to the Middle Ages. The achievement of the Middle Ages had been universalism and unity. Could the Catholic Church again provide a spiritual force great enough to prevent the destruction of Western civilization?

The Catholics who turned to the Middle Ages varied in

their choice of the period to be idealized as a model. There were those for whom the thirteenth century was "the greatest of centuries," because of its intellectual achievement as found in Thomas Aquinas. Others, more concerned with spirituality, evoked the twelfth century, the apogee of monasticism. For all, the whole medieval period represented unity and universality in an imprecise way.

In her chapter "The War Years" in the 1944 biography of Chesterton, Maisie Ward writes:

There were two possible meanings for the statement that all nations were to blame for the world war. All nations had gone away from God. Motives of personal and national greed had ousted the old ideal of Christendom. It might roughly be said that no nation was seriously trying to seek the Kingdom of God and His Justice With this interpretation Chesterton would have agreed.¹⁶

Hilaire Belloc was another exceedingly influential writer of the Catholic Revival. A. N. Wilson says in his biography of Belloc: "Belloc was not a naturally pious man. But he felt that he had to choose between the uncertainties of modern secularism and the Faith that had sustained Europe ..."¹⁷

Wilson quotes a letter sent by Belloc to the Catholic Herald (1936): "What I have said is that the European thing is essentially a Catholic thing, and that European values would disappear with the disappearance of Catholicism."¹⁸

After World War I there grew among Catholics in Europe a tremendously negative attitude to the world. The Middle Ages were idealized. This attitude communicated itself to Catholics in America and influenced the development of the

lay apostolate. Breaking Bread is a history of the Catholic Worker Movement. Its author, Mel Piehl, discusses the attitude of Peter Maurin, one of the founders of the Catholic Worker:

The romantic medievalism of Maurin's Easy Essays is apparent. The harsh polemics against the modern world, the hostility to capitalists and bankers, the backward yearning for a simple society held together by the Catholic Church, and the rejection of cities, factories, and technology in favor of a small-scale village and handicraft existence -- all these put Maurin in company with typical nostalgic forms of social Catholicism.¹⁹

Piehl goes on to argue that Maurin's medievalism does not exhaust the attitude and philosophy of the Catholic Worker. But it was a significant component. While pointing to undoubted deficiencies in the modern world, it also blinded those participating in these movements of the laity to what was positive. That Medieval achievement of unity and universality depended on supporting a very strong central authority. This authoritarianism eclipsed the benefits to be derived from democracy. It was only later in this period stretching from 1933 to 1967 did the democratic process emerge as a positive contribution to human history and something the Church universal could learn from America.

In trying to understand the attraction of this period for Catholic intellectuals and then for movements in the Lay Apostolate, I want to take a brief look at the Church and society in the Middle Ages, particularly the Gregorian reform and its effect. What I see is a strong monastic movement following the breakdown of the Carolingian Empire. The

strength of this movement was that it was a return to a Christianity based on the Rules of St. Benedict written in the fifth century. In a floundering world, it provided an immediate pattern of Christian life. The problem was that it established a monastic ideal of Christian spirituality. A lay person was understood as a person who was not a monk -- a negative identity. The normal school of holiness was the monastic rule of life. The liturgical cycle of feasting and fasting, celebrating the mysteries of Christian belief followed a rural, monastic pattern. The closer the laity could pattern their lives according to this order, the more likely would be their growth in holiness. This forms part of the positive nostalgic picture of the Middle Ages adopted by the movements of the modern lay apostolate. It involved them in an other-worldliness kind-of-life inappropriate to their real state. It led to attempts to bring back to the land communes which were by and large unsuccessful, sometimes tragically so, since they drained idealistic young people of their physical and spiritual energy. Jack and Mary Thornton are a case in point:

Having been born and reared in the city we did not know how to work, and this proved to be the cause of most of our troubles. Having had little capital, we never quite had enough tools and equipment. Spending quite a bit of time around the CW did not prepare us for the ways of the world of business, and we have been trusting where we should have been cautious, naive where we should have been wise. In short, we have been fools in the ways of the world, and, we hope, for Christ's sake. But in spite of all our trials and tribulations we are still on the land, though we haven't made much progress in farming it, and we still believe as Peter did, in Cult, Culture and Cultivation.²⁰

The Grail, too, encouraged "back to the land" taking its inspiration from the Catholic Rural Life Conference whose director, Msgr. Luigi Ligutti was a life-long friend of the Grail. "The problem of the hour, is the problem of the land, and the problem of the land is the problem of the woman." This Catholic Rural Life slogan found ready listeners in the Grail leaders. They opened a training center for young women on a 386 acre farm in Ohio. The year school, called Metanoia, was based on the Liturgical Year which matched the natural seasons as found in a rural setting. But real farming was done. Grail women were sent to the Agricultural College at Farmingdale, Long Island and to the Ecole Menagie in rural Quebec to learn weaving and home arts, in order to teach the women coming to Grailville for training. A number of these women persuaded their husbands to buy land around Grailville and to try to live in their families the pattern of work and prayer they had learned at Grailville. Unfortunately, some of their stories echo the Thorntons'. Those who survived, did so because they had other professional training which assured them an income. The Grail and the Catholic Worker are only two examples of this attempt on the part of Catholics drawn to the lay apostolate to turn their back on the "world" and live according to a medieval pattern which they perceived as leading to sanctity.

This is something of a diversion from the purpose of this chapter which is to look at certain trends in the period surrounding the Gregorian reform. The medieval period was

for these committed Catholic laity the Golden Age. It was full of romantic nostalgia. The vision of the Angelus pause when all work stopped and with bowed heads kings and peasants alike acknowledged the reign of God in heaven and on earth -- here was the source of the true equality. That society was ruled by the Spirit through the mediation of the Church. They wanted to prod the Church into assuming that role again. But their knowledge of the Middle Ages with its own internal conflicts was pretty meagre. Like all nostalgia it indulged in selective perception.

The Middle Ages were, indeed, a tremendous accomplishment of the human spirit. In the tenth century Christendom seemed to be tottering. Those institutions which upheld Christian civilization were in a state of decay.

The breakdown of the Carolingian Empire and the disintegration of the authority of the state under the combined influence of barbarian invasion and feudal anarchy led to a similar crisis in the life of the Church Even more serious was the internal disintegration due to the exploitation and secularization of the Church by the leaders of the new feudal society. Abbeys and bishoprics were treated in the same way as lay fiefs. They were appropriated by violence -- they were bought and sold or used as rewards for successful military adventures.²¹

To many Catholics the situation in the world of the thirties was not unlike this critical period in the Middle Ages. Then the Church turned to the monks, now it was the laity that must save the civilization of the West. How to do this was the question. These farming communes which advocated flight from the world, a return to a simpler way of life, growing your own food, weaving your own clothes,

despising worldly ambition, give an example of complete trust in Divine Providence like the lilies of the field. This was the common understanding of what this medieval model meant for them.

It is true that the monks left their monasteries and travelled throughout Europe bringing order out of chaos. The monasteries were free of allegiance to any territorial Church. Their allegiance was to the Pope in Rome. As the monastic reform developed the relation between the monks and the Pope became closer and closer until the Papacy was associated in the minds of all with the reforming movement. Hildebrand, a monk from Tuscany, brought this trend to a fulfillment when he became Pope Gregory VII. He was a man of great spiritual gifts who dedicated himself and his pontificate to the establishment of the reign of God on earth. This new theocratic society which the Gregorian reform worked to establish drew on the theories of an earlier thinker, Humbert of Moyenmoutier.

The views of society put forth by Humbert of Moyenmoutier which were to have such radical influence on the history of Europe are summed up by Christopher Dawson:

Since the spiritual power is as superior to that of the king as heaven is superior to earth, the Church should guide and rule the state as the soul rules the body, so only was it possible to ensure the reign of justice and the peace and union of the Christian people.²²

The success of the Gregorian Reform was to have lasting effect on the mindset of succeeding popes and on the papal curia, which is so powerful in determining papal policy.

First, what is implied in the theory of Humbert of Moyenmoutier and other thinkers of the Middle Ages is that an hierarchic structure of nature and society is a given. What is spiritual is above what is temporal. The Church is above secular society. And finally, those who belong to the ecclesiastical structure are superior to those who do not, whose life is concerned with secular affairs, that is, the laity. The Church is also a bridge between God and humanity and the source of grace and forgiveness. The position of pope seemed almost impregnable. The pope had both spiritual and temporal power.

This vision of reality as a given rejected the idea of change. Reality was changeless, static. The idea of progress did not surface until the 18th century, or perhaps, the 17th. Any attempt in the Middle Ages to change relationships was seen as almost blasphemous, or at least dangerous.

The role of priest who alone could preach and forgive sins elevated him above the laity. Baptism made the lay person a member of the Church but his duty was to obey the Church. The ideal Christian was the monk. All who would be holy must live as close to the monastic pattern as possible.

The Church in trying to extend the arm of its authority into secular life called upon the laity for help. Thus, another signal was sent out which confused the issue.

Gregory asked the laity to act as watchdogs for the Church, reporting the instances of simony and the actions of simoniac priests. Both Ernst Troeltsch and Christopher Dawson comment

on the outcome of this Papal step:

As early as 1058 the reforming movement had become identified in Milan and the cities of Lombardy with the revolt of the popular faction against the bishops and the ruling nobles; and half a century later, in the Low Countries the anti-Gregorian writer Sigebert of Gembloux complains of the revolutionary propaganda against the established order in Church and State that was heard in the workshops and factories, making the people judges of the clergy and denying the validity of the Sacraments administered by married or simoniac priests.²³

The picture of the Middle Ages becomes more complex when we begin to look into it. We have a unified society; all are Christians except the Jews. This unity is imposed from above, that is, by the Church. Yet within that unity there grows a serious division between clergy and laity, Church and World. It is interesting to note that it is in the cities of Milan and Lombardy that the revolt of the popular faction takes place. The revolutionary propaganda is heard in the factories and workshops. The lay or secular world is developing on its own. In the cities there is more freedom. Representative democracy is growing out of the guilds. The fervent Christian lay person is caught in the middle between his secular vocation and his loyalty to the Church.

In discussing the use of the laity against the simoniac priests, Troeltsch notes that as soon as the Church felt secure it adopted repressive measures against the same lay groups that it had once used in fighting simony. Troeltsch blames the Church's attitude to the laity for the formation of sects:

All this ferment of new life, however, was only forced into the channel of sect-formation by the Church herself. As soon as the Church felt tolerably sure of her own position, and she perceived the dangers of that connection with the social movement, she severed her connection explicitly with those democratic tendencies which were hostile to the Church which she had previously encouraged.²⁴

I think what is most significant for the study of modern lay movements in the Catholic Church is that underlying so much of the thought and sentiment of the earlier stage of the Lay Apostolate in America there was an idealizing of the medieval period. But we can see that even during the actual historic period it was full of ambiguity; especially as regards the place of the laity within the Church.

The mind-set which equated the Church with reality itself was difficult to overcome. Not many then or up until the Second Vatican Council felt that freedom was as important as eternal salvation. If one believed in the "one, true Church," it was necessary to accept the Church as an incarnation of God on earth. "He who hears you, hears me." The authority of the Pope was absolute in the way no earthly king could claim, for it demanded an inner consent of conscience. Yet, despite this binding authority there were openings in the system. First of all, we can look at the campaign of Gregory VII to win approval for his imperial role:

For the first time in the history of the West an attempt was made to enlist public opinion on either side, and a war of treaties and pamphlets was carried on, in which the fundamental questions concerning the relation of Church and state and the right of resistance to unjust authority were discussed exhaustively.

This marks a new departure in the history of Western culture, for it meant that men had begun to reason about the principles on which Christian society was based, and to use the appeal to principles as a means of changing the existing order.²⁵

So, despite the impressive authority of the Pope and the Papal Curia, the importance of the vox populi was never completely lost. In this way the papal authority was given at least a minimum check. Another idea which gained momentum during the Middle Ages was the right of resistance to a lawful authority which had become corrupt. This principle of resistance was first used by the Church against kings and princes whom it considered a danger to the peace and prosperity of Christendom. But it is not difficult to see how this same principle could smolder in the hearts of those who believed the Church itself to have become corrupt.

The term "world" had a theological implication during the Middle Ages, as in "the world, the flesh and the devil." World, in this sense, drew upon the theology of Augustine who reckoned that as the Christian communities turned into a Church some accommodation must be made to the secular concerns of its members. But as the monastic ideal gained a greater hold on the spiritual theology of the age, world as a positive area of Christian life and endeavour receded. The secular world was the special preserve of the laity. The negative appraisal of world flowed over onto the concept of laity and resulted in a negative attitude to the lay man and woman as not having a vocation, not being called to the Church. Up until recently this remained common parlance in the Catholic

Church and was one of the things the Lay Apostolate tried to change.

Bill McSweeney, in his book Roman Catholicism, the Search for Relevance, has a great deal to say about the relationship between world and laity. Here is one interesting comment with which I shall end this chapter:

The Reformation, for all its ultimate religious and political consequences, had no immediate effect on the legitimacy of the distinction between Church and world which prevailed in medieval Catholicism. True, it abolished the institutional priesthood as the mediator of grace and elevated the status of lay activity in the world, thereby reshuffling the contents of the two concepts by making holy some activities which were hitherto neutral, if not worldly. But the division of society into the religious and the secular, the contrast between holiness and worldliness and the conception of the Church as a distinctive community remained.²⁶

It was not until a positive idea of secularity and the world developed in this century, most popularly articulated in Harvey Cox's Secular City,²⁷ did there take place a serious reevaluation of the role of the laity. I shall return to this debate in a later chapter when we discuss the pros and cons of the new Christendom of Jacques Maritain versus the secular city.

CHAPTER III

THE CATHOLIC ENLIGHTENMENT AND PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY

It has been said that history changes the past. By this I mean that by knowing something of the historical development the past falls into place in such a way as to reveal the real meaning of the present. Because you understand how you came to a certain point you are more able to take possession of your personal destiny. American Catholic historians are performing that service for modern-day Catholics. I am thinking particularly of someone like Jay P. Dolan in his book The American Catholic Experience.²⁸ This sense of self-discovery is reflected in the speech of John McDermott to a meeting of lay Catholics in Chicago, reported in the September 26, 1986 issue of the National Catholic Reporter:

... as longtime community activist and keynote speaker John McDermott told the audience of doctors and lawyers, painters and politicians, labor leaders and corporate executives, Cardinal James Gibbons, the 19th-century spiritual mentor to thousands of immigrant Catholics would have been proud.

We are no longer the huddled masses or the sons and daughters of the huddled masses from Europe's teeming shores, said McDermott, We are no longer poor and weak We have arrived in America. We have prospered and are part of the American mainstream. We are helping to manage and lead this society.

We say plainly that the central importance and intrinsic value of the lay vocation in the world must

receive more attention, nurture, support and honor

Indeed, we say boldly that the institutional church must come to see itself largely as a support system for its frontline troops, lay Catholic Christians in the world.

We are the church, but if we expect others to believe us, we must begin to believe it ourselves. The challenge facing us is not survival but the challenge of power and responsibility -- how to live our Christian vocation in ways worthy of our new status and resources.²⁹

The point of including excerpts from John McDermott's talk is to show how a realization of one's particular point of entrance into history can energize and liberate.

It was exactly the lack of this understanding of itself during the period under consideration, 1933 to 1967, which paralyzed many lay Catholics. They found themselves caught in conflicting allegiances. The authoritarian, static, closed system of the Catholic Church was at variance with the open, tolerant, pluralistic attitude of so many Catholic intellectual leaders. The rigid stance of the Catholic Church is only too well known. But the more liberal approach of Catholic intellectuals may not be as fully realized. Here are two examples taken more or less at random of another tone, another type of public address than that generally associated with Catholics at that period. This is taken from the first issue of Commonweal magazine, November 12, 1924:

The question will naturally arise why the editors of The Commonweal believe there is room for another journal to discuss public affairs, to review the important publications of the day, and produce original fiction, essays and poetry. Do they hope to find place for The Commonweal through competition with the weekly reviews that already occupy the field? To such questions we reply:

We believe that The Commonweal will be so fundamentally different to our contemporaries that in place of competition in an over-crowded field we shall occupy a position that hitherto has been left vacant. For the difference between The Commonweal and other weekly literary reviews designed for general circulation is that The Commonweal will be definitely Christian in its presentation of orthodox religious principles and their application to the subjects that fall within its purview: principles which until now have not, we believe, been expressed in American journalism except through the medium of the official organs of the Catholic Church and of the various denominations. As a sure background The Commonweal will have the continuous, unbroken tradition and teachings of the historic Mother Church.

But it will be in no sense -- nor could it possibly assert itself to be -- an authoritative or authorized mouth piece of the Catholic Church. It will be the independent, personal product of its editors and contributors, who, for the most part, will be laymen. Its pages will be open to writers holding different forms of Christian faith. Where the opinion of its editors, contributors and readers differs on subjects yet unsettled by competent authority, it will be an open forum for the discussion of such differences in a spirit of good temper.³⁰

The Commonweal was true to its opening promise. It was a forum for ideas. Over the years it was amazing how many questions were "yet unsettled by competent authority." This was quite a different attitude to authority than that fostered in most of the lay apostolic groups. But everyone read The Commonweal and it gave an unofficial education to a very wide group of readers.

Other intellectual leaders appeared, gadflies that stimulated thinking and challenged what most Catholics took to be "official" teaching. We Hold These Truths, by the Jesuit John Courtney Murray seemed to come from nowhere but was suddenly the center of every discussion. Here is Murray on public education, one of the really burning issues among

Catholics, so much so that Catholics in Philadelphia, for instance, were excommunicated if they went to non-Catholic schools or universities.

Again, changes have occurred in the religio-social structure of America that have profoundly altered the understanding which nineteenth-century America had of itself. From a socio-religious point of view, American society has assumed a new pluralist structure, notably different from the structure it exhibited a century ago when the public school system had its beginnings.

America's new self-understanding -- its understanding of the new structure of its religious pluralism -- has invalidated four concepts of the public school that have been entertained. I mean the concept of the public school as (a) vaguely Protestant or (b) purely secular in its atmosphere. I also mean the concept of the public school as the vehicle (a) for the inculcation of "democracy" as a quasi-religious ideology, or (b) for the transmission of spiritual and moral values in some non-sectarian sense. None of these four concepts fit with the present facts of American life. American society is neither vaguely protestant nor purely secular. The religion of America is not "democracy," nor is it some generalized faith in "values." Religion in America has a form, a precisely defined form, a pluralistically structured form. That is the fact.³¹

As I said, these two writings were taken at random. But it is obvious that they both belong to the same mindset. To the Catholic of our period the question forces itself upon the mind, "Where did this attitude come from?" Offered as an answer which was initially discovered by reading Dolan's The American Experience is the Catholic Enlightenment.

The Catholic Enlightenment ... surfaced in the United States principally through the influence of the writings of a handful of English Catholic thinkers who were seeking to reconcile Catholicism with the new questions raised by the Age of Reason. John Carroll certainly shared this Enlightenment mentality, and numerous other Catholics were of a similar frame of mind.³²

Carroll, himself, and the other adherents to the Catholic Enlightenment busied themselves with applying the principles of Enlightenment thinking to their own situation in the newly formed democracy of the United States. An important point of which they were especially mindful was that the United States is the only country in the West not to have had a Catholic beginning. In America there was something new. A tabula rasa upon which this experiment of democracy could be tried out. This American experiment included separation of Church and State which Dolan says "was the most important issue that found support among American Catholics." He goes on to quote from the John Carroll papers:

If we have the wisdom and temper to preserve (civil and religious liberty), America may come to exhibit a proof to the world, that general and equal toleration, by giving a free circulation to fair argument, is the most effectual method to bring all denominations of Christians to an unity of faith.³³

This separation of Church and State was contrary to Catholic teaching and practice. The unity and universality which was the achievement of the medieval period rested upon the unity of Church and State. There was no religious toleration. Jews, although outcasts in the society, were not killed because of their unique position with respect to the Second Coming of Christ, as derived from the scriptures and taught in Catholic theology. But we know that any deviant teaching was considered heretical and punished by the Inquisition. The American experience with regard to

religious toleration which emanated from this separation of Church and State was observed with interest by European travellers. As Alexis de Tocqueville noted, the American experience had not diminished the fervor of Catholics, either lay or cleric. In his chapter, "How Religion in the United States Avails Itself of Democratic Tendencies," which is Chapter 10 of his Democracy in America, he writes:

Although the Christians of America are divided into a multitude of sects, they all look upon their religion in the same light. This applies to Roman Catholicism as well as to other forms of belief. There are no Romish priests who show less taste for the minute individual observances, for extraordinary or peculiar means of salvation, or who cling more to the spirit, and less to the letter of the law, than the Roman Catholic priests of the United States. Nowhere is that doctrine of the Church which prohibits the worship reserved to God alone from being offered to the saints, more clearly inculcated or more generally followed. Yet the Roman Catholics of America are very submissive and very sincere.³⁴

When de Tocqueville mentions that there are "no Romish priests who show less taste for the minute individual observances, for extraordinary or peculiar means of salvation, or who cling more to the spirit, and less to the letter of the law," we are reminded of other aspects of Enlightenment teaching as it affected the Catholic community coming under the influence of John Carroll, the first American bishop and his followers who were committed to Enlightenment rationality. A premium was placed on rationality, on the rights of the individual, on freedom of conscience and toleration. There was a search for a simpler religious practice and for a rational presentation of doctrines. Carroll introduced the

vernacular into the Mass and the prayers of the sacraments. There was no worship of the saints which often accompanied the devotions to the saints carried out in festivities in European countries. There was great devotion to Jesus Christ crucified as providing the motif of Christian faith and life. It was a religion which placed emphasis on personal morality and responsibility. Besides the cultivation of an interior life the Catholic Church at this early Enlightenment period gave a greater role to the laity as Church trustees, that is, owners and managers of Church property who had a say in the clerical appointments in their parishes. This included conferring with the parish priest, as well as remonstrating with him should cause arise. Bishop England was one of the firmest advocates and experimenters in this democratic ideal of Catholic Church life.

When the Irish-born England became bishop of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1820, he promoted the lay-trustee concept and made it an integral part of local church government. Viewing such a republican form of government as a harmonious blend of American and Roman Catholic traditions, England sought to achieve a situation in which he said, "The laity are empowered to cooperate but not to dominate."³⁵

This movement which we find in the United States was widespread. The English development, which influenced the American scene, has been analysed by Chinnici in The English Catholic Enlightenment.³⁶ The sub-title of Chinnici's book, John Lingard and the Cisalpine Movement, reminds us that the other aspect of the Catholic Enlightenment was its resistance to the centralizing of Church authority in Rome. Cisalpine,

meaning this side of the Alps, is in contradistinction to ultramontane, or other side of the mountain indicating Rome. In the following passage from Dolan's book we see that John Carroll agreed with his English friends in this "cisalpine" point of view:

When Carroll heard that the Vatican, independent of the American clergy, was in the process of appointing a superior for the American church, he was more than a little upset. "This you may be assured of," he wrote to his English colleague, Charles Plowden, "that no authority derived from the Propaganda will ever be admitted here; that the Catholic Clergy and Laity here know that the only connexion they ought to have with Rome is to acknowledge the pope as the Spiritual head of the Church; that no Congregations existing in his states shall be allowed to exercise any share of his spiritual authority here; that no Bishop Vicar Apostolical shall be admitted; and if we are to have a Bishop, he shall not be in partibus (a refined political Roman contrivance), but an ordinary national Bishop, in whose appointment Rome shall have no share."³⁷

Although the Catholic Church in America was not able to maintain this attitude of independence, it never quite lost it either. As the nineteenth century progressed the Catholic Church was deluged by a massive immigration from Europe. For the most part, those who came to America were not "Enlightenment" Catholics, including the priests from France and Ireland who became Carroll's colleagues. The Irish were mainly destitute and uneducated, seeking any kind of manual labor in the New World to get them going. The Germans who had a higher level of education, more money and a more developed secular and religious culture created Old Country communities where German language and customs were preserved. But the Anglo-American elite did not totally disappear. This rather

aristocratic group within the Catholic Church remained small and had little influence on the Church in America. But outside the Catholic Church Enlightenment ideas penetrated the life and thinking of educated Americans. Often it was by Catholic converts from this group of educated Americans that the Catholic Church was reminded of this other indigenous American tradition.

From among this band of converts two stand out particularly; Orestes Brownson and Isaac Hecker tried to retrieve the American Catholic Church from its "foreignness" and open it up to the democratic ideals based on the equality of all human beings. They could sincerely echo John Carroll's views on the subject of religious toleration.

You have expressed on the Subject of Toleration those Sentiments which I have long wished to see come strongly recommended from eminent writers of our Religion; and which I am well persuaded, are the only sentiments, that can ever establish, by being generally adopted, a reasonable system of universal Forbearance, and Charity amongst Christians of every Denomination. Indeed their Operation may extend much farther; and as you have observed, such an unlimited Toleration giving an open Field to the Display of Truth and fair argument may greatly contribute to bringing mankind to an unity of Opinion on matters of Religious Concern.³⁸

Toleration was not to be mistaken for indifferentism. However, the Enlightenment anthropology which respected the individual conscience demanded that persuasion rather than coercion be seen as the Christian way of resolving difficulties and if no resolution was forthcoming, of providing a way of living together while agreeing to differ. For Enlightenment thinkers all who followed their conscience were

members of the Church. In this Carroll and the others predated Rahner's anonymous Christian. Personal commitment to living the truth might not bring the individual within the structure of the Roman Catholic Church but in the eyes of God, they agreed, that person was doubtless part of the community which Jesus Christ came on earth to establish. This kind of pluralistic theology allowed Catholic leaders to embark on a variety of projects with non-Catholic Christians, including Cardinal Gibbons' fateful participation in the Congress of Religions at the end of the century which is said to have been the immediate occasion of the condemnation of "Americanism." Intelligibility was another Enlightenment principle which Carroll tried to facilitate; he ruled that the Mass and sacraments should be in English. But he was overruled by Rome which argued that the universality of the Church demanded Latin. When the flood of immigrants began coming from non-English speaking countries this argument was supported by the French, German, Italian and Polish priests.

We may sum up the initial period of Catholic Enlightenment in America by saying that Carroll's vision of a new kind of Catholic Church was short-lived. First of all, the excesses of the French Revolution ended any form of experimentation with democracy in the Roman Catholic Church. Authority had to be reestablished and upheld as a unifying principle. This applied to reestablishing the ancien regime in politics as well as shoring up and strengthening the Papacy. Carroll's attempt to institute procedures to insure

that only native Americans would be made bishops, and then through a vote by diocesan priests and laity, petered out.

Here is how Dolan describes it:

The Vatican approved Carroll's choices for the new dioceses of Boston, Philadelphia, and Bardstown, Kentucky. Contrary to his wishes, however, Rome created the diocese of New York and appointed as bishop an Irish priest who had never set foot in the United States. Concanes died before he could ever get to New York, and his successor was another Irishman, also recommended by the Irish bishops and a total stranger to both Carroll and the United States.³⁹

When Carroll introduced democratic processes in making decisions, the rag-tag band of foreign priests whom he had around him voted against his innovative ideas. They preferred what they had been used to in the Old Country. By 1810 Rome ordered only Latin to be used at Mass and for the administration of the sacraments. One might guess that the enormous popularity of novenas in the Catholic Church right up to the middle of the twentieth century might be due to the fact that they were in the vernacular.

The wave of immigration from European Catholic countries brought with it the piety of the French baroque tradition which stressed sin and moral weakness. This was in contradistinction to the Enlightenment view of humanity which was positive and optimistic. The Enlightenment embraced human happiness as a positive value. The monastic asceticism which accompanied this French baroque school found little place in the spiritual outlook of Enlightenment thinkers. They were more interested in living out such simple

directives as "Love your neighbor as yourself." As Owen Chadwick remarks:

It used to be thought that Catholicism was always the enemy of Enlightenment. The progress of history has shown the strength of a Catholic Enlightenment They were practical men, often, who wanted better farming and prosperous industry; who believed that good ideas would have better chance with less censorship; they retained their prayers and their holy orders, but felt at liberty to be fierce against Popes or Curia or bishops.⁴⁰

The point of going into these Enlightenment ideas is not simply to rehearse the history of the Catholic Church in America. It is much more to register a sense of discovery. To my mind it is exactly those attributes of Enlightenment anthropology and theology which were missing during the period of the '30s and '40s when the movements we are considering came into being. They were never again presented as a full-blown program as far as I know. But various aspects of Enlightenment-type thinking came to the fore in the writings, speeches and programs of individuals from the early nineteenth century to the present. As that tradition gained a hearing in the mid-twentieth century, it had the effect of challenging accepted Catholic values such as obedience to authority, the crucified Jesus as the model for the Christian, the world as a source of temptation, ambition to be scorned, celibacy superior to active sexuality, the unchanging nature of truth in the Catholic Church, the superiority of prayer over active involvement. The list could be extended. This challenging of values produced a very great disruption in the lives of Catholics. Those who were most deeply committed to

the received values were most disoriented by the new insights. It turned lives upside down. But this could only happen because the Catholic community had lost touch with a part of its tradition. What present-day scholarship is revealing is that there has been a consistent tradition of dissent, questioning, protest and offering of alternate life-styles within the Catholic community. What Catholics are confronting today is not new in that sense but is the almost ever present challenging of an imposed, authoritarian, hierarchic conviction about the nature of the Catholic community. The challenge has had a consistency. It advocated a different kind of authority structure. Conciliarism was one suggestion. This sharing of responsibility for Church decision-making seemed to have received a death blow at the First Vatican Council because of its definition of papal infallibility. But on January 15, 1988 a review of Dennis P. McCann's new book The Challenge For American Catholicism was published in The Commonweal. Here is part of Richard P. McBrien's review:

Its central thesis is summarized in the last sentence of the final chapter: If the church expects this nation's economic institutions to democratize themselves so that all may share in 'basic justice', the church must lead the way by democratizing its own institutions.

The church, therefore, must truly become a "community of moral discourse" (James Gustafson), affirming the presence of the Holy Spirit in the experiences of ordinary believers (Isaac Hecker) as it consistently strives to create the 'kingdom on earth' (H. Richard Niebuhr).

According to McCann, the bishops' principal contribution to the church and to "a sense of critical patriotism among the citizenry is a self-correcting process of mutual learning and teaching, which promises not only to

strengthen our capacities for democratic consensus-making, but also to insure that whatever consensus we achieve will be informed by religious and ethical considerations." Consistently implemented, this process "could transform the Catholic church into a community of moral discourse."⁴¹

I want to take a cursory look at a number of outstanding figures in the Catholic Church between Bishop John Carroll and Dennis McCann that I believe belong to the same liberal tradition.

John LaFarge, himself an outstanding modern liberal from an old American family, writes in America magazine:

Nearly 100 years ago, Orestes A. Brownson (1803-1876), social reformer, political thinker, literary critic and lay theologian, complained that he was being regarded as a bad Catholic because of his strong stand for political liberty:

Just now, popular opinion among Catholics as among non-Catholics identifies Catholicity and despotism, and the controversialist who seeks to prove that the Catholic religion has no natural association with despotism but is favorable to liberty and the inherent right of man runs the risk of being denounced on all hands as a bad Catholic.⁴²

Unlike the other Anglo-Catholic converts of the period, such as James Roosevelt Bayley, Brownson was determined to take an active role as a layman in his new church. He felt as an "old American" that it was his right and duty to lecture the bishops on how the Catholic Church should develop in this new land. Brownson wanted the Catholic Church to be the vehicle which would carry forward into the world the values basic to the American experiment -- freedom, toleration, the rights of the individual. He "called for a new Catholic church to interpret a universal faith for the modern

world, as Rome had done for the Middle Ages."⁴³ Brownson spoke out against the foreign ways of the immigrant and told them to accept the language and customs of their new homeland. He pooh-poohed the activities of the anti-Catholic Know-Nothings and assured his new fellow-religionists that they would find an interested and sympathetic audience in their fellow Americans if they could learn to speak to them in terms they understood. Daniel Callahan sees Brownson's contribution to be specifically as a layman not only seen but heard in the Church. Since the period of the Trustees introduced by John Carroll and gradually phased out, the laity had only a passive role in the Church. Successful Catholics gained the favor of their bishops by the large sums they paid into the Church coffers, but they were not expected to have a voice in how the money was spent. In other matters as well they were not expected to voice an independent point of view but use their influence to support decisions of the Catholic hierarchy. Brownson urged by some members of the episcopate to give his views on Catholic education -- it was still an open question -- supported Catholic education where feasible.

While bowing most respectfully to the American hierarchy as the judges who must settle the question, he ended his discussion of the question by saying: "In my own view of the matter, I think the public schools, sectarian as they frequently are, (are) preferable to very poor (Catholic) schools under the charge of wholly incompetent teachers, dragging out a painful, lingering, half-dying existence."

....

These views on the subject raised an "immense outcry" against him from a number of Catholic journals of the day.⁴⁴

In his chapter "Emergence From the Ghetto," Daniel Callahan hails Orestes Brownson as "a prophetic figure as forceful and vigorous as anyone now living."⁴⁵ Callahan is talking about the emergence of the Catholic lay person in the years 1917 to 1960. But as he goes on to say the laity is emerging "again." Brownson died in 1876, but his son Henry carried on as an active layman.

The most notable instance of the new stirring of the laity was the Catholic Lay Congress held in Baltimore on November 11-12, 1889 ... the real initiator of the congress was Henry F. Brownson of Detroit, the son of Orestes A. Brownson.⁴⁶

The proposed Congress had trouble getting off the ground. Only Bishop Ireland supported the project in the beginning. Gradually, Cardinal Gibbons was won over but only on condition that the papers be submitted to a clerical committee for censorship beforehand. After fulfilling all the episcopal conditions the Congress took place. Fifteen hundred delegates met in Baltimore together with numerous bishops and priests. White delegates mixed with Indian and Black Catholics. The main idea stressed in the talk of each delegate was the approval of the First Amendment, the separation of Church and State. They also spent time discussing social questions and how Catholics could work for social justice.

In commenting on the influence of converts such as Isaac Hecker and Orestes Brownson, Callahan writes:

Despite the comparative weakness of the influence of the converts, their lasting significance should not be underestimated. They gave the Church, first, some

inkling of the kind of freedom and confidence that an American Catholic could have Secondly, they gave the American Catholic Church a foretaste of what a genuinely educated American Catholic would look like. Thirdly, ... they did much to raise intellectual standards, ... and to some Protestants at least, they presented a facet of Catholicism rarely seen among the immigrants.⁴⁷

Isaac Hecker was sixteen years younger than Brownson but he preceded Brownson into the Catholic Church. Brownson on his trips to New York from Boston stayed with the Heckers, a German American family. They were bakers by trade but went on to build up a successful business manufacturing breakfast cereal. Hecker's brothers became Catholics, too; they bankrolled the younger brother's religious exploits in founding the Paulists, the first American religious order.

Isaac Hecker was a man of rich and subtle sensibilities. But for my purpose I want to look mainly at the stand he took regarding papal infallibility. He went to Rome for the First Vatican Council with a band of clerics who opposed this extreme position regarding the position of the papacy within the Catholic Church. In Isaac Hecker and the First Vatican Council, we read:

On July 18, 1870, Pius IX formally proclaimed the doctrine of papal infallibility. Hecker accepted it in faith even though it had not completely resolved his theological difficulty. In his perception, the definition appeared to conflict with the democratic temper of the age.⁴⁸

"The democratic temper of the age." This phrase needs some consideration. The nineteenth century is witness to the Catholic Church in disarray as a result of the French Revolution and its loss of political power. Two alternatives

were open to the Church. One was to take a positive assessment of what had occurred in history and see how the Church could develop in the new situation. But in some sense that option is only a theoretic possibility. The reality was that the Church had a mental attitude which prevented that kind of flexibility. This mindset included a belief in an unchanging truth which manifested itself in an unchangeable social structure. This social structure so thoroughly worked out in theory by St. Thomas Aquinas and his followers envisioned a hierarchic structure of society as a given. At the top of the hierarchy was the Church, with a mediatory role between heaven and earth. Under the Church came the King and then a descending line of authority. Papal Infallibility declared the Pope to be the head of the Church, thus reaffirming this hierarchic view of society. But the temper of the times, as Hecker saw it, and as the Catholics in America had come to accept was toward another political theory and practice, namely, democracy.

Nineteenth-century Americanism had an ambivalent character. It did not simply refer to a belief in a pluralist democracy. The basic idea was that America had a mission to bring democracy to the world. It was a defense of liberal democracy. But this basic idea was linked with several other assumptions, namely: a naive view of progress. America came into being as a wealthy, influential power on the back of the industrial revolution. The frontier spirit that permeated the American mentality made them open to risk.

and experimentation. This gave the Americans a great belief in their democratic experiment. This belief in American democracy tended to legitimate an imperialistic attitude toward weaker countries, such as Cuba and the Philippines, which Americans saw themselves as liberating. Finally, this exaltation of America made the country intolerant of foreign ways. Immigrants had to leave their identity as incoming ethnics at Ellis Island; sometimes symbolically underlined by losing their names in the shuffle to make them understandable to the receiving officials.

However, despite all these drawbacks the American experiment attracted the curiosity of the rest of the West. In this new world the Catholic Church thrived. Separation of Church and State meant that the Church could not be blamed for the political blunders, for one thing. The Catholic Church received the same protection under the law given to other churches. Finally, this pluralistic society was not closed to the religious questions. Catholics were able to speak, publish, open schools and try to make converts. Conversion had to be based on persuasion of the truth of what was being claimed.

On the two occasions that Isaac Hecker went to Rome, first when he was seeking permission to begin the Paulists and then for the First Vatican Council, he spoke in favour of the situation of the Church in America. The Roman solution to the problems the Church was having in Europe, that is, increased centralisation of decision-making

reaching its zenith in the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, seemed the wrong road to take, and one which could not be justified theologically. His greatest difficulty circled around this conundrum: "How can the bishops define on infallibility unless they be of Divine right, judges of what is faith? And if so, how can the Pope be declared to be alone unerring?"⁴⁹ Referring to a letter Hecker wrote to his brother, Portier sums up Hecker's thinking:

The final redaction of this letter, dated January 27, begins with the observation that European peoples were demanding a larger share in government and that the example of American civilization shows this to be a practicable course. The much needed renewal of religion in Europe would require that the Church keep pace with this democratic trend. It would have to give up its dependence on the state and thereby foster initiative and personal sacrifice ...

This letter, which he instructed George not to show to anyone else, is extremely important because it reveals that a self-conscious expansion of Hecker's Americanism was taking place under the direct influence of the events of the council.⁵⁰

In 1894 a selection of the speeches of the American Archbishop John Ireland was published in French translation by Abbé F. Klein, with the title L'Eglise et le siècle. Ireland was an enthusiastic defender of American democracy, advocating a coming together of Catholicism and modern civilization. Three years later in a preface to a French translation of a biography of Isaac Hecker, written by the American Paulist Walter Elliott, Klein stated that Hecker urged the necessity of the practice of the natural virtues, declaring that the "active" virtues were at least as meritorious, since they embodied the inspiration of the Holy

Spirit, as a passive submission to authority. The preface had the character of a manifesto, and liberal Catholics and Christian democrats welcomed it enthusiastically. Others, however, feared that the authoritarian system, which they identified with true religion, was being eroded. Their views found expression in a pamphlet, Le Père Hecker est-il un saint? by Charles Maignen. Admirers of liberty were denounced. The natural virtues and the modern spirit were condemned as neo-Pelagianism.⁵¹

Cardinal Gibbons tried to head off any condemnation using the word "Americanism." But he was not in time and Archbishop Ireland sent him a cable saying the encyclical was already in the mails.

What were the main points in Testem benevolentiae? The Pope condemned certain ideas that were associated with Father Hecker but which he assured the American hierarchy he did not believe anyone in America actually held. First, that because the Holy Spirit communicated directly with the individual through his conscience no external guidance was needed. "In the present stage of world history the active virtues were to be chosen over the passive and especially those virtues related to religious life were better suited to a past age. There should be new methods used in making converts.

The "phantom heresy" held by no one. This was the verdict of Abbé Klein in his autobiography. But was that judgment true?

In a perceptive article published in the Harvard

Theological Review, David P. Killen maintains that only the present generation of historians is able to see that Americanism, as described in Testem benevolentiae, did in fact exist in the Catholic Church in America, and that John Lancaster Spalding, who "came closer to being both a theologian and a moulder of Catholic thought" than any of the other bishops of the late nineteenth century held those views. Killen shows how on the five main points in the letter from the Pope, Spalding continued to hold those condemned views. First, Spalding maintained that the Holy Spirit is active in the Church and deals directly with each Christian, enlightening and directing the individual through the convictions that grow in the conscience. Spalding did not hold that religious and contemplative life was superior to the life of the Christian actively engaged in the world trying to bring about a society of justice and love. As regards change, especially change in the approach to convert making, Killen writes, regarding Spalding's views:

The fundamental conception of Christianity is that of progress in the knowledge of God and His universe. The increasing intelligence of mankind is the gradual revelation of the Divine Mind. To deny this is to deny God and reason. All progress, indeed, is the growing manifestation of the Infinity Being, who lives and loves within the whole. He fulfills Himself in many ways, and the more we bring all our endowments into actuality, and more like unto Him do we grow.⁵²

No matter that a number of Church dignitaries denied the tenets of Americanism, I agree with Killen that these views were widely held and I think that they reflect a view of liberal democracy and pluralism which has remained part of the

American Catholic tradition. The tragedy of this condemnation together with the condemnation of Modernism which came ten years later is that it turned the Catholic Church in America in upon itself. As Dolan writes:

The condemnation of modernism, coupled with the condemnation of Americanism, brought an end to the American Catholic romance with modernity The spirit of independence articulated by Carroll, England, Hecker, Ireland, and others disappeared. Novelty and pluralism were cast aside in favor of order and discipline. Rome had become not just the spiritual center of American Catholicism, but the intellectual center as well.⁵³

One particularly regrettable event which older priests from the New York area still remember and which is recorded by Dolan deserves mention and will stand for the numerous spoiled initiatives that took place because of the papal condemnations. How many of us have seen The Fighting Sixty-Ninth, a World War I movie in which Pat O'Brien plays the heroic Father Duffy? Few knew that this same Fr. Duffy was a member of the distinguished faculty of St. Joseph's Seminary, a philosopher of note. He and Father John F. Brady were a team, who with the enlightened president of the Seminary, Father James F. Driscoll, published The New York Review. "The Review was clearly the finest American Catholic theological journal published up to that time."⁵⁴ The Seminary, led by Driscoll, a brilliant initiator, was a model of seminary training. The students besides enjoying their own eminent faculty were encouraged to take courses at Columbia and New York University. Speakers were brought in; scholars both Catholic and Protestant addressed the

students. With a single blow all this was brought to an end. Driscoll became a pastor in a New York parish, and Duffy became an army chaplain.

CHAPTER IV

FIVE MOVEMENTS OF THE LAY APOSTOLATE

In 1937 Monsignor Fulton Sheen wrote:

Catholic Action means that from this point on, the Church must be operative not only through the bishops and priests who govern it, but through the laity who are engaged in even the most trivial of the world's activities.⁵⁵

Catholic Action has a more exact definition than the lay apostolate. Pope Pius IX was the first pope to call on the laity to take their part in the apostolate of the Church. In the Letter to the Fourth Italian Congress, September 24, 1877, he appeals to the "zeal of all Catholics so that each of them, considering the cause of the Church to be his own, should unite himself to the others and give them a cordial support."⁵⁶ The following pontiffs joined in Pius IX's invitation to the laity: Leo XIII, Pius X and Pius XI. It was Pius XI who defined Catholic Action as "the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy (Encyclical, Laetus Sane Nuntius, 1929). In the practical working out of this definition the laity is tied to the hierarchy, generally through the instrumentality of a priest-chaplain and although the lay members of Catholic Action may come up with suggestions the authority is directly centered in the clergy. Catholic Action is a religious organization aimed at helping.

the priest in his mission, i.e., increasing attendance at Mass, improving relations between priest and people, encouraging Catholic education, bringing back lapsed Catholics to the sacraments. However, as lay men and women took a greater part in Catholic Action a more independent spirit arose and a broader vision of the role of the laity grew. The lay person saw his apostolate stemming not from a call issued by a series of popes but from baptism into the Body of Christ. In all the movements of the lay apostolate, including the five being dealt with here, we see a great emphasis on the theology of the Mystical Body as the model of the Church. It is the development of this organic model as opposed to the older hierarchic model which inspired the lay apostolate. Within the unity of a body all Christians were united in a radical equality, each having its own vocation or sphere of influence. In a Church separated into the clergy and laity, it was the laity that was pressing forward trying to find its own apostolate. The movements I am discussing in this dissertation come under this wider development of lay action within the Catholic Church.

What I shall attempt to show is that the inner contradictions and ambiguities, the monastic spirituality and the authoritarian nature of the leadership of these movements of the lay apostolate, for instance, account for their impotence and their eventual weakening or demise. However, that is not to say that during the thirty years when they attained prominence, at least among a certain elite, they were without

force and influence. They stimulated controversy and soul searching, and laid the groundwork for much of the Catholic intellectual growth, as well as the Catholic social activism which followed the Second Vatican Council.

The work of Catherine de Hueck Doherty, who founded the interracial center Friendship House in Harlem and who campaigned up and down the country calling for Catholic colleges and religious orders to be racially integrated, prepared a Catholic contribution to the Civil Rights Movement. When Martin Luther King, Jr. began his great work, a Catholic constituency was out there to respond to his challenge.

The Friendship House staff had been cursed, beaten up and spit upon. The Baroness Catherine de Hueck, known far and wide simply as the Baroness, had her clothes torn off her by Catholic audiences when she reminded them of their Christian duty to love their neighbor even if black. However, the challenge she presented evoked a response and gradually Catholics began looking for ways to end racial injustice; besides education there were Catholic groups advancing the cause of interracial housing and equal opportunities in the work place.

The same is true of the support Catholics provided for the poverty programs. Dorothy Day and the system of Catholic Worker houses that criss-crossed the nation had made a large segment of the Catholic population alert to the social injustices in rich America. These Catholic Worker houses were to be found in the poorest sections of the city; Dorothy

Day began on Mott Street in New York's Bowery. The Catholic Worker staff lived with the poor and like the poor, sharing their meals together, clothing themselves with hand-me-downs donated by sympathizers. But their aim was to educate worker and intellectual through lectures, forums and their newspaper, The Catholic Worker.

When government programs like Headstart were initiated, Catholics could be found everywhere who supported this effort. It has been said that President Kennedy read Michael Harrington's The Other America,⁵⁷ and it was this book which caused him to take action on behalf of the poor. Harrington got his first hand knowledge of the poor while working on The Catholic Worker.

Few readers of The Other America were aware how much the book and its author had been influenced by the radical Catholic Worker movement.

.....

Although the persistence of poverty in the affluent post-war era had been noticed by one or two economists, it was Harrington's passionate book, followed by Dwight Macdonald's compelling review of it in the New Yorker, that sparked first the widespread national discussion of the problem and then the Kennedy-Johnson administrations' "War on Poverty."⁵⁸

A similar claim could be made for each of these five movements. They prepared the ground for other developments.

The Grail was before its time in calling for the Catholic Church to give greater recognition to the place of women in the decision-making of the Church. As Sally Kennedy writes:

van Ginneken (the founder of the Grail) was very critical of the Legion of Mary. He considered this organisation ... only superficially led by women. In reality ... it

was under the complete control of priests and was merely a docile expression of old views of women; a useful collection of compliant, silent numbers for the Hierarchy to point to.⁵⁹

The line between lay and religious women seems blurred right now in the Catholic Church. Women in religious orders have weathered the storm following Vatican II better than any other group. But they have found themselves not by retreating into the cloister but by embracing a more worldly vocation in political and professional life, as well as calling for the ordination of women. The Grail was in the avant-garde challenging the hegemony of men in the Catholic Church. Now, having come through its own critical period, the Grail is able to join with all the other feminists, both secular and religious.

The Christian Family movement was the most lasting outcome of the Young Christian Workers. This movement of Catholic couples and families applied the Joelist method of see, judge and act to family life and were amazingly successful. Their movement spread throughout the United States and has become an international movement of some weight. Leaders of the CFM in the United States, Pat and Patty Crowley, were invited to attend the Vatican Council as special resource persons in recognition of their contribution to the lay apostolate.

Finally, The Third Hour, the small journal which grew out of meetings of Christians gathered together in New York by Helene Iswolsky did much to prepare the way for the

ecumenical advance precipitated by the attendance of non-Catholic Christians as observers at Vatican II. For religiously ghetto-bound Christians in New York it was literally a "mind-blowing" experience to meet Catholic priests like George Tavard at these Third Hour gatherings, priests who did not have a convert-making mentality but who had already attained a Christian unity of the spirit. But it was not priests who were taking the initiative in this movement, but lay people and especially one lay woman:

It happened that about a dozen Russians who had known each other in Paris met again in New York and determined to crystallize their fellowship and concern for Christian unity. They planned to meet once a month and issue a small publication. As they sought a name, they realized that it was the Holy Spirit who had inspired them and who alone could bring about true unity of mind and heart. It was the third hour that the Holy Spirit had descended on the Apostles

But a mere list of authors and titles can not convey their importance nor the intellectual excitement and joy of the fellowship maintained about the strong, wise, Russian personality of Helen Iswolsky.⁶⁰

But what were those inner contradictions which made it impossible for Catholics to provide viable goals for a mass movement against poverty or against interracial injustice as practiced by Catholic individuals and institutions. Why was the Grail unable to involve Catholic women in a movement which would sweep through our society as a force for good?

I think the answer is that they emitted mixed signals to the larger Catholic population and these signals reflected their own confused ideology. In the following pages an attempt will be made to point out the debilitating factors in these

movements of the laity.

The Catholic Worker

Dorothy Day was thirty-five when she started the Catholic Worker. Her partner in the venture, Peter Maurin was in his late fifties. They were a strange pair. She, a left-wing political journalist who had surprised her comrades by becoming a Roman Catholic after her baby was born. He a French peasant who had emigrated to Canada and had then spent years tramping around North America, taking any kind of job, always reading, writing and talking to anyone he could collar about his vision of society. That vision became the basis for the Catholic Worker Movement.

After Dorothy Day's conversion she felt cut off from all her previous social commitments. This reached painful proportions when she covered the march of the unemployed in Washington in the early thirties. Her religion which had brought so much meaning into her life on one level seemed to have destroyed her life's work on another. Where was the social concern within the Catholic community? During that March she prayed at the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, asking for some guidance in finding her way. When she returned to New York, Peter Maurin came to see her. At first she brushed aside this funny little man. But gradually his persistence paid off and she began to listen to his ideas.

Maurin believed that what was necessary was a return to personal responsibility, personal action among Christians. They must not turn over the works of mercy to impersonal,

bureaucratic institutions. This was particularly true in the care of the poor and homeless. This personalism also required that the Christian community not be divided into workers and intellectuals but that there be a sharing of work and ideas. Maurin wanted to see universities on the land where intellectuals would learn to do manual work and where workers would take part in discussions. This involved a-back-to-the-land movement. Destitute families, he maintained, would be much better off out of the city slums where they could support each other by living communally and could feed and clothe themselves through what they could grow. Maurin based his ideas on the social encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI and on the French thinker Emmanuel Mounier. He introduced Dorothy Day to a whole new world of writers and thinkers.

Day's immediate reaction was that they must start by putting out a paper which would have the double advantage of making known the social program of the Catholic Church to intellectuals and educate the worker to this vision. Maurin and Day disagreed about the paper, about its name, about its content. Finally, it was agreed that Day would be the editor. Maurin's name would not appear on the masthead but his writings in the form of Easy Essays would be regularly published. The Easy Essays were a wonderful vehicle for conveying Maurin's ideas. They were "easy" to read, and they contained clever and often humorous expositions of Maurin's central personalist themes.

Like so many great movements in history the beginning of the Catholic Worker Houses of Hospitality happened by chance. The unemployed men, living on the streets, began turning up at Dorothy's apartment to ask for food, clothing and shelter. First, it was just a matter of making a sandwich or letting someone stay the night, often sleeping on the floor. But soon the numbers made it imperative that some more permanent remedy be devised. The first permanent site was on Mott Street. It was a couple of railroad flats and a store front which served as the editorial office of the paper. In the back was the kitchen. Lines of men came daily to be fed. A clothing room was opened with the donations of friends from around the city.

The principles worked out by Day and her associates in the New York House of Hospitality became the model for similar ventures in other cities. The Catholic Worker spread rapidly to become a truly national movement in the thirties The first Houses outside New York appeared in Boston and St. Louis in 1934; in 1935 Houses opened in Chicago, Cleveland and Washington, D.C., and in 1936 more than a dozen were established. By 1941 there were thirty-two Houses of Hospitality in twenty-seven cities, with an additional dozen or so Catholic Worker "cells" that functioned in a lesser way.⁶¹

"The central problem in interpreting the Catholic Worker is the seeming paradox of its radical social outlook and its conservative Catholic religiosity."⁶² It is important to try to disentangle the various threads of personalities and ideas in coming to a true assessment of the Catholic Worker Movement. It was the first in the field of the kind of Catholic lay movement I am discussing in this thesis. The

other movements find their identity in how they were like and unlike the Catholic Worker.

As John Cogley said of the Catholic Worker:

/ The movement was neither planned nor organized. It grew up spontaneously among the readers of The Catholic Worker, a penny tabloid which was first distributed by its editors in 1933 May Day parade in New York.⁶³

How did the Catholic Worker look to the young Catholic in New York City? After its earlier beginning in Dorothy Day's apartment it soon took up quarters on Mott Street. Mott Street bordered on Little Italy, Chinatown, the Bowery and Greenwich Village. High School students from Cathedral College in New York City and Bishop McDonnell Memorial High School in Brooklyn would go over to the Catholic Worker on Saturday mornings to "help out." This was their C.A. activity, or Catholic Action, for the week. Other times they might go to St. Rose's Home for Terminal Cancer Cases which was more or less in the same neighborhood. The difference between going to St. Rose's and going to the Catholic Worker was that the Catholic Worker not only gave you a chance to do a good deed, it challenged your own way of life.

There were always lots of interesting people around the Catholic Worker as well as the "bums" which those irreverent teenagers called the men from the street. The work done by these Saturday volunteers was mainly cleaning. They washed the walls, sprayed for cockroaches and bed bugs. But the highlight of the experience was the lunch. The dining room was toward the back of the railway flat which served as the

central office of the paper as well as the clothing room where everything under the sun was kept. There were stacks of shoes and clothing but there might also be a baby carriage and an icebox. Donations from all over the city were brought here to be given to the needy. The lunch was shared by the Catholic Worker staff, the volunteers and the men from the street who had lined up outside the Catholic Worker office waiting for the doors to open. Talk was always radical and informative. It was a conscious process of indoctrination. There was no small talk but it was not boring. It covered all the events of the day; local, national and international issues were debated. Many heard the word "pacifism" for the first time at the Catholic Worker, and were mystified by C.G., Wobblies and many other seemingly esoteric references. Lunch generally ended with the rosary. Somehow incongruous and yet fitting. If possible the volunteer might stay to help address labels for the paper, or tie them into bunches. Generally, most went home with a lot to think about and report to their Catholic Action group.

People left home and went to live at the Catholic Worker. Many parents were quite afraid of this wondering where it would lead. Although Dorothy Day said one day rather pensively that she had never had a person from the poor join the Catholic Worker staff, those who did come to stay were often from working class Catholic families; the new volunteer might be the first of his family to go to high school or college. Those students who were going to Catholic high

schools and colleges had heard of the Pope's call for the Catholic laity to be really active in restoring the world to Christ. A great deal of generous idealism had been encouraged in these students. Until the work boom brought on by World War II the unemployed in New York had a high profile. Everyone heard how the Communists tried to help the workers but there was no sign that Catholics were doing anything, that is, except the Catholic Worker. Catholics were proud of what the Catholic Worker was doing. It was the living witness that was so winning. Few could or were able to judge its underlying philosophy.

The philosophy upon which the Catholic Worker Movement was based is summed up in this Easy Essay, a literary form which Peter Maurin the co-founder with Dorothy Day of the Catholic Worker, made famous. This particular Easy Essay was frequently reprinted in the paper as the movement's manifesto:

What the Catholic Worker Believes

The Catholic Worker believes
in the gentle personalism
of traditional Catholicism.

The Catholic Worker believes
in the personal obligation
of looking after
the needs of the brother.

The Catholic Worker believes
in the daily practice
of the Works of Mercy.

The Catholic Worker believes
in Houses of Hospitality
for the immediate relief
of those in need.

The Catholic Worker believes
in the establishment
of Farming Communes
where each one works
according to his ability
and gets
according to his need.

The Catholic Worker believes
in creating a new society
within the shell of the old
with the philosophy of the new,
which is not a new philosophy
but a very old philosophy
a philosophy so old
that it looks like new.

The "gentle personalism of traditional Catholicism"
refers to Peter Maurin's commitment to the French philosophy
of "personalism" most perfectly exemplified in the writings
of Emmanuel Mounier. This "personalism" as John Hellman
shows in his Introduction to his book on Mounier⁶⁴ defies any
precise definition. Perhaps we can extract enough comments
from various intellectuals to arrive at an inductive under-
standing of the tenets of personalism. For Henri Marrou, it
was "a sort of handy label or rallying-cry, which was never
technically elaborated." Jean-Marie Domenach says, "It is a
method for thinking and living." Esprit, the journal edited
and published by Mounier was criticized by Maritain as the
proponent of "the goose-stepping philosophy" of Dandieu,
Marc, and company. Esprit rejected elective democracy in
"favour of a vague but clearly anti-democratic program."

A third way, neither capitalism nor communism, was being
sought by Mounier and others in Britain and Europe that would
provide a unifying cultural matrix capable of salvaging

Western civilization. Writers like Christopher Dawson in England were identifying the West with Christianity and maintaining that without a return to Christianity the West as it had been known was finished. Maritain in True Humanism⁶⁵ talks about a New Christendom. The book, itself, is quite reflective and measured, advocating a pluralistic approach. But the fine points of his argument seem to have been lost in the enthusiasm for a New Christendom. How is this to be brought about?

Let us return to the method used by the Catholic Worker in implementing this "New Christendom." The "personalism" advanced by the Catholic Worker was translated into personal responsibility, especially for the poor. The Catholic Worker rejected social agencies, for instance, in favour of individual effort. Every home should have a guest room. But the guest should be the poor and needy. Every parish should have a house of hospitality where the poor could be clothed, fed and housed when necessary. Something similar had been done already in the 1880s and later by the ethnic parishes as well as by Protestant Churches to some degree. As a matter of fact this approach was not so different from the crusade of charity which was so strong in the Catholic Church during the nineteenth century. The remark of Dolan about the nineteenth century movement might be applied to the Catholic Worker:

The crusade of charity that swept through the church in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries was rooted in traditional Catholic social doctrine.

Conservative as regards social reform, its focus was individual, personal reform; in other words, it emphasized the corporal works of mercy But many Catholics came to the conclusion during the 1880s that the times demanded more than charity and mercy; justice was also necessary.⁶⁶

This found expression in the desire for better organization and an increasing professionalism among social workers.

The reason that I harken back to the crusade of charity is not only that it, too, emphasized personal responsibility and the works of mercy, as the Catholic Worker did, but because it seems to me that the Catholic Worker was out of touch with the headway made by Catholics in providing social services. This led some of its most talented members to leave the Catholic Worker for other worker-related projects. I am thinking here of John Cogley, John Cort, Ed Marciniak, and to some extent, Michael Harrington, although Harrington's case is complicated by a loss of belief in the Catholic Church and a more persuasive attraction found in socialism.

What the Catholic Worker accomplished by living within the circle of poverty was that they became knowledgeable advocates for the poor. This was something new. Settlement houses had been part of the American scene since Jane Addams' Hull House was opened in Chicago in the late nineteenth century. But settlement workers, while ministering to the poor, did not themselves share the misery of the poor. The Catholic Workers ate the food of the poor, wore the cast-off clothing donated by well-wishers, slept in the bug-infested beds. The advocacy for the poor found in the Catholic

Worker had a hardness and realism which caused Catholics to examine their conscience. Truly, many have said that the Catholic Worker became the conscience of the Catholic Church in America. This "standing with the poor" became the hallmark of the Catholic Worker, especially of Dorothy Day, herself. The picture of Dorothy Day as an elderly woman marching with the farm workers of Cesar Chavez and ultimately being arrested and sent to jail, a picture which gained international attention, is a testimony to the kind of witness given by the Catholic Worker.

However, this method was not capable of universal application. Poverty is a political question as much as an economic one. The Catholic Worker was simply apolitical. "Primacy of the spiritual" in the European context was authoritarian, anti-democratic and in some cases, led to fascist regimes such as Salazar's Portugal and Vichy France. With the Catholic Worker it was more anarchistic.

The Catholic Worker in its internal life was not democratic. All decisions were made by Dorothy Day. As editor of the paper, she had the final word on what was published. This is true from the first issue of the paper.

Mel Piehl writes:

All the real work -- the fund-raising, reporting, circulation -- would be hers. Maurin's role would be the more comfortable one of 'theorist' When he read the proofs for the first issue of the Catholic Worker ... he left the city. Not only did he want the paper to be called the Catholic Radical or the Catholic Agronomist rather than the proletarian sounding Catholic Worker Maurin returned shortly after May

Day, but the second issue of the Catholic Worker made it plain that he did not endorse everything in the paper.⁶⁷

Again, later in the book, Mel Piehl cites the break between the Chicago Catholic Worker and the New York Catholic Worker over the issue of pacificism. Day wrote that unless the other Catholic Worker houses could agree with her on pacificism they must distribute the New York Catholic Worker which by implication carried the true Catholic Worker position, or "they should disassociate themselves from the Catholic Worker movement and not use the name of a movement with which they are in such fundamental disagreement."⁶⁸ In the chapter "The Catholic Worker and Peace," Piehl states: "As with other of the movement's positions, Catholic Worker pacifism derived at bottom from Dorothy Day's simple personal commitment."⁶⁹

In other areas, too, it was Dorothy Day who made the decisions. In the sixties with all the sexual freedom abroad Dorothy Day forbade any cohabiting. In the same way she refused to allow homosexuals onto the staff.

Perhaps it was necessary for there to be some strong, even authoritarian figure to be at the center of this movement. For the other extreme of this movement was its total freedom and toleration. People were not made to work at either the House of Hospitality in the city, nor on the farms which the Catholic Worker owned at one time or another. Peter Maurin had the idea of the agronomic university. It was really part of the medieval vision which floated among

the ideas current at the Catholic Worker. Here, workers were to be made into scholars and vice versa. As was frequently noted by visitors and recorded in the Catholic Worker, itself, round table discussions held a high priority over manual labour at the farm. Yet the farms kept going; there was generally one or two who did the work. They, like the city houses, were open to all. The poor, the depressed and discouraged found rest there. It was all voluntary. It was a bit hard for those "joining" the Catholic Worker to adjust to these two extremes, Dorothy Day's unquestioned authority plus the absence of any agreed, unifying order.

As Dwight MacDonald noted, it is no more possible to talk about the Catholic Worker without discussing Dorothy Day, than it is possible to talk about the F.B.I. without referring to J. Edgar Hoover. Dorothy Day was in her mid-thirties when she became a Roman Catholic. Soon after she met Peter Maurin, a French immigrant who was a combination of self-educated intellectual and typical French peasant. Together they started the Catholic Worker. Maurin died in 1949, old and senile. The question is in what way was he a partner in this venture if Dorothy Day was the acknowledged head? This brings us back to a sketch of Dorothy Day's past.

Dorothy Day was born into one of those American families who are vaguely Protestant simply because it is almost un-American to be an atheist. Her father was a newspaper man and likewise her brothers, so journalism was in the family. Dorothy, growing up, was idealistic, open to the things of

the spirit, attracted by religion and radical movements. Having found her way to New York in her late teens, she worked on radical papers and led a rather Bohemian existence which included lovers, a failed marriage, an abortion and finally a life shared with a fellow radical who became the father of Tamar, her daughter. Her instruction for baptism into the Catholic Church was a solid preparation given most converts but certainly not geared to answer all the intellectual problems and spiritual longings of a Dorothy Day.

Peter Maurin did that. Unimpressed by the Catholic Church in the United States, Dorothy Day came to believe that the "real" Church was in Europe, a place of strong Catholic tradition as well as vibrant new ideas.

Day gave such pride of place to Peter Maurin mainly because he filled this vacuum in her life. He opened up a whole world of Catholic piety and ideas. Dorothy Day tried to make a synthesis between her own radical background and this Catholic Church which she discovered through Peter Maurin and through her own reading. Although not highly educated, she had a certain instinct for people and trends. This searching for integrity which filled the pages of the Catholic Worker made it a journal of very high standard. However, the intellectual search was sometimes blurred by the artwork and quotations which proclaimed its unquestionable Catholicity. I would venture to say that the majority of the readers turned to the pages of folksy anecdotes which filled the columns of Catholic Worker news rather than the

more demanding articles by Arthur Sheehan or Michael Harrington. As Dorothy Day grew older she became no less an activist in spirit but she was also searching for a spirituality which could support her vocation. She found this help in the retreats of Father John Hugo. The retreats were a source of much controversy within and without the Catholic Worker. Dorothy Day, herself, seemed to have gone through a deep spiritual experience because of her participation in these weeks of silence, meditation, prayer and fasting. They suited her ardent spirit and she felt that she had finally found what she was looking for in the Catholic Church. But to others Hugo was a dangerous man causing many crises of conscience among his retreatants who felt that the world was bad and that they must take up the Cross of Christ to redeem the world. As Piehl writes:

Even within the Catholic Worker movement, the retreat caused for a time 'a sort of division between those who had made the retreat and those who had not. It was as though they lived in two spiritual worlds'. While Ade Bethune and others spoke out against Hugo's attacks on 'the world' and his assertion that 'the best thing to do with the best things is to give them up' as contrary to a proper Catholic view of goodness and beauty of natural things, others continued to hold the retreat in high esteem.⁷⁰

Father Hugo was finally prevented from going on with his retreats by his ecclesiastical superiors but he continued for many years as a friend and confidante of Dorothy Day. When many of the Catholic Workers and the supporters of Catholic Worker houses rejected Dorothy Day's stand on pacificism, he upheld her and encouraged her.

I think this firm position on pacificism brought the Catholic Worker movement to an end. The Catholic Worker in New York continued, as it did independently in various parts of the country. But the New York Catholic Worker was more of a model and inspiration than the hub of a movement. That dynamism which the Catholic Worker had in the '30s disappeared. War and peace became the main issues rather than labour relations, strikes or even cult, culture and cultivation which had been a Catholic Worker chant. When the Berrigans and Thomas Merton along with other more moderate Catholics, such as Philip Scharper took up the anti-Vietnam fight, Dorothy Day was hailed as the stalwart who had first recognized the issue and who had carried the pacifist banner. However, this represented something very different from the original inspiration of the Catholic Worker and it was very much a personal tribute to Dorothy Day, herself.


Those who had been part of the Catholic Worker, especially in the '30s remained grateful for the experience. It had changed their lives. But when they took a hard look at what was necessary for the development of the Catholic Church in America they looked to another source. This was not always clearly understood by members of the various Catholic movements of the time. But with the research now underway it is clear that they were returning to the older Enlightenment-inspired beginnings. This was clearly stated by John Cogley when he became the editor of Commonweal during the '50s, a time when the journal attained its greatest eminence and

influence. But already in the '30s he and Ed Marciniak who were directing the Chicago House of Hospitality were taking their own line. While not rejecting personal responsibility, they saw that the way forward was for Catholics to participate in this democratic-pluralistic society which was the American genius. Workers in the United States were part of the new technological society that was emerging. To simply stay on the sidelines would be to turn over the direction of the society to others.

In 1952, another Catholic Worker "graduate" wrote in Commonweal:

And the Catholic Worker has taught us magnificent lessons about these same works of mercy, and about love and the importance of poverty, about the primacy of the spiritual and the importance of faith. These things we should remember as long as we have the power to remember; these things we should cling to and imitate. But we have no obligation to cling to the theoretical confusions of the movement, the sloppy thinking, the silly posturings, and the more-radical-than-thou.⁷¹

The above written by John Cort expresses the love and frustration of many who became involved with the Catholic Worker. John Cort and a number of other young Catholics interested in unionism, particularly the Congress of Industrial Workers, got together and formed the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. They held their first meetings at the Mott Street Catholic Worker. Upon graduation from Harvard, Cort had spent a year at the Worker, first at the farm which he considered to represent "an itch for martyrdom" then at Mott Street. Piehl writes of him:



The young Harvard graduate soon made himself thoroughly at home in the rough-and-tumble world of the longshore and garment industries, where unreconstructed employees, union toughs, Communists, gangsters, and labor priests waged battle for the allegiance of workers. At the same time Cort became a devoted student of the papal encyclicals, which he interpreted as a Catholic charter for the labor movement.⁷²

The paper, The Catholic Worker, is still being published and there is still the New York House of Hospitality. However, there is no longer a Catholic Worker movement. I said earlier that I see the stand on pacificism as marking the end of the Catholic Worker as a movement. It was not only that, this did not represent the conviction of all those manning Catholic Worker Houses but at that point Dorothy Day proclaimed herself the only authority in the Catholic Worker movement. This anti-democratic stance was basically inimical to the American tradition, even though that tradition was inarticulate at that moment in the history of Catholic intellectual life. The "personalism" which Dorothy Day was wholly consistent with this authoritarian approach. "Error has no rights!" Dorothy Day in so many ways a person of toleration and love, could not or would not participate in any debate about her convictions.

The International Grail Movement

The International Grail Movement had two centers in the New York area, one in Brooklyn and one in Manhattan. The center in Brooklyn was of greater importance and longer life. The New York Center called the Grail International Student Center was located in a large apartment at 370 Riverside Drive

and was in operation from about 1953 to 1963. Both of these centers were part of the development of the Grail in the United States which had a national training center and headquarters in Ohio at Grailville, Loveland, about twenty miles outside Cincinnati.

The Grail began in Holland in 1921. Its founder was a Dutch Jesuit by the name of Jacques van Ginneken. Having finished his Jesuit training, being in his early forties, he was ready to begin his life's work. During his novitiate he was inspired by the idea of the conversion of the world. Looking at Holland at the time he saw a country where Catholics who had suffered many disabilities since the Reformation were now free. They had regained their own hierarchy in the nineteenth century and were now able to take part in the political life of the country as well as expand the Catholic Church. In 1919 van Ginneken had assembled a group together in Utrecht to discuss the possibilities opened up to the Church by the new political situation. It was called "Action Committee for the Conversion of the Netherlands." Van Ginneken launched into a number of activities, some at the request of his superior and some his own initiative, but all seen in the light of the conversion of Holland to the Catholic Church, and then the conversion of the world. But one must not get the wrong idea about him as a person. He was not an "activist" in the ordinary sense of the term. He was an intellectual of very refined tastes. He was even rather melancholy by nature and developed a

famous "smile" on the psychological presupposition that the body can effect the spirit and that by smiling when he felt low he could raise his spirits.

Among the decisive actions which he undertook was a work of giving retreats to non-Catholics, especially non-Catholic women. These women, mainly Protestants, were mainly drawn from an educated, professional milieu. Van Ginneken was impressed by their independence and authority. The view of the Catholic Church concerning women was that they should either get married and have large families or join the convent. Catholic women were not encouraged to get a higher education or enter public life. A former Salvation Army member complained to van Ginneken that after becoming a Catholic she no longer had any way of "witnessing" publicly.

Van Ginneken's studies of philology brought him into contact with research being done on other cultures. He was particularly fascinated by the role of women in matrilinear cultures. It supported his conviction that the inferior position of women in the society and in the Church had nothing to do with nature but was a social convention based on fear of women and prejudice.

The first wave of feminism was sweeping over Europe. These liberated women were entering fields considered masculine preserves up to then. What van Ginneken noted was that many of these women began to conduct themselves in a masculine way. He saw the particular gifts that women possessed were in the area of a keen intuition, nurturing,

ability to suffer and endure; creative imagination. An Australian woman writing about the Grail has this to say about van Ginneken's approach to women:

His conclusion that modern society was patriarchal, and that the doctrine of 'having' was replacing the essential ethic of Christianity, which was 'giving', was also the basis of van Ginneken's assertion that women must redress the balance by playing a greater role. In this he emphasised what he saw as the complementary natures of men and women but, in the process, he showed an unusual openness to, and awareness of, recent writings on the subject, particularly in Jungian psychology. According to van Ginneken, a woman's consciousness was different from that of a man.

....

Modern education was much at fault, he argued, for presuming that equality in society would be achieved by fostering the principle of a common nature of women and men. Instead, he said, this was compounding the feminist movement's error of putting women into men's mould in a patriarchal society.⁷³

Pope Pius XI was calling for the laity to take a more active part in the Church. He called upon the laity to participate in the apostolate of the hierarchy. Perhaps we can say that this papal summons triggered in van Ginneken his final decision to begin a movement of lay women who would carve out a new place for themselves in the Church and who would be active in the conversion of the world.

This movement went through various phases. It had a false start in the creation of the Women of Bethany. This group were to concentrate on giving girls working in the factories a spiritual and apostolic formation. They themselves as part of the Women of Bethany should combine an active and contemplative life. He began this group in collaboration with a parish priest. Unfortunately, this

priest was more drawn to the contemplative and the group finally gave up their lay status.

The next group he founded were called the Women of Nazareth. It was this group which eventually became the Grail.

Between 1921 and 1929 three main functions were developed by the Women of Nazareth: the organisation of retreats for non-Catholics; working in a number of factories to make contact with young women workers and collect data on working conditions; and planning and preparing for the establishment of a university for women in the Dutch East Indies.⁷⁴

We have mentioned above the retreats for non-Catholics. In 1923 Father van Ginneken was given a position at the newly opened Catholic University at Nymegen, the pride of the entire Catholic Dutch population. He was to be the professor of Dutch Language and Literature, Comparative Indo-Germanic Philology and Sanskrit. "For him this meant farewell to his retreat work, to the trade catechumenate and to the guidance of his foundations, for the sake of academic work."⁷⁵ The retreat work was carried on by the Women of Nazareth with the help of other priests, especially Father J. van Rijckevorsel, another Jesuit. The trade catechumenate refers to the work among the workers, both boys and girls, which van Ginneken had inspired. The boys were under the guidance of the Crusaders of St. John, another foundation of van Ginneken. Rachel Donders writes about these two last foundations with respect to their work with young labourers:

When they (the young workers) came to the age of leaving primary school and started work in a factory or workshop, a new approach to their continued formation was needed f-

so Father van Ginneken thought. For this he founded two other lay societies. One was for men and was called the "Crusaders of St. John": they were to take care of boys of 14 years and upwards, helping them to learn a trade. The other was for women, "The Society of the Women of Nazareth," with the purpose of teaching a trade and the necessary domestic science to girls of that age. At the same time the Women of Nazareth were supposed to help with the retreats for non-Catholics by maintaining a retreat house.⁷⁶

The picture we get of this decade was the Women of Nazareth engaged in work with young working girls and at the same time offering retreats for non-Catholics. But nothing was kept separate. The young working girls would come to the retreat house to have their own formation and at the same time help with the chores that went into running such a place. The Women of Nazareth taught them by working side by side with them in a kind of rotation. One week one would be the hostess welcoming the retreatants, the next week she would be the cook or housemaid.

The most important plan the Women of Nazareth had during this time was their intention to set up a University for women in Indonesia. Much preparation had taken place.

Father van Ginneken cherished the concept of a 'higher institute of learning for the women of the Indonesian Archipelago'.

....

Four of his young women students at the University of Nymegen responded enthusiastically to this idea They came to De Voorde in Rijswijk in 1926 All of them were ready for a spiritual preparation which would lead to a great task in the worldwide apostolate.

However, for the time being they had to live and work in silence and prayer in a cold and leaky house and were involved in the trade catechumenate for Dutch working class girls. Pending preparations for their venture in Java, they took the initiative to start

working in a chocolate factory and a cigarette factory, in The Hague, with the aim of training small apostolic groups in the industrial world.⁷⁷

But what happened was beyond their control or their wildest dreams. The Bishop who had given permission for the Women of Nazareth to function in his diocese died. His successor was a sociologist who had written the first Catholic handbook on sociology in The Netherlands. In surveying his parish he decided to conduct a sociological study of the needs and resources of his newly acquired pastorate. At the end he called in the Women of Nazareth and forbid them to continue with their plans for the Indonesian University. He wanted them to put all their energies into work for young women.

He told them that, for pastoral and practical reasons, he had decided to ask them the following: to give up, their work for non-Catholics, to stop the trade catechumenate, the factory work, the assistance in the retreats for non-Catholics; instead he asked them to turn their full attention to the Catholic girls of his diocese; these girls, he thought, needed much more further education than was provided in their parish meetings; it was the care of this youth which he wanted to entrust to them.

This call of the Bishop made 1928 a red-letter year, a true watershed in the history of the Women of Nazareth. With great pain and anxiety they obeyed and began to wind up their original work.

.....

And so it happened. In answer to Bishop Aengenent's wish the decision was taken to organise the Catholic girls into a modern youth movement, to be called "The Grail." Its purpose would be: to win the world for Christ.⁷⁸

Before going on with the following stages of the Grail development I want to turn to the structure of the Grail and its spirituality.

From the very beginning the Women of Nazareth was envisioned as a celibate, lay organization of women who were participating in the mission of the Catholic Church seen as the conversion of the world. Women, lay, celibate. Where was the model to which they could look for a spiritual formation for such a life? The only available model was the convent. And so at the heart of this lay movement there developed an intense ascetic, monastic spirituality. The center of spiritual training was called The Motherhouse. Here the Women of Nazareth wore a religious type habit. They took vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Their 'flaming spirit' came from their unreserved obedience to Mother Margaret who was their first superior. They had to be ready to go anywhere, to do anything required of them at a moment's notice.⁷⁹

Even as the Grail changed and developed as I shall describe below, this form of spirituality remained. Without going into too much detail at this point I think that it will be seen that having this monastic spirituality created an internal tension which was difficult to identify at the time. In the 1960s there was a massive exodus out of the Grail on the part of the "nucleus" members, that is, those who were the heirs of the Women of Nazareth. This was a world-wide phenomenon but was most conspicuous in the Grail in the United States and Holland. This disruption forced the remaining members of the Grail to face this internal paradox of a movement of lay women who secretly or privately were bound by an

incompatible spirituality. Many creative and healing remedies were forthcoming and this band of women, some still from the original group, embarked on a new type of relationship and work.

While the Grail wherever it was established sought the permission of the local bishop to operate in his diocese, it never had priest chaplains. Perhaps it was because his first attempt at a foundation, the Women of Bethany, was diverted from its lay status by the parish priest who collaborated with him, or perhaps it was just a safety measure to protect the women from a patriarchal Church, or a way of demonstrating the undoubted wisdom and strength of their own leadership; whatever the reason, Father van Ginneken advised the Women of Nazareth against ever allowing anyone outside their group to direct their spiritual growth and formation. This was an aspect of the Grail which aggravated many priests and tried close friends.

Although Bishop Aenegent had asked a terrible sacrifice of the Women of Nazareth, he in his turn became their strongest support. Much to the consternation of other youth groups he made the Grail the "official" youth organisation of his diocese. This included taxing the parishes to provide a secure financial base for their development.

With this official sanction, the Grail quickly spread over much of Holland. By 1931, it had twenty-three centers, seventy "outposts" in rural areas, six hundred and forty leaders and eight thousand members.

.....

The youth movement attracted public attention especially with a series of mass plays. At Easter 1931, in Amsterdam's Olympic Stadium, thirty-two thousand people saw three thousand actors, girls drawn from all over Holland, in "The Royal Road of the Cross."⁸⁰

Through this mass play and a number of similar productions the Grail became widely known and talked about in Catholic circles. Visiting prelates and priests sought out the Grail leaders following attendance at these dramatic presentations. The Grail welcomed visitors at their centers and had specially prepared leaders who explained the Women of Nazareth as the spiritual center of this movement of young women. They explained their method of formation of young women in the Grail movement. For example, each presentation was preceded by long weeks and months not only of dramatic preparation -- learning lines and movements -- but long periods of spiritual preparation. In preparing for the "Royal Road of the Cross" the members adopted various ascetic practices of prayer and fasting, but more importantly, they vied with each other in generous acts of service and self-giving. All this spiritual energy found its climax in the dramatic presentation and it was this spirit of conviction which electrified the audiences.

It was through one of these dramatic presentations that Father James F. Coffey, the priest from Brooklyn, first met the Grail. James Coffey, the brilliant son of Irish immigrant working class parents was sent by the Diocese of Brooklyn to be educated in Europe. He went first as a seminarian to Rome where he was ordained in 1927. He then attended the

University of Louvain where he completed his doctorate in philosophy. It was not common for students to return to America in those days, so during the holidays Coffey stayed with his grandparents in Ireland. Finding a friend in an Australian fellow student, he was persuaded to go to Holland to see one of the Grail plays. The Australian was captivated by the play and made arrangements to visit the Grail centres in Holland with one of the Grail leaders, a young member of the movement named Joan Overboss. They travelled with Joan Overboss across the country visiting the centres and being indoctrinated into the Grail ideology. Both priests left Holland with the idea of trying to bring the Grail to their respective countries.

What in particular impressed Coffey? It was the participation in the liturgy. While obeying all the rules, the Grail managed to break through into really meaningful expressions of the message of the Gospel as found in the daily liturgy. For him the message had been "encrusted in a frozen form" but in the Grail liturgies it was as though the word had been liberated. It was at the Grail liturgies that he first started to give homilies, something that he has perfected over the years and is well known for among the seminarians he taught as well as his fellow priests. For him the Grail meant "laity, liturgy and leadership."⁸¹

Although Coffey hoped to be able to work with the Grail in the United States, especially in his home diocese of Brooklyn, he was in no position to facilitate that hope.

Returning to the United States in the 1930s, he immediately took up his duties at the Major Seminary of the Immaculate Conception at Huntington, Long Island, as the professor of philosophy.

The English and Dutch Grail received another American, one who provided them with the necessary contact with the American hierarchy: Bernard Sheil, Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese of Chicago. Sheil, on a tour which included an exploratory survey of European lay apostolate groups, assured the Grail of the interest of his Archbishop, George Cardinal Mundelein, and the Grail thereafter looked forward to an official invitation.⁸²

Elaborate plans were made for the beginning in America. A team of five was prepared. But as the war clouds gathered in Europe plans were cut short and two Grail nucleus members took the last boat-train out of Holland before the Nazis took over.

It was obvious that Lydwine (van Kersbergen) was the person to start the Grail there (the United States). She had all the experience of pioneering: in The Netherlands in 1928 with Mia van der Kallen, in England in 1933 with Yvonne Bosch van Drakestein, in Australia in 1936 with Judith Bouwman, and now it would be in the United States, with Joan Overboss as her companion.

....

On May 10, 1940, Hitler's troops crossed the border and engaged in five days battle with the Dutch army; Rotterdam, open city, was bombarded. Then the Queen and government went into exile, and the Netherlands with all its institutions were occupied by the German Nazis.

From then on all contact between the Women of Nazareth in The Netherlands and the foundations in other countries was broken.⁸³

When they arrived in New York, Lydwine van Kersbergen and Joan Overboss were thirty-six and thirty respectively.

Comparatively young, yet both had many years of experience behind them. Van Kersbergen was one of the students of van Ginneken who had responded to the Indonesian University idea. A tall, impressive person with a brilliant mind and extraordinary organizational powers, she had launched the Grail in Holland and had then gone on to begin the Grail in England and Australia before coming to the United States. Joan Overbóss, the leader who years before had shown James Coffey around the Grail centers in Holland, was equally impressive but almost the opposite of van Kersbergen in temperament and appearance. She had been the leader of the Grail in Germany and being informed by a friend of the Grail that they were on the list of the Gestapo, she outran them grabbing as much of the Grail belongings as possible. She was of medium height and gave the impression of tremendous physical strength joined to a fierce bravery and magnetism. They were quite a team.

Arriving in New York, they discovered that Cardinal Mundelein had died and Bishop Sheil advised them to wait before coming on to Chicago. Father James Coffey, waiting in the wings, stepped forward to be their friend and guide. He introduced them around Brooklyn, arranging meetings with priests and lay women. Before going to Chicago they already had their first American Grail member from Brooklyn.

The decision was made not to explain the inner structure of the Grail with its nucleus of Women of Nazareth surrounded by the members of the movement but simply to talk about the

Grail as a movement of Catholic women in the lay apostolate. Its special contribution was the role of women in the Catholic Church.) Its method was to give the members of the movement a deep spiritual formation through days, weekends and week courses. The ultimate training was to be given at Grailville, a 386-acre farm in Ohio where girls went for a year of formation called Metañoia.

This decision not to reveal the inner structure of the Grail had good and bad effects. The good effects were that they inspired a really deep and permanent commitment among the women they met whether they planned to stay with the Grail on the "staff" or get married. The bad effect was that there arose rumours about the Grail members being "secret nuns." This tainted the Grail with a suspicion of covering up something, people wondered if they could really trust them.

Finally, after spending a number of weeks in New York and Brooklyn, Lydwine and Joan went on to Chicago. It was a brilliant but hard beginning which culminated in their leaving Chicago and starting Grailville as a national training center.

Who went to Grailville? Girls from all over the United States who heard about the Grail through articles in Catholic papers, or were in the audience when one of the Grail members spoke in their home town. But most of the early students at the year course at Grailville came from Brooklyn. The Grail set up a maximum age of 25. But in fact most of the girls who came for a year were somewhere between 17 and 21, and were drawn from the two or three Catholic girls' high schools

in Brooklyn where there were Catholic Action "cells." During these early years Coffey remained a close friend of van Kersbergen and Overboss. He met with the high school and college students trying to follow the inspiration of the Grail. He encouraged girls to go to Grailville and often provided the needed funds. Besides this he gathered a large group of young priests who went to Grailville and to varying degrees committed themselves to helping in the apostolate of the Grail. As with Coffey, himself, contact with the Grail changed their idea about the Church, the laity, the liturgy and the role of women.

For several years prior to 1947, a tentative coalition of apostolic groups existed in Brooklyn, sympathies being divided between the YCS (Young Christian Students) and, because of the involvement of Father James Coffey, the Grail. The "pro-Grail" group soon established its own center, Monica House (it was located across the street from St. Augustine's Church), and a succession of young women from Brooklyn who had completed a year's training at Grailville took charge of it under the guidance of Coffey and several other young diocesan priests. In February 1947, however, Grailville seized the initiative and assigned the leadership of Monica House to one of its more experienced members, Mary Imelda Buckley. This initiative, the strong involvement of local priests, and the location for the first time of a Grail center in an urban setting gave rise to new questions.⁸⁴

In 1955 Monsignor James Coffey left the seminary where he had taught philosophy and detached himself from his association with Monica House, although maintaining very friendly relations. But between 1947 and 1955 the relationship between the Grail and the priests in Brooklyn went through a severe test.

First of all, if the Grail in Brooklyn was to become a

permanent center then it could not be under the direction of priests. This was a delicate issue. Coffey on his side seems to have made little or no effort to initiate a direct contact between Bishop Molloy and the Grail leaders. Here is a random example taken from the files of Monsignor Coffey's correspondence with the Bishop. It is dated April 28, 1955:

Dear Doctor Coffey:

Permit me to acknowledge receipt of your esteemed favor of April 17th, in which you submit a list of suggestions and recommendations with regard to the alterations in the properties of 308 and 310 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn.

....

You anticipate, moreover, that for the adaptation of these properties satisfactorily to the needs of the Grail program, there will be necessary other improvements in both 308 and 310 Clinton Avenue.⁸⁵

The significance of this letter is that after eight years of having resident Grail leaders in Brooklyn, it was Monsignor Coffey who was the go-between with the Bishop and the Grail. Obviously, having two sources of authority, the Grail and the priests, caused some confusion among those girls who came to programs at the Grail center.

In an internal Grail publication called Histories of the Grail three areas of concern are pinpointed as they effected the early stage of the Grail development:

1) What was Catholic and what was European in the ideas and practices the Grail advocated?

2) What constituted appropriate training for the laity: weekly meetings in the environment or time out of the environment to experience an integrated pattern of Christian life?

3) Questions of authority and leadership. The Grail idea that "women should lead women" met with two

obstacles: clericalism and sexism. The autonomy of Grail leaders in making policies and plans was the source of tensions with some priests.⁸⁶

To the first point I should like to add what was religious practice as found in convents and what was an authentic spirituality geared to the needs of a lay apostolate. On one level the European characteristics of the Grail were obvious. The dress at Grailville resembled that of peasants with wide skirts, cotton stockings, sturdy walking shoes, no make-up. In some ways it was quite attractive and was a precursor of the hippie dress of the sixties. But this became an issue at the Monica House. Should Grail members dress like everyone else? Should they wear make-up? This flows into the following point about "in" the environment or "out" of the environment. Father Fitzsimons, the priest-chaplain of the Young Christian Workers in England, launched quite an attack on the Grail for taking young girls outside their environment to train them. In his opinion those thus trained would have no influence on their environment when they returned. The Monica House and all the other Grail centers in the city tried to create something of the religious practice of Grailville. Those who actually lived at the center said the Divine Office, at least those portions which were compatible with carrying on with other responsibilities. Usually it was Lauds, Vespers and Compline. They went to daily Mass, generally together. They tried to pray for an hour each day. The breakfast was in silence with spiritual readings which were sometimes commented on by the "leader" or discussed by the group. The asceticism

of the group followed the liturgical year with fasting and hours of prayer during the night in Advent and Lent. These practices were sometimes more relaxed and sometimes more stringent depending on the make-up of the group. But this was the accepted pattern.

On the question of authority quite simply in the early days Lydwine van Kersbergen was the final authority in all matters. Very detailed reports of the life and activity of the center had to be submitted to her at regular intervals -- once a week was ordinary. All decisions had to be okayed by her. Everyone at the center wrote directly to van Kersbergen and this often included problems and criticisms. This kind of "reporting" caused a lot of internal suspicion and actually prevented the kind of friendship and support which one would have considered normal under such circumstances of communal living. Despite this great personal friendships did develop.

What was the outreach program at Monica House? I shall take one program and let it stand for the whole. In 1952 the theme of the program sent out in September -- the Grail year followed the academic year mainly because it was interested in attracting high school and college girls to its program, was Witness.⁸⁷ Grail members at that time were almost totally apolitical. I am mentioning this because in taking their theme from the writings of Whittaker Chambers they were not endorsing his anti-Communist position. It was the following quote which seemed a modern version of the Grail spirit: "A witness is a man whose life and faith are so completely one

that when the challenge comes to testify for his faith, he does so, disregarding all risks, accepting all consequences."

"The Catholic in the World" was the title of one of the lecture series offered. The idea was to let people in Brooklyn know about what was going on in the wider Church by actually bringing them face to face with modern, active Catholics. Mary Perkins Ryan came. She was an author dealing with bringing up an aware, spiritually active family. For the Grail there was always the extra advantage of bringing women who were pioneering in some form of lay activity; in this case it was the married woman who was also a writer of books on spirituality. Helene Iswołsky spoke at Monica House. I shall describe the movement for Christian unity which she advanced in another section. Drama has always been important in the Grail as shown by the huge prayer-dramas in Holland which I have already mentioned. But the Grail always saw drama not only from the point of view of the audience reaction but the effect great drama had on the players. One could not repeat such lines as were found in Claudel's Tidings Brought to Mary, "It is not to live but to die, not to hew the cross but to mount upon it and give all that you have, laughing", ~~without facing the implications~~ for your own life. So drama was used as a means of spiritual conversion for the players much more than for the audience. The Grail was in the forefront of developing a practice which was taken up by a number of other groups, that is, Mass preparation. Groups met in homes or parishes, or as in this case, at Monica

House, to read the Mass texts for the Sunday Mass and to try to make practical resolutions for carrying out the message of the scripture readings. It made the Mass an event where something "happened" and it opened up the reading of the scriptures for many Catholics. There was also a series of lectures on the specific apostolate of women. Father Coffey gave the opening lecture on the psychology of women, something he had learned from the Grail. Father Fogarty, another priest who played an increasingly important role in the Grail, taking over from Father Coffey in 1955, gave a talk on the apostolate of young women in the New York area. There was also included a general talk on what the lay apostolate was all about plus other related subjects. "The Spiritual Mission of Women" was a panel in which the idea of total dedication was put forward as a viable alternative to spiritual motherhood. What was happening was that the Grail was edging toward talking about creating in America a permanent, inner core which had been called in Europe, the Women of Nazareth.

Until October 9, 1951 there were no nucleus members, the name used in America for the inner core, in the United States. Most Grail members did not even know its existence in Europe. The Grail, cut off from Europe by the war, had experimented with something new, the role of women in the universal lay apostolate. However, now there was a decision made on the international level to bring those who thought of themselves as "totally dedicated" to the Grail into the nucleus. Here is Rachel Donders on this decision:

... Grailville was unique and brought a special contribution to the American scene. But how did it fit, structurally, into the picture of the organised world apostolate of women, as Father van Ginneken had designed?

Convinced that steps had to be taken to work this out, Lydwine van Kersbergen invited the new International Leader of the Women of Nazareth to come over. In September 1951, Rachel Donders crossed the Atlantic for a stay of 5 months at Grailville.

One difficulty arose: the language in which the concepts were expressed. The terminology in use, born in Europe, was borrowed from the canonical religious life as practised in the Catholic tradition. The terms "Women of Nazareth" and "Ladies of the Grail" (used in England and Australia) were certainly foreign to American ears, and the mentioning of a promise to live according to the evangelical counsels of poverty, chastity and obedience, as customary in the Society of the Women of Nazareth from the early days on, could certainly create confusion. It would disturb the appreciation of the lay character of Grailville's workers and of Grailville's method. A new terminology had to be created.⁸⁸

Finally, the word "nucleus" emerged. It was used by Father van Ginneken in one of his lectures: "The Women of Nazareth have to be the fiery nucleus of women who dedicate themselves totally to Jesus Christ and who create a movement for the conversion of the world."⁸⁹

As we know from modern linguistic analysis, it is not possible to change words without changing concepts. By introducing the "nucleus" the idea of the Grail changed and became a two-tiered movement. The Grail was a movement of total dedication to Christ and to the apostolate of the Church. How could one be more "totally" dedicated? The introduction of this notion was divisive. Did it in some way create a more secure future for "nucleus" members? It is my judgement that it cramped the healthy development that was taking place. The ambiguity of the new situation was one of the causes of

the exodus of nucleus members out of the Grail in the 1960s. Those who remained as nucleus members struggled to enter a new, productive phase of this movement. The Grail as it is conceived and lived today seems to be a much more healthy organization. But I should like to examine some of the self-assessment of the Grail which came out during the many meetings held in the late '50s and early '60s.

First of all the question of authority was of tremendous importance because there was, in fact, nothing uniquely lay about the authority structure in the Grail. As Alden Brown perceptively noted:

van Ginneken's original conception had no uniquely lay character (it simply incorporated the spiritual organization of a religious order without canonical complications) and to the Grail's assertion of its uniqueness in a non-dialogical situation. The problem of authority, finally unveiled in the 1960s, pre-occupied the movement thereafter.⁹⁰

There was a lopsidedness in the development of the thinking within the Grail; the Grail was very "international" but it knew virtually nothing about the history of the Catholic Church in America and had no positive appreciation of certain advances, for instance, the Enlightenment values of toleration and pluralism which were finding a modern spokesman in John Courtney Murray.

The Grail during the '50s had developed the Institute for Overseas Service, housed both at Grailville and in Brooklyn. Bishops in Third World countries were crying out for professional help in teaching, social work, nursing and medicine. This fitted in with the world-wide vision of the Grail. It

also gave an outlet to the young women who were attracted to the Grail but could see nothing in the Grail in the United States for them to do. This proved a serious problem. One could say that it was through these lay missionaries that the Grail in the United States saw that it could not be just a "religious" movement concerning itself with family life and liturgy but it must look at the social questions that were facing the nation. The Grail Center in New York which was concerned with foreign students coming from these mission countries often were among the first to see this inconsistency but without having a positive answer. It is significant though that the first leader of the Grail International Student Center was also the originator and head of the Brooklyn Institute for Overseas Service.

The life at Grailville had a certain idyllic, romantic character which added to the unreality of the Grail movement at this moment in its history. Humour about it all began to emerge in the 1978 General Assembly when all were invited to take part in a "serio-tragi-comic episodic drama" about the history of the Grail in the United States called "Cultural Roots."

During this gathering up of the past which began with a look at Jacques van Ginneken and his Women of Nazareth's plans for the conversion of the world, "once again, 2000 jars of food were canned at Childerly, once again we 'launched out into the deep' at newborn Grailville... performed the Satin Slipper right after the cows were milked ...⁹¹

In other words, the great vision of women taking part in a movement which would lead to the conversion of the world did

not deliver. Grailville was proud of being self-sufficient agriculturally and as a matter of fact of all the back-to-the-land experiments it was the only one that really succeeded. But there were not any women who were going to devote their lives to canning and farming as a part of this vision. Most of the "first wave" of Grail members came right out of high school and grew up in the Grail. As they left their own adolescence they felt angry and frustrated. They needed an education and a work that suited their developing interests, their by now wide experience and that contributed to their own feelings of self-worth. This did come but not without a struggle.

A true story. One of the Grail members just before she was going to be married reported that her future husband said to her, "You know X, there is a physical side to marriage." Even among those who were in the Grail movement as opposed to the nucleus, sexuality was just not discussed. Vocations were discussed from the point of view of "the role of the virgin in the community," or "spiritual motherhood," meaning the mother as the spiritual guide of her children. Again when most of the members were teenagers this idealistic approach was sufficient. It was supported by such rituals as the solemn engagement which the Grail unearthed from European cultures. But there was no straightforward acceptance of human sexuality or positive understanding of its place in every person's life, married or celibate. The Grail was not alone in this but like other groups in the Catholic Church it did not deal

with this issue until a crisis arose.

By 1967 the Grail was experiencing a flood-tide of reevaluation. Every aspect of the life of the Grail members, especially the nucleus came under the microscope. Here is Alden Brown's assessment of that period:

Some of the experiences of the late 1950s, at the city centers and in foreign countries, began to open the eyes of some to the social (if not yet the political and economic) complexities of the world, however, and the Grail became an early participant in the attempt, which was hardly in its beginning stages in the Church at large, to re-define the relationship of the Church to the world ... (By 1967, American nucleus members were convinced that 'the conversion of the world' was a term having "connotations of condescension and being totally without meaning to most people with whom we are involved in the world."92

Re-evaluation of the Grail's own life and its style of relating to the world went forward with an intense determination to allow for freedom and openness of all kinds within the movement ...

The process of revision upon revision, including tension upon tension, worked a profound effect on the movement, causing it to virtually disappear from public view in the late 1960s.93

The Grail went on to examine every tenet of Grail ideology: conversion of the world, role of women in the Church, secular commitment to economic, social and political movements in the society, the nucleus, role of non-nucleus members in the authority structure of the Grail, decision-making in the Grail.

The Grail has survived as a dedicated group of women who weathered that stormy period and have come up with some new answers.

Friendship House

The Baroness Catherine de Hueck was the founder of Friendship House. She, herself, defies description. To some, she was a saint; to others a joke. Friendship House staff members describe the years at Friendship House as "mad," "hilarious," "exhilarating," "unforgettable." Friendship House was full of paradoxes which in some way stem from the personality of the founder.

Catherine Kolyschkine, destined to be the Baroness de Hueck, was born on a Pullman car on a train headed for Nijni-Novgorod. She was born into an aristocratic family and travelled with her family during her childhood living in Turkey, Greece and finally, Egypt. While she had position she had little formal education. She was taught mainly by her governess until she went to the school run by the Roman Catholic nuns in Egypt. Her main accomplishments were languages and household arts. At 15 she married her first cousin, the Baron Boris de Hueck. Soon the war began and the young couple were separated. Then came the Russian Revolution. The Baron took his young bride and tried to escape out of Russia. They were captured by the Red Army and kept prisoner in the de Hueck Dakka in Finland. Freed by a contingent of the White Army they finally arrived in England here they lived for a time, working at the White Russian Embassy. When the Communist government was recognized by England, the de Huecks lost their livelihood and had to think of some other place to go.

The White Russian front collapsed, and the embassy had to close when England recognized the communist regime. We felt we were on the outside looking in. Boris started looking for jobs away from England, in the "colonies," as they said in those days There was only one place we liked because it had snow and was in a latitude similar to Russia -- Canada.⁹⁴

The de Huecks went to Canada. They lived in Toronto where their son was born, George de Hueck. The marriage, however, does not seem to have been strong enough to withstand the enormous disruption and came to an end. Since Catherine was a Roman Catholic but was married in an orthodox ceremony, it is possible that this provided grounds for an annulment. Catherine became well known in Catholic circles in Toronto and she discovered in herself a great gift for public speaking. Gradually, she felt called to begin a work among the poor of Toronto. Although the work prospered and she attracted many young people to become her helpers, murmuring began against her, accusing her of being a communist. Father Eugene Cullinane, a priest and a life-long friend, wrote about this episode in Restoration's memorial tribute to de Hueck on her death: "During 1933-1936, I witnessed Catherine's crucifixion in Toronto, spearheaded, to my anguish and great sorrow, by priests and nuns."⁹⁵

De Hueck tells her own story of that period in her autobiography:

During the Depression I picketed Senator O'Connor, the owner of the chain of Laura Secord Candy Stores, for not paying proper wages to his factory girls. The Cardinal called me in and wiped the floor with me. I simply told him about the injustices going on and then quoted Quadragesimo Anno to him. "How would you feel," I concluded, "if you were me?"

I got along with the priests I've mentioned, but I must say the majority constantly threatened me, and I was afraid whenever a priest walked into Friendship House (Toronto). They would accuse me of being an unnatural mother. They would ask questions like, "What happened to your husband?" "Why did you get an annulment?" "Why do you spend so much time with the riff-raff?" When I lectured the priests often rose up and challenged me, with the result that the laity often got the impression that I was doing something suspect. That's how the idea that I was a communist began.⁹⁶

The upshot of this harassment was that de Hueck went to Archbishop McNeil to say that she would have to give up the work she had started with his encouragement. He urged her to soldier on as did his successor, Archbishop James McGuigan.. But the gossip went on: "A nun accused me of being a communist agent I was absolutely disgraced."⁹⁷ Her isolation became almost total. Even those who had volunteered to help her in the Toronto Friendship House drew away. Finally, she closed the center and went to New York. That was 1936. She went first to the Catholic Worker where Dorothy Day took her in and comforted her. Dorothy Day had visited the Toronto Friendship House and had pronounced it to be of the same spirit as the Catholic Worker. Sign magazine gave de Hueck a job. She was sent to Europe to write about Catholic Action there. First going to Spain, she witnessed the tragedy of civil war. Then to Paris where she met Emmanuel Mounier and Helene Iswolsky. When she returned to the United States she received a letter from the Jesuit, John LaFarge, suggesting on behalf of the Newman Clubs that she open a Friendship House in Harlem. This fact is included in the vignette written by Stanley Vishnewski, a lifetime

Catholic Worker, included in the memorial issue of Restoration.

The Baroness, I recall, was interested in knowing how Dorothy handled the many problems that arose

I also recall how Dorothy and the Baroness lit cigarette after cigarette until the kitchen curled with smoke. The small ashtray grew into a pyramid of dead cigarettes. I began to wonder how they would cope with the overflow, but the Baroness solved the problem by using the empty coffee saucer.

The Baroness, that afternoon told Dorothy of the opposition that was being raised against her in Toronto.

But another path was later opened when Father LaFarge, S.J., wrote on her behalf of the Newman Clubs to come to Harlem in New York and open up a Friendship House.

Frankly, I thought she was a brave but foolish woman to be doing what she was doing. I just couldn't see what she was going to accomplish. It didn't make sense to come up to Harlem and live in a small apartment.⁹⁸

The Baroness, or the "B," as she was always called, remained an enigma for many. She was volatile and imperious, she was brave and foolish, she was ignorant and inspired. Here are two reminiscences of her personality which help to build up a mental picture of the woman.

Wilfrid Sheed in what he called a memoir with parents has this to say about the Baroness:

We would frequently open our apartment to a group called "Friendship House," of which we came to form something called "The Outer Circle." Friendship House was an interracial religious group founded by a flamboyant émigrée, the Baroness Catherine de Hueck, who captivated me right off, in her stripped-down Harlem workshop, with exotic tales of how she had escaped from Russia under barbed wire while Communist bullets practically whistled through her hair.

Despite this, she was a radical of sorts herself, though a bit too volatile and eccentric to be pinned down closer than that. She was wonderful window dressing for her group ... but a pain in the neck to those within.

Bored to madness with dailiness, she was forever planning new branches and whole new approaches for her movement to take. Her lieutenants were probably only too happy to see her leave town (the circus probably felt the same way about Barnum) so that she could tell her Scheherazade escape stories to fresh faces, raise money, and incidentally keep out of their hair.⁹⁹

Many stories circulated in New York about the Baroness. For instance, the Baroness records in Fragments that at one point there was so little money at Friendship House that she decided to dance the tango at a Greenwich Village cocktail lounge with a destitute Russian refugee named Kossoff. "We made the circuit of the bars in Greenwich Village and always split the take fifty-fifty."¹⁰⁰ She was a big woman, both in body and voice, and despite her aristocratic background, had a roughness which seemed out of keeping with her vocation back in the prim '40s. But no one could deny her heroism. Harlem in those days was as feared as it is today. People were afraid to walk on the street within the territory which made up that district. To live there! With negroes! Friendship House challenged the latent racial prejudice in even the most dedicated Catholic heart. Audrey Monroe wrote about the impact of the Baroness on her:

It was a cold winter day in 1942 when I walked into the Friendship House library from the streets of Harlem and Flewie said, "There she is, my favorite volunteer! Catherine, I'd like you to meet Audrey Perry." The Baroness, wearing a worn fur coat, was about to leave. "Darling. I'm so glad to meet you." She embraced me in a warm bear hug ... the warmth of that first meeting with The B, as we affectionately called her, has remained with me through the years. I could count on one hand the number of times I had been so lovingly greeted by a white person.

....

I soon learned that The B. was a Class Act when it came to what my husband Joe describes as "sentimental slobberiness." Negroes, as blacks were then called, could understand the emotional aspects of her Russian culture. It fit so beautifully with our own black American culture, and with our history of the black American preacher.¹⁰¹

Father LaFarge had long been urging the Baroness to open a Friendship House in Harlem. She decided that she could not undertake such a venture without two things. First, she would have to have ecclesiastical approval and secondly, that someone would guarantee the rent. Both requirements were met.

The pastor of St. Mark's Church on 138th Street, Father Michael Mulvoy, C.S.Sp. welcomed her apostolate into his parish. But still she hesitated. Everyone she met thought the plan fool-hardy. She started a novena asking for a sign what she was to do. Before the novena was ended,

Father George Ford, Pastor of Corpus Christi Church and Moderator of the Newman Clubs of Greater New York, telephoned her that, if she would open a Friendship House in Harlem, the Newman Clubs would guarantee the rent of a room.¹⁰²

The Baroness arrived in Harlem by subway. She was carrying two suitcases, a portable typewriter and three dollars in her purse. She began trudging around the neighborhood looking for a room. Black caretakers viewed her with distrust and curiosity. When she came to the building where she ultimately rented a room, the janitor told her this was no place for a white woman. "I'm Russian," she told him. "That's okay then," he said, taking her to be a communist.

In April 1941, Eddie Doherty had an article in the Catholic Digest which had first been printed in The Torch.

It was entitled "Harlem's Holy House."¹⁰³ He describes the set-up of Friendship House. It consists of the Martin de Porres Lending Library, located at 34 West 135th Street.

(Martin de Porres was a Peruvian, a lay brother in the Dominican Order, who was on his way to sainthood having been made a "Blessed." He had a white father and a black mother, making him an ideal patron for an interracial center.)

Across from the library were four converted stores which with the library made up Friendship House. This larger establishment's rent was paid for by two priests from Brooklyn. One of the rooms was used for the CYO -- the Catholic Youth Organization, a national youth program having branches in most parishes at this time. There was also a clothing room and offices where the Friendship House News was edited and mailed. The Friendship House News never attained the professionalism of the Catholic Worker but remained more of a house organ reporting on events in and around Friendship House and listing coming events as well as begging for financial assistance.

Doherty speaks of the Friendship House as a "conastery" quite a mysterious phrase at first. But he defines it finally as a cross between a convent and a monastery.

Friendship House was made up of the staff, both men and women all in their early 20s, and volunteers. There were about 100 volunteers in 1941 and it rose to about 300 at the peak of the Friendship House apostolate. What was the life-style and commitment of the staff members? They took temporary vows

for one year of poverty, chastity and obedience. Yet, in their free time they went out on dates, according to Mary Fregeau, writing in the Catholic Digest of 1947.¹⁰⁴ The

diet at Friendship House seems to have been worthy of comment. Meals were eaten at the Madonna Flat, 41 West 135 Street where the girls lived. It was mainly soup, bread, tea and occasionally, some form of dessert. Mary Fregeau noted that living in Harlem was a protest against segregation. But Friendship House went further; they lived as a co-ed, racial integrated community. It was this integration which so moved Maisie Ward.

I heard a lot at Torresdale about "helping" the coloured. Mother Catherine, foundress of a religious order, and Mrs. Morrell, her sister ... had founded twelve schools in the South for coloured children, a University in New Orleans Oddest of all, Mother Catherine had started another order -- for coloured nuns: the word "integration" had never been uttered. With total devotion these women had worked for, but not with negroes -- lived for but not with them.

....

The witness of Friendship House was its most important act; white girls and coloured slept in the same rooms, a mixed staff lived and ate together. And they battered at the doors of every Catholic college, asking for opportunities for the boys and girls of Harlem.¹⁰⁵

Just as the Catholic Worker awakened Catholics to the misery of the poor, so the Friendship House movement brought before the eyes of Catholics, both laity and clergy, priests and nuns, the day in day out suffering of the blacks.

People were afraid of the "violence" of the black man. But, as Father Herbert McCabe once said, "when a rat bites a baby, that's violence." The blacks in Harlem endured unending violence, physical and psychological. In the American South

black Catholics sat in the back of the Church and received Communion after the whites. Religious orders did not accept black applicants. Catholic colleges did not accept black students. The Baroness took on Fordham University about its segregationist policy. Here is her account: "Once the Jesuits invited me to Fordham to lecture." She went on to say how although Fordham presented itself as a Catholic institution, it was discriminating against Negroes and would not admit black undergraduates.

It was a short, powerful speech, and the whole audience exploded ...

Somebody quietly got up and said, "I'm asking for a show of hands. Are we accepting Negroes or not?"

There were unanimous cries of "Yes! Yes!"

....

The students were happy, God was happy, but the "Jebbies" were not happy. It was after this chain of events that I was invited to dinner and a private meeting.

In a tragi-comical way she describes the dinner. Some hapless member of the lay faculty was delegated to proffer the invitation and to take her in a taxi to the "swanky" restaurant where she was to meet the delegation of Jesuits.

"Baroness," one of them began, "you realize, don't you that many of our students are from the South. If we accept a Negro there will be a great hullabaloo among the parents and the students."

I said, "Oh, excuse me, Father, I thought you were teaching Christianity here."

....

Another priest began. "Baroness, we have to move slowly, the time is not yet ripe."

I said, "Is that so, Father? I have never read anywhere in the gospel where Christ says to wait 20 years before

living the gospel He expects it to be now Have you ever read the gospel from that point of view, Father?"

For almost two hours they badgered me with objections, and I refuted them as best I could I was living in Harlem, and I was trying to live the gospel without compromise. Really, what could they say? 106

The Baroness' unusual gift as a public speaker was of tremendous importance in making the Friendship House apostolate known. But Friendship House was wider than one person, it developed a capable, energetic staff who developed their own initiatives. Underneath the flamboyant, vocal leadership of de Hueck a consensus democracy arose that took a hand in the decision-making. Eventually, this resulted in pushing the Baroness out of the Friendship House movement altogether. But this was still in the future.

The daily schedule of the Friendship House staff followed a routine. They started the day with Mass and a time of meditation. After breakfast they said Prime together and then went to their various jobs. As was stated above, they ate their meals together in the women's apartment, Madonna Flat. In the evening they said the rosary and ended the day with Compline. They received \$5 a month spending money, meaning subway fare and small incidentals. The subway was still five cents a ride. Their clothes came from the clothing room. These donated clothes had first to be looked over by the members of the Harlem community before the Friendship House staffers could choose something. During the year there were frequent days of recollection at convents in the New York

area when a priest would give a couple of talks and the participants would spend their time in silence and reflection.

There was also the summer meeting at Marathon, Wisconsin.

This brought Friendship House staff and volunteers together for a time of prayer and study, as well as fun and relaxation. This yearly meeting was of particular importance after the Chicago Friendship House started as a way of preserving unity.

Friendship House offered a whole program of events for the people of Harlem. Catherine noted that many blacks were becoming Catholics. This, in part, was because it was easier to get welfare if you were a Catholic. She began adult instruction classes for these new converts. The Martin de Porres Library provided a place where young and old could come and read in comparative peace. Overcrowding in Harlem is hard to describe or believe. Whole families lived in one room. It was estimated that in most families there was no reading material whatever, not even the daily paper. So a library and a reading room met an urgent need.

The mothers' group was to give comfort and support to black mothers, most often trying to carry on with no man in the house and no income other than welfare.

While still in the throes of decision about his vocation, Thomas Merton spent some time as a staff worker at Friendship House and to him we owe a vivid, first person account of the work there.

Merton arrived in Harlem on a hot August afternoon. He

walked from the subway to the address the Baroness had given him and found two store-front centers on 135th Street. One was marked "Friendship House," the other "Blessed Martin de Porres Center." He saw no one around. He walked into one of the stores and discovered it to be a library with teenagers in the midst of a discussion. He asked for the Baroness. She was out. Mary Jerdo finally came along and showed him around. That night there was a birthday party for the Baroness. The Cubs, an important segment of the Friendship House youth effort, put on a play as part of the celebration.

Merton describes it:

It was an experience that nearly tore me to pieces. All the parents of the children were there, sitting on benches, literally choked with emotion at the fact that their children should be acting in a play, but that was not the thing. For as I say, they knew that the play was nothing, and that all the plays of the white people are more or less nothing. They were not taken in by that. Underneath it was something deep and wonderful and positive and true and overwhelming ... their gratitude for even so small a sign of love as this, that someone should at least make some kind of a gesture that said, "This sort of thing cannot make anybody happy, but it is a way of saying, 'I wish you were happy'."107

Merton spent some of that summer as a staff member of Friendship House. He recounts his struggle to decide whether or not his vocation was here or with the Trappists at Gethsemane. In the end, as is well known, he left Friendship House. However, he appreciated the goodness and holiness of those he met that summer. "For my own part, I knew that it was good for me to be there."

Friendship House had a special place among all the other lay apostolic groups in New York. Harlem was constantly in

the papers. The violence of Harlem was the result of despair. Living conditions were beyond belief. Parents had to sit up all night to prevent rats from biting and mutilating babies. There were stories of a baby's nose or toe being bitten off by a rat when the watching mother fell asleep. Garbage was seldom collected which contributed to the filth and stench of the Harlem tenements. Despite this, Friendship House attracted men and women who came to make some contribution to this interracial apostolate. Belle Mullin writes about going to Friendship House:

I arrived at Friendship House in March 1942 having met Catherine at the Milwaukee Catholic Worker the previous October. She appealed for helpers so I decided to try it. My five years with the Milwaukee C.W. gave me a background to understand a bit of what she was doing. F.H. in 1942 was a spirited, lively, warm and challenging place. When Catherine wasn't out lecturing, raising funds, she would be constantly teaching the staff and volunteers and anyone who would listen about interracial justice, the Holy Spirit, holy poverty and the latest important book on spiritual life. She was the first charismatic person I ever met.¹⁰⁸

Friendship House had a life of about twelve to fifteen years. It is hard to give the date of when they finally locked the door and returned the key to the owner of the store-fronts. There were a number of episodes which contributed to its ending besides the extraordinary hardship of life in Harlem. One was that the Baroness' secretly married Eddie Doherty. When she announced their marriage to the Friendship House staff it came as a knock-out blow. The intimacy of their lives at Friendship House must have made it hard to explain how such a step could have been made

"secretly." The other cause of contention in the group was the Baroness' suggestion that the staff members form a secular institute. This would have changed the status of the Friendship House staff members from laity to religious within the Catholic Church structure. Belle Mullin writes about both of these events:

During our weekly seminars there was always the discussion of our work, our apostolate in general, our spiritual life, mutual charity, our common life and commitment to it. In other words, we should consider if we could make a life commitment to the lay apostolate. It was a bit of a shock to most of us then in July 1943 to realize that Catherine had been married in Chicago to Eddie Doherty in June 1943.

In Fragments, Catherine writes: "In 1946 the staff of Friendship House rejected me and my ideas."¹⁰⁹

In correspondence I asked Belle Mullin about this statement of the Baroness as recorded in her memoirs. Here is Belle Mullin's reply:

Last evening Muriel Zimmerman (who succeeded the Baroness as head of Friendship House) called so I asked her about Catherine's leadership being challenged in New York. She said yes, it was but only on one point. Catherine visited Rome and had an audience with the Holy Father and he wished her to establish a Lay Institute with her Staff taking vows. According to Muriel the staff voted down the idea. They had joined F.H. with the idea of remaining the laity -- or without vows binding them. That is the only real point of disagreement with the Staff.¹¹⁰

Friendship House in New York lasted until about 1955, according to Muriel Zimmerman. Belle Mullin ends her letter by saying, "The sense of 'family' with F.H. has continued these 40 years so that we still see each other whenever possible. Those were strong bonds we forged years ago."

9. The Third Hour

We live in the age of mass-movements, mass-publications and mass-broadcasting. However suspicious the intellectual élite may feel about vulgarization and popularization, this élite is not entirely free from the great temptation of the twentieth century: widely to circulate ideas.¹¹¹

Thus wrote Helene Iswolsky who worked to bring about Christian unity through her élite group of intellectuals from many different Christian backgrounds.

Helen Iswolsky goes on in the Commonweal article to compare this mass-movement approach with the approach of the ecumenical movement among Christians, of which her group, The Third Hour, is a part. "Perhaps," she wrote, "what is most needed is not a bigger and better ecumenical movement, but the quickening of the spirit of brotherhood in small groups and in separate individuals." She called these groups "laboratories of spiritual research."

Almost in every case, whether entirely successful or not, spiritual "work-shops" usually offer something definite: a precedent, an example, a turn towards a new trend of ecumenical thought which may apparently wither, only to blossom out a few years later in some unexpected and dynamic form.¹¹²

Iswolsky describes the development of the Third Hour in New York City. It was made up of many friends who had known each other in Paris before the war. Then they were part of the work for Christian unity which had roots in such regular meetings as the Sunday open house at the Maritain's at Meudon and at Nicholas Berdiaeff's which also followed the French fashion of Sunday hospitality. Julie Kernan recalls seeing Helen Iswolsky at Meudon:

Berdiaeff lived at Clamart, about two miles from Meudon, and his friendship with the Maritains led to an unusual attempt at ecumenism between members of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches.

Helen Iswolsky, the daughter of a former Russian minister of foreign affairs and ambassador to France at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, was a member of this group and also of the Thomist Circle at Meudon. She had remained in Paris with her family after the downfall of the tsars and as a young girl had followed courses at the Sorbonne, majoring in law and economics. Since then she had made a distinguished reputation as a writer and journalist, dealing especially with social, historical, and religious problems and was able to contribute a good deal to these discussions.¹¹³

In describing the Third Hour one thinks in concentric circles. At the center there was a group of Catholics, Orthodox and Protestants who made up the core group. At first these friends met privately and the membership in the group was restricted. Besides meeting to discuss ecumenical topics they had in mind the publication of an ecumenical journal.

Here is V. S. Yanovsky's description of those early days:

I do not remember when our first meeting took place. It must have been in the late twenties or the very early thirties. In the universe of Russian Paris, some peoples' paths never crossed, while others constantly ran into each other, ...

When I arrived in the United States in June 1942, I heard that she had found shelter at the Tolstoy Farm, where her mother, by now very sick, could be taken care of.

In 1944 we met again at the home of Mme. Manziarly in New York The meeting ... to which I had been invited, was to discuss a new magazine which was to be ecumenical in the fullest sense of the word The other two members of the initial group were the composer Arthur Lourie, a Catholic convert, and Kazem-Bek.

... There were altogether nine issues of the magazine. But the greater achievement lay perhaps in our meetings at which we argued matters in a rather Russian way, violently and up to the very end (if not of the problem

then at least, of the night). Somehow, quite inobtrusively and quickly, our meetings grew into large gatherings, so large that they had to be moved from Helen's quarters to more spacious establishments. Americans, friends from England, France, and Germany joined us. Red wine was served and became the trademark of the Third Hour discussions.¹¹⁴

The number of initial members is reported to have been anywhere from three to nine or ten. However, that number quickly grew. Mrs. Porter Chandler lent her apartment for the meeting which then began to include W. H. Auden, Anne Fremantle, the English writer, who recalls:

My husband, Christopher, joined me from London in the Spring of 1946, and we went together to an early meeting of the Third Hour ... the Manziarlys were there, and various others -- about 15 people In the following years, there were wonderful meetings. W. H. Auden came often; Basil Yanovsky of course, Little Brothers of Jesus ... some of the first from Taizé ... Father Voyaume ... The Rev. Michael Scott. Helene was always there.

Around these first two circles which were still rather restricted to "friends of friends" another group began to be invited to these meetings of the Third Hour. Perhaps the widening out of the group was due to Helen Iswolsky's widening contacts. From the very first she was on intimate terms with Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker. Jacques Maritain introduced the two women initially but they soon found they had much in common. She also got to know both the Grail center in Brooklyn and New York. The earlier contact with the Grail was in Brooklyn, perhaps through the invitation of Eva Fleischner and Sylvia Agar who were already interested in an "Open Door" program at that center. In a card to her daughter, Tamar, Dorothy Day records meeting

Helene Iswolsky, although it does not seem for the first time. "Last night a party at Sheed and Ward -- many people not knowing each other. Peter enjoyed it -- found many friends. Maritain was there, very cordial -- also Helene Iswolsky."115

On Saturday night, June 17, Dorothy noted that she and Tony Aratari had gone to Helene Iswolsky's apartment to meet the well known French Jesuit intellectual, Jean Danielou. She found him "very vigorous, alive His book Salvation of the Nations only one translated. Speaks English well but with some difficulty." Other distinguished clerics were there, Fr. Lynch, editor of Thought ... Fr. Oesterreicher. Father Oesterreicher "seemed hostile -- he said he needed to exorcise us for our bad thoughts. He is infuriated by our pacifism. Fr. D. (Danielou) said he recognized need of non-violent resistance, but also of violent."116

The apartment on 72nd Street became the venue for historic meetings over the years. Catholic clergy agreed to take part on the condition that there be no publicity which was readily agreed to. I think this may account for the fact that the Third Hour is so little known. Father George Tavard, contrary to Vatican directives forbidding theologians to attend the Evanston meeting of Faith and Order, covered the assembly as a newspaperman. His report of the proceedings formed the fascinating center of one meeting. For many of the younger people present it was the first time they had heard of a Catholic priest circumventing the orders of the hierarchy. It was very daring. Oscar Cullman on his first visit to New York addressed the group, as did Père Voillaume of the Little Sisters and Brothers of Charles de Foucauld. Abbé Pierre sat wrapped in his long cloak telling anecdotes about his work

among the destitute of Paris. Closer to home, Dorothy Day spoke about the Catholic Worker movement. Father John Oesterreicher, who was the founder of the Judeo-Christian Institute at Seton Hall, New Jersey, was often at the Third Hour meetings. This was a natural environment for him. He shared not only the ecumenical concerns of the Third Hour movement but he, too, had been part of the Parisian intelligentsia between the Wars. But besides all these distinguished scholars the meetings were thrown open to others. Students from Princeton and Fordham met students from New Rochelle and New York University. People from Friendship House, the Grail and the Catholic Worker came. The Grail International Student Center in New York made a point of directing its foreign students to the Third Hour meeting. Here they came into contact with a group whom they could admire for both their religious concerns and their culture. The wine that continued to be a hallmark of the meetings helped to break the ice. These meetings were international, interfaith, interclass and interage.

Besides the meetings at the Chandler's apartment, Helen Iswolsky organized retreats for some of the core participants. These were private and not even known about by the wider group who came to the open meetings. Marguerite Tjader remembers one of these retreats:

In New York, the Third Hour continued to bring together people of various ecumenical interests. Its scope was enlarged by writers such as Claire Huchet Bishop, whose deep concern was for a better understanding between Christians and Jews. Distinguished Protestant

Clergymen such as Fr. Norman Catir of the Anglican Church, and Rev. John McQuarrie, scholar of the Scottish Presbyterian Church, attended meetings and wrote for the ninth issue. A memorable week-end retreat of the Third Hour was attended by the above, as well as by Fr. George Tavard, Rev. John Meyendorff, Rev. Alexander Schmemmann, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Rabbi Ehrenkranz, Metropolitan John Vendland of the St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox Cathedral, and others Every year in January during the Octave for Church Unity, important interfaith meetings were held.¹¹⁷

The purpose in listing all the participants in the Third Hour activities, including the magazine, the meetings and the retreat is not simply name-dropping, but to show the wide cross section of religious persons that Helen Iswolsky and the others at the center of the movement managed to bring together. This, in itself, was a tremendous accomplishment. This was many years before there was any talk of a Vatican Council and relations between the Churches was not "irenic," by and large. This is especially true of Catholics who were forbidden even to say the Our Father with non-Catholics.

There was nothing that came anywhere near to proselytizing at these meetings. The discussions were carried on in the most irenic atmosphere of respect and support for each speaker. Alexander Obelensky, one of the founding members of the Third Hour writes about the ecumenical philosophy that permeated these meetings:

In fact, the ecumenical movement appeals and reverts to the past, to the single, undivided Christian faith and the unrestricted jurisdictional freedom which, in times of yore, the Holy Apostles preached throughout the world of men of good will. With this in mind, I wish to propose for your meditation Paul Ricoeur's profound observation that 'hope and reminiscence are one and the same'.

The ecumenical problem rests on the question of whether or not this original Christian faith has been replaced in some manner by Catholic, Orthodox, or Protestant jurisdictions. Indeed, each one of these confessions affirms itself to be the representative of true Christianity and cannot do otherwise. And this is of course right. However, in the economy of human assessments, three cannot replace one, they can only share in it. And for that reason, at least at present, the ecumenical spirit cannot be integrated de facto into the external organization of the Churches although it overflows and transcends their boundaries.¹¹⁸

○ This ecumenism of the spirit was not bound by the decisions of institutional Churches. They were searching for a spiritual unity which they believed they had already attained.

When Helen Iswolsky made a trip to Russia following the thawing of the cold war, she insisted on going to the grave of Vladimir Soloviev to pray. Having finished her silent meditation, she stooped down and filled an envelope she had ready with soil from Soloviev's grave. Her devotion to Soloviev had been life-long and she wished to be buried in the same soil. When she died the envelope was discovered among her things and the soil sprinkled on her grave.

I would like to review an article Helen Iswolsky wrote for the Third Hour. It gives the key to her own spirituality and motivation. Iswolsky points to three Russian writers who lived at the end of the nineteenth century who correctly saw the spiritual crisis which humanity, especially in Europe and the West in general is experiencing, that is, a loss of faith. Two of these writers are well known in the West, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. Vladimir Soloviev is the third. Soloviev became a Roman Catholic but he was forced to keep this a secret all

his life. On his death-bed a Catholic priest could not be found so he received the last rites of the Church from an Orthodox priest. This final event of his life is symbolic of his ecumenical vocation. Soloviev believed that in the faith of its people and in its liturgy the Orthodox Church was part of the main stem, as he called it, of Christianity. Although the Roman Catholic Church remained in direct continuity with the apostolic community, he believed that the Orthodox Church was already in spiritual unity with the Catholic Church. This was very important to him, for he saw the role of Russia as bringing unity to the world. But, he added, there can be no unity outside God. Only in the Trinity, which is the symbol of unity, can humanity be united. As Iswolsky wrote in this article, "Soloviev and the Eirenic Movement":

The union of the Churches was at the center not only of Soloviev's writings and meditations but at the center of his life. Godmanhood was for him the very incarnation of unity, this unity which had been torn by sin and could only be repaired through the resolute striving of all Christians. The "selfish principle of division" was felt by him as a burning wound, the wound of Amfortas (in Wagner's Parsifal) which only the mystery of the Holy Grail could finally cure.¹¹⁹

In the article Iswolsky goes on to applaud all the movements for Christian unity which seem to be developing. She mentions Father Yves Congar's Divided Christendom, the Eastern Churches Quarterly, put out by the English Benedictines, and the work of the Belgian Benedictines at Amay-Chevetogne who publish Irenikon. In Paris the Dominican center Istina under the leadership of Père Dumont pursues studies of history, theology and liturgy in a most irenic spirit. All of these

she calls "eirenic manifestations of extreme importance."

Iswolsky ends the article with a plea for the Russian Orthodox Church. She says there is a lack of understanding about the role of the Church in Communist Russia. Instead of standing firmly by their sister-Church, the Church in the West is showing a hostile attitude during this time of trial and persecution for the Church in Russia. Elsewhere, she calls on Western Christians to reflect on the fact that despite the fact that the Russian Orthodox are supporting the Communist regime, they could do little else, this same Orthodox Church was still preaching the gospel and keeping open that tie with the West which only Christianity can offer to the present generation.

One of the real sadnesses of Iswolsky's life was her experience at Fordham during the cold war. In her autobiography, No Time to Grieve, Iswolsky relates in modest terms how she got a job teaching Russian at Fordham because Burgi, a teacher of Russian at Fordham, was leaving to complete his doctorate and there would be need of someone to take his place. Richard Burgi turned out to be a most sympathetic person. "He told me he had read my book Soul of Russia and that my work had awakened his interest in that country." He also told her of his plans to open a Russian Institute at Fordham when he had completed his Ph.D. He already had the approval of the dean, Thurston Davies, but would have to get the approval of the President and find the necessary funds. As a matter of fact, all went according to plan and the

Institute was opened with great fanfare. Helen Iswolsky was to teach Russian culture, as well as courses on Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. This is how Iswolsky describes the purpose of the Russian Institute:

The general purpose of the Institute, open to undergraduate and graduate students, was to bring them to a better understanding of Russian culture and of the Russian people. We all felt strongly that it was not enough to oppose communism. We must seek through Russia's historic and spiritual heritage, the positive values which would lead someday to a renaissance within Russia herself and bring her greater freedom.¹²⁰

This positive approach to Russia was at variance with the prevailing anti-Communist mentality which was going to get worse. Catholics were not immune to this anti-Communism, and in some ways were in the forefront of a crusade against "commies." With the fall of China into Communist hands in 1949, the situation became acute. Returning missionaries regaled every kind of Catholic audience with horror stories until at last Communists became less than human. It was because of this prevailing attitude that so many Catholics welcomed the efforts of their coreligionist, Senator McCarthy in his efforts to rid government of Communists. A recent commentator has explained why so many Nazi war criminals got away because immediately after the war the attention of the Allies was immediately turned to fighting communism.

With this background in mind we come to the second part of the story of Helene Iswolsky and Fordham.

Near the end of my fourth year as lecturer at Fordham, I was looking forward to my promotion to the title of assistant professor. Instead, I was advised, by

official letter, that my assignment at the Institute was terminated. I was dumbfounded, since Father Jaskievich had never warned me of such a development. I appealed to him and to the president himself, for an explanation, but to no avail. Once more, I found myself without a job.

I do not wish to dwell on the reasons for my dismissal, except to say that the policy of the Russian Institute had changed. Nor was I persona grata with the Fordham authorities, because of my outspoken views concerning the simplistic plan to "convert Russia" as a solution to the complex rivalries of the great powers.¹²¹

The person she turned to in her hour of need was Dorothy Day. Dorothy Day in that great-hearted way of hers immediately invited Helen Iswolsky to come and join the Catholic Worker community. With gratitude and relief Iswolsky did this. She was not giving up her cheap apartment where she could still see her friends, nor was she giving up the Third Hour. The group continued to enjoy the hospitality of the Chandlers. But she would have a "family." Since she had come to America both her mother and brother had died. Her life had polarized itself between the Russian Institute and the comradeship there, and the Third Hour and her old friends from Paris days. But they were gradually dying. She welcomed Day's kind invitation.

The election of Pope John XXIII and his announcement of a Council for the renewal of the Church and the reunion of the Churches changed Helen Iswolsky's life still another time. The Bruce Publishing Company asked her to write a book on the Russian Orthodox Church to be ready by the spring of 1960. She also received an offer of a job at Seton Hill College,

Greensburg, Pennsylvania.

This was due to another kind recommendation, this time by a friend and sympathizer of The Third Hour, who had known of my experience at Fordham. He was Czolt Arcadi, an author and journalist, exiled from Hungary, at that time teaching at Seton Hill. He had been looking for an opportunity to give me a job, and this chance came as the spirit of change and renewal began to spread through the American Catholic institutions.¹²²

When she was 70 years old, Helen Iswolsky retired from Seton Hill College and went to live at the Catholic Worker farm at Tivoli, New York. This was not a great success.

Dorothy Day was only rarely there and Iswolsky did not like to return to her New York apartment because of the increase in violence in the neighborhood where it was located. So she decided to try to start an ecumenical study and prayer center near the Monastery of our Lady of the Resurrection where her two friends, Brother Victor-Antoine and Brother Patrick lived. Helen felt very close to the Benedictines. It was at a Benedictine Abbey in France that she first thought of becoming a Catholic, and for many years her spiritual home had been with the Benedictine nuns of Regina Laudis. She was a Benedictine oblate with the religious name of Sister Olga. She did find an apartment which she proceeded to furnish with her books and other things. She hoped here to reactivate the Third Hour which she missed a lot. This proved in general to be a happy move. Friends came to visit and the old intellectual discussions were taken up again. She did translation work to supplement her income. Helen was at home and happy. Then she had an accident. She fell and was taken to

the hospital where she died six weeks later.

What did the Third Hour accomplish? I think it is an example of how one person can make a difference. Most Catholics in New York had never heard of the ecumenical movement before they were introduced to it through the Third Hour. There was a core group producing the magazine and arranging the meetings, but in the end, it was Helen Iswolsky who kept the thing going. The Memorial Volume of The Third Hour covered a period of thirty years with excerpts from articles written by some of the best known Christian writers of those decades. It was a great spiritual movement which in kernel accomplished unity among Christians. It was never meant to be a mass-movement. Its elitism and exclusivity on certain levels prevented that. But it was in union with other movements which found their expression in the concord among Christians at Vatican II.

The Young Christian Workers

The first half of the twentieth century saw Europe swept by movements to the left and to the right, secular and religious. The energizing force for these movements was found deep in the European psyche. They were authoritarian, in that they were a response to a call for fascistic nationalism, a socialistic world revolution or a restoration of a deposed Church power over the thoughts, words and deeds of the faithful. To understand these Roman Catholic movements which subsequently became active in the United States,

I think it very important to realize their social roots in European history.

"To restore all things in Christ." Was that just a pious slogan used by Catholic Action or did it have layers of meaning? I have been persuaded that the latter is true. Restoring all things in Christ was more than a matter of rhetoric; the popes in calling for an active laity intended to use the movements of laymen and women as a kind of spiritual phalanx to reinstitute a spiritual monarchy of the Institutional Church with its hierarchic set-up. Here is Alexander Dru commenting on the decisive event of the French Revolution:

The unity of the period is unmistakable: where the Church is concerned, the Revolution marked the end of Christendom; it was the moment in a long process when the Church was faced with an unprecedented situation. Until 1789, the Church had been a power on a par with the State, both of which were englobed in a cultural whole, Christendom ...

The cultural effect of the Revolution was not at first admitted either by the Church or by the States, all of which desired, as far as possible, to restore the ancien régime and to use the forces of religion to contain the Revolution.¹²³

Complementing these remarks of Dru are those of Bill McSweeney:

The loss of his temporal power made the preservation and exaltation of the spiritual authority of the Pope seem all the more necessary. If the enemies of the Church had lost all fear of the papacy and could not be cowed by threats of physical force or damnation, then there was all the more reason for the Pope to protect what remained of the Church, to close its ranks and to control its membership more rigidly and intransigently than ever before. The Church and the world were implacable enemies; If the world would not submit at least its invasion of Catholic consciousness might be prevented by strengthening the Church's control over its membership ...

Where reference is made to the lay practices which mark the revival of Catholicism in the nineteenth century, these tend to be seen simply as manifestations of the new religious fervour, almost as if they occurred spontaneously to give expression to a fundamental doctrinal commitment in the face of anti-Catholic and irreligious pressures.

Catholic piety in the nineteenth century was a strategy carefully managed by Rome, not the spontaneous movement of the masses as people were encouraged to believe. It was a cause of Catholic compliance, not merely its effect and expression.¹²⁴

What does this Catholic world look like into which these movements of the laity were born? It was a world in which the privileges and powers of the Catholic Church in the secular order were drastically curtailed if not completely abolished. Under Pius IX a new method of obtaining power was by establishing what Aubert calls a spiritual monarchy. Loyalty to the Pope was absolute for he was infallible. Whatever the theological niceties of that definition the psychological effect was to establish the spiritual power of the pope with total effect. The pope in Rome was the center of Catholic life and allegiance. Protestants who feared the power of the pope perceived the growing authority and control which the pope exercised over the life of the national Church and over the individual conscience. The pope fought the rationalism of science by a return to a medieval type piety of the heart. Apparitions of our Lady abounded. Novenas assured the faithful that God was listening to the Church at prayer; the Church as a mother was providing for the material and spiritual needs of the faithful through prayer. The little way of St. Terésa opposed the rational critical approach of

the Catholic Enlightenment. This monarchical stance of the Papacy was totally inimical to the democratic tendency in the American Church, and led to the condemnation of Americanism in 1899:

The attitude and outlook which had come into being in a country where the Church had never had, and never could have, more than administrative relations with the State, and which appeared as a dangerous example of 'a free Church in a free State'."125

When the popes called on the laity to participate in the apostolate of the hierarchy it had a specific meaning according to the historic moment. The laity responded with tremendous generosity and devotion. But that response which drew them into the current of ideas and experiences also made them ultimately questioning and critical about the strategy and policy of the papacy.

The Association de la Jeunesse Belgique was the seed ground of the Jocist Movement, known in the United States as the Young Christian Workers. In 1909 Cardinal Mercier commissioned Father Abel Brohée to start an apostolate of the press. Brohée began his new project by visiting the centres of Catholic life in Germany and France. Returning to Belgium he tried to implement the ideas which had come to him from his visits; parish life must be enriched through the cooperation of the laity with the priest, not apologetics but basic religious and theological formation should be the basic approach in forming an active laity. He started a monthly called La Tribune Apologetique around which he organized Study Groups. These parish study groups grew until in 1914

there were seventy-one study groups and the paper had a circulation of two thousand. His next act was to begin a movement of students whom he deemed were not receiving any positive religious formation during their long holidays. In 1910 he formed a weekly for students called The Growing Corn.

Once again, this was but the first step to something greater, for in 1912 he assembled a small group of students and unfolded to them his plan. He wished to begin a vast crusade which would win back the youth of Belgium to Christ, and he asked them to be his first knights¹²⁶

The 1914 War cut off the work of these two movements but in 1919 the groups were reassembled and the work began again. By 1924 twenty-five young Catholics met at Charleroi, "... the Congress of Charleroi ... was mentioned with joy by the Holy Father when reviewing the events of the year in his Christmas allocution."¹²⁷

At the meeting at Charleroi the Jocists appeared for the first time as an organized group with some clout. The Jocists were called by a future pontiff, the perfect form of Catholic Action. They were a specialized group. Whereas the student and parish groups had included youth from varying social backgrounds, the Jocists were only workers. It was a movement of like to like. The worker was the apostle to the worker. The method was to cull from the work environment a group of "leaders" who would meet together on a weekly basis. Each week they would have a gospel enquiry which they would try to apply to the circumstances of their life. See, judge, act -- this was the Jocist slogan. Each leader would have a cell.

This cell was made up of fellow workers whom the leader could influence to follow out the action decided upon by the elite group of leaders. Thus, a network of committed workers would strive to bring about a change in a work-place. The lay workers directed their own movement, at least in theory. The role of the priest was seen as giving a spiritual formation to the leaders, mainly by helping them to prepare the gospel enquiry.

Joseph Cardijn was the founder of the Jeunesse Syndicaliste which at Cherleroi took the name the Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne. Cardijn came from a worker family in Schaerbeek, Brussels. They were good, practicing Christians. Joseph grew up in Hal where the family moved. During his adolescence he saw the changes brought about by the fast industrialization of that part of Flanders and the change that took place in the life of his family and friends. Instead of going into the factory to work as his school mates did when they graduated from the local school, Joseph Cardijn went off to the seminary to study to be a priest. Coming home on holidays, Cardijn found his old friends no longer wanted to see him. To them he was a traitor to his class. Despite the suffering these young workers were enduring in these sweatshops with long hours, little pay, no labour unions, no compensation for injury or death, despite the obvious injustices perpetrated by the capitalist employers, the Church continued to preach obedience, the value of suffering and "pie in the sky when you die." The Jocistes

which Cardijn began became aware of social injustice through their See, Judge, Act approach. While they were unable to change the course of industrial history they could achieve a sense of solidarity among the workers. By studying the encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI they were encouraged to organize. But basically the Jocists was a religious movement aimed at bringing the workers, especially of Europe, back into the Catholic Church. When in 1925 Cardijn sought the blessing of Pope Pius XI for the movement he had started the Pope said:

Here at last is someone who comes to speak to me about the masses! The greatest scandal of the nineteenth century was the loss of the workers to the Church. The Church needs the workers, and the workers need the Church.¹²⁸

Father Louis J. Putz was one of the great supporters of the Young Christian Worker movement in the United States. He did much to make the history and the aims of the movement known through his writings, lectures and meetings with priests. He was especially successful in gaining priest cooperation in setting up cells of Young Christian Workers in the Chicago area. One of his books, The Modern Apostle,¹²⁹ gives a good background to the movement.

In this book Putz makes the point that the mass of workers, especially in Latin countries, have been lost to the Church. Why was that? Because at the time of the industrial revolution, when the plight of the worker was most grim, it was not the Church that came to the defense of the thousands of men and women working under terrible conditions in

factories and mines, but the socialists. The Church was seen as being on the side of the aristocracy and the middle class owners of industry. This, as Putz points out, despite the encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI which espoused the cause of the worker and called for all Catholics to take part in the work for social justice.

Canon Cardijn is known as the founder of the Jocists, the Belgian equivalent of the Young Christian Workers.

Before Monsignor Cardijn came on the scene, many efforts were made to regain the working youth, but without much success. What Cardijn undertook was to form an apostolic nucleus which would organize working youths within their own environment according to the full Christian conception of the dignity and aspirations of the worker as a son of God. He was convinced that only the young worker knew the problems and situations in which he had to work and live, and, because he shared the worker's condition so completely, would be able to come to the rescue of others when it was needed.¹³⁰

How were these worker-apostles to be trained? First of all there was the weekly meeting. This was a combination of personal spiritual formation through the reading and discussing of the New Testament and a social inquiry. The social inquiry was geared to solving whatever difficulties had been observed in the factory or other place of work, during the intervening week. The group was valued not only because it was efficient but because it was a support for the individual. It was a way of countering the tremendous pressure the worker felt from radio, television, movies, newspapers to live contrary to the values of Christianity. Young Christian Workers were also encouraged to join neutral

organizations like labor unions and to try to be a leaven in the mass. The movement of the Young Christian Workers was never meant to be a parish-bound movement. These young workers were asking such questions as: does your attitude to work have anything to do with being a Christian? Is housing important? How about the importance of the paycheck? Should Christians be concerned about the amount of wages received and their regularity? In other words this movement was interested in the whole of working life.

But despite the kind of questioning Putz refers to, the Young Christian Worker movement was not so much a movement for social change as a religious movement aimed at the salvation of the individual's soul. He writes:

To teach the young worker how to make the transition from school to job, to help him to make the right choices early in life, to surround him with the best of friends, to give him an incentive to help his fellowman through the formative years of his life, to make life itself worth living -- these are the primary aims of the Young Christian Workers movement.¹³¹

The Jocist Movement was first organized in the United States in the South Bend-Chicago area. It was brought to New York by a young teacher who was giving a summer course at St. Mary's College, across the road from Notre Dame in 1938.¹³² Her name was Mary Jo Madden. When she got back to New York she contacted members of the Gaelic Society to see if they would be interested in starting a Y.C.W. cell. One of the contacts was Mary Buckley. Buckley gave me a first-hand account of how this group got together and what it was in her own background that made her open to such a challenge. Mary Buckley was

typical of the kind of girl who joined the Y.C.W.

Mary Buckley's parents were born in Ireland. They came to New York City where they lived in a poor neighborhood while their two children were small, then moved to Brooklyn where with the help of a maiden aunt they bought a house in an immigrant neighborhood made up mainly of Irish Catholics. The aunt, as in so many of these families, used her salary to pay for the college education of Mary and her brother who became a doctor.

Most Irish immigrants remained hedged in by the ghetto not only of their religion; they kept their Catholic faith central to their lives, but also their Irishness. Until he was an adult, Monsignor James Coffey whom I wrote about above, had never met in his home a non-Irish person. So when Mary Buckley went to Hunter College in New York it was her first contact with the secular world. Among her first friends were Jews who were acutely aware of what was happening in Europe. They made her understand the various fascist movements and also opened her eyes to the implications of the Russian revolution. It was through them that she went to a meeting where Trotsky spoke. This new milieu opened up the world for her and made her ask why she had never heard such ideas before. Why weren't Catholics interested in such things? This did not mean that she thought of leaving the Church but she felt that something serious was wrong with Catholic life. She began searching for something within the Catholic world of New York that would have the same meaning

as these secular groups she was coming into contact with at Hunter.

She met a Dominican who was the editor of the little magazine, The Torch. Through him she began going to the Trinitarians, a religious order devoted to the poor. There, she met a real holiness which expressed itself not only in a devout personal life of prayer but in heroic service to the old, the imprisoned, the poor and outcast of every description. But there was no social awareness such as she had met among her friends at Hunter, no desire to analyse the cause of this misery. She felt that this kind of religion had no relation to the wider world.

So when her friend from the Gaelic Society came back from Notre Dame with her ideas of starting this new Catholic movement Mary Buckley was ready. One of the first things that a Y.C.W. group needed to make it official was a chaplain. Mary Buckley introduced Mary Jo Madden to her friend, Father Wendell. Father Wendell was not interested in the beginning. He was by nature a very conservative, rather pious type person, as well as being extremely busy with The Torch. But, finally, he was persuaded and he became a Y.C.W. Chaplain, a post he kept until he died.

Most of the first members of the Young Christian Workers came from the Gaelic Society. All except Mary Touey, who later became the regional president of the Y.C.W., were college graduates. They met at the Newman Club at Hunter first of all and then at a Catholic Book Store run by Helen

Henderson on 50th Street and Madison Avenue.

Two things that influenced the direction the Y.C.W. in New York would take were the conversion to Catholicism of Carol Jackson who became a member of the Y.C.W. and later publisher and editor of Integrity magazine, and the appearance on the New York scene of the Grail.

William Miller, speaking of the new publications which emerged during these years, has this to say about Integrity:

But undoubtedly the most striking and brilliantly executed of the new publications that reflected the spirit and concern of lay Catholics who held a Worker-type social concern was Integrity, first appearing in October, 1946, and running thereafter for a decade. A monthly, it offered commentary on the times that was thoughtful, acidulous, and witty. Its creators were Carol Jackson, Dorothy Dohen, and Ed Willock. Miss Jackson and Miss Dohen were students, intellectuals, and Ed Willock, young, too, but with a growing family, was an artist-worker-intellectual ... he wrote and drew brilliant cartoons for Integrity, he painted billboards for a living, and then induced some Catholic laymen to buy a tract of land at Nyack, New York, where he began a community-living project, Marycrest.¹³³

Carol Jackson, as a matter of fact, had the idea of Integrity and she talked Ed Willock into joining forces with her in this venture. Dorothy Dohen took over Integrity when Carol Jackson left five years later. What is important about Carol and Integrity and Marycrest is that they were the kinds of spin-offs that came from the Young Christian Worker group in New York.

Carol was one of the first members of the Y.C.W. cell in New York. Other attempts were made to begin the Y.C.W. in the Bronx and in Brooklyn, but this is the only group of any

significance. Carol worked for an Australian by the name of Paul McGuire who was in the United States with his wife on a speaking tour stirring up interest in Catholic Action in general and the Y.C.W. in particular. Through him Carol was drawn to the Catholic Church. McGuire sent her to Frank Sheed for instruction but Sheed was too busy with his publishing business to take on anything like instructing Carol Jackson so he sent her to Father Wendell. That's how Carol also came in contact with the Y.C.W.

In 1942 two Grail leaders came to New York City to talk about the Grail movement. They met with the young women in the Y.C.W. who were quite fascinated with this movement aimed at working out the role of women in the Church. At a place called Childerly outside Chicago the Grail was giving a series of summer courses to which they invited the members of the Y.C.W. Among those who took part in the Grail courses were Carol Jackson, Mary Buckley, Irene Naughton. Mary Buckley had this to say about the course she attended:

It was called the Harvest Course. Every person of the Catholic intellectual world came: Frank O'Malley from Notre Dame, Hillenbrand, Hellreigal, Dorothy Day, Msgr. Litutti of the Catholic Rural Life Conference, Tamar Day, Father Ermin Vitry.

Out of this stimulating experience was planted the first seed of Integrity. It was also decisive in persuading Mary Buckley to join the Grail.

A very deep disagreement grew up between the Y.C.W. and the Grail over the training of lay apostles. It can be summarized by the phrase in the environment or out of the

environment. The Grail maintained that the best leaders should have a period of training outside the environment and to this end they set up a training center in Loveland, Ohio, called Grailville. The Y.C.W. felt that workers should not lose touch with their class and that it was imperative for them to stay in the environment. Here we come to the crux of the matter regarding the Y.C.W. in New York and elsewhere in the United States. In Europe and in Britain class was a more or less permanent social identity. Cardijn lost touch with his class by going to the seminary and becoming a priest. But in the United States, and especially among Catholic immigrants at this time, there was tremendous social mobility, generally upward. "There was a wave of feeling against professional people as members -- leading some to disguise the fact that they had master's degrees."¹³⁴ In trying to fit some preconceived idea of a Y.C.W. members should be like much energy was siphoned off from the real object of the movement. This rigidity also applied to age. With the emphasis on "young" there was set up a certain age when the individual should quit the Y.C.W. The Minutes referred to above list a number of reasons why the Y.C.W. did not last. Among them was "Age cut-off, i.e. whether one should leave at 25, 28 or 30, leading in some cases to 'official' ages."¹³⁵

While this kind of turmoil was going on, the Y.C.W. proceeded to organize itself and to find more appropriate premises for its meetings. Here is Muriel Donnelly on getting the Y.C.W. headquarters at 1335 Second Avenue in New York City:

It must have been '43. Helen went out of business and we had to find a headquarters. I remember Dolores Kozlowski and I were looking for a place to meet and we found a cold water flat in a tenement in the parish, (because Father said it had to be in his parish because he couldn't be a priest outside the parish) and on the second floor of this tenement. So Dolores and I went back to Father Wendell and we said we found a headquarters and it's only ten dollars a month. He said, "Let me take a look at it," so he went around and looked at it and he said we can't meet there. 'I'm a priest. I can't go into a tenement building and go up to any apartment rented by a group of girls. It's out. We can't do it."

Dolores and I thought he was being terribly scrupulous. However, the apartment was out. So he said it's got to be a store where the windows are open and people can see in.

Now I don't know who precisely said that there is an empty store on Second Avenue, but we looked at it and there was a big room in front and a kitchen in the back. It was on the ground level and the rent was fifteen dollars a month136

The Y.C.W. met weekly in the leaders cell at 1335 Second Avenue. The meeting began with supper which a volunteer waitress cooked and served each week. This was her way of serving the movement. After the meeting Compline was said before each girl went home. The Y.C.W. rented another apartment in the building where members could stay overnight if they lived too far away to get home at night after the meeting. Another apartment was rented by two sisters who came into contact with the Y.C.W. and with Carol Jackson. They had the idea of making "Christian" dresses for those who did not want to wear secular, immodest clothing. Modesty in dress was quite an issue with all these movements of the lay apostolate, especially as most of the movements' members were women. Whether or not Christian women should wear make-up and smoke

was also discussed, each making a personal decision on the subject.

The spirituality of the members was a matter of the greatest importance. Daily Mass was a must. Each member was encouraged to have some time at meditation daily. The New York Y.C.W. also had a series of summer houses outside the city where they sponsored special weekends of liturgy, silent prayer, discussion of the spiritual life and some relaxation away from the city that was affordable for the New York working girl. These were very popular. It was a way of making contacts with people at work and of cementing friendships with more casual acquaintances. Another "service" which brought together people from the Grail, the Catholic Worker, Friendship House as well as the Y.C.W. were the weekly square dances. One of the enquiries carried out by the Y.C.W. had to do with recreation. What would be good, wholesome recreation where there would be no wall-flowers? Square dancing was the answer as being possible and communal as opposed to individualistic. Again a tremendous success, especially in drawing a diverse set of people together in an enjoyable non-argumentative situation.

Carol Jackson became a very dominant influence on the thinking of the leaders of the Y.C.W. On Sunday afternoons she invited a group of women to come to her apartment for an "underground university" where all manner of subjects were discussed. Here is Rose Terebessy Samson on Carol Jackson:

Were any of you going to the Outer Circle? We met at Carol's house for lectures. She was giving us lay theology. She had people coming from Sheed & Ward too. She had all kinds of hangers on. They called it the Outer Circle. Frank Sheed would come, and afterwards, we met over in his bookstore, in the back. Over on First Avenue.¹³⁷

Carol Jackson, herself, speaks of her "underground college" which met in her tiny apartment on 64th Street, between 1st and 2nd Avenues. It was a fifth floor walk-up. They met for almost a year, about ten young women. Most were members of the Y.C.W. but others were contacts Carol had made through her writing in The Torch or through one of the Y.C.W. activities.¹³⁸ The kinds of topics discussed on these Sunday afternoons were Protestantism, Vocation, Work, Apostolate. These discussions formed the basis for the first issues of Integrity. Doreen O'Sullivan, who for ten years was the secretary/business manager of Integrity, first got to know Carol through these discussions. In the winter of 1945, Doreen O'Sullivan went with a friend, Kay Glasser, to an open "general" meeting of the Y.C.W. While there, she was introduced to many people, all strangers, one was Carol Jackson. Carol asked Doreen where she worked. When told that Doreen worked for the prestigious advertising agency, McCann-Erickson, Carol seemed shocked and said, "You're a Catholic college graduate! Don't you know you are prostituting yourself?" Doreen:

That left me with no reply. I didn't know what she was talking about. I asked my friend, Kay Glasser, "What is she talking about?" Then Winnie Neville told me about Carol's "underground college of knowledge."¹³⁹

Doreen O'Sullivan quit her job at McCann-Erickson and took one working for a Catholic social agency. Subsequently, she quit that to work on Integrity.

Carol Jackson was a woman of great personal charm as well as possessing the kind of questioning intelligence which suited the mood of the times. None of these women were "workers" in the Y.C.W. sense. But they were thinking, committed Catholics who were trying to work out the role of the ~~lay~~ person within the mission of the Church. It became more and more evident that the structure of the Jocists which might have been effective in Europe was inhibiting the growth of this movement and finally brought this effort to an end. Here is Trudie Lucie Lee, a one-time president of the New York section of the Y.C.W.:

If I go back to my early memories of the movement, in 1947, when I met Winnie, I don't think that after that era we ever saw a cell that was so full of Christian energy. It just was never repeated. It kind of went down from there. I really do believe that.

I was so impressed with all these people because I had been in the convent for a year and a half and a friend of mine from Brooklyn, Father Wendell, was her spiritual advisor, she was not in the Y.C.W. She brought me to Father Wendell and set me up with Mary Mannix to stay at Bellport for the summer, because I had no place to live. And that's where I met Winn. The girls who used to come out there and the girls they brought with them ... that place was bursting all the time.

There seemed to have been some kind of mysterious directive that came. I don't want to say it came from Europe, but there was something that we were not typical, we dressed too well. In other words, we were not typical because we tended to be ~~maybe~~ intelligent and we were not going into the factories and getting the girls who were the typical workers from there. And then, we were getting too old. When I got married,

I was president of the New York Federation and I was 28 and that really was unacceptable. You were supposed to be out by the time you were 25.

Mary Irene Caplice Zotti (from the Y.C.W. in Chicago):

Some of that came from Europe. But they started to work earlier over there. They were 14 when they went to work. This was where part of the problem came.¹⁴⁰

Although Canon Cardijn expressly states in his various talks to chaplains of the Y.C.W. that it is the lay leaders who should make the decisions in the movement, the Y.C.W. was priest-dominated. The priest-chaplain of the Y.C.W. was not only advising the group about decisions having to do with the Y.C.W., he too often became the personal spiritual director of the individual member, thus, exerting a very great influence in the group. Cardijn, himself, must bear some of the blame for this clerical domination because he was ambivalent in the directions he gave priests. Here is an example of what I mean, taken from a talk given at the Priests' Study Session, January 1938. He first of all extolls the role of the lay leader:

The chaplain is obviously not a leader or a lay militant in the Y.C.W.; he does not exercise a lay apostolate, he does not fulfill a lay function. He should not replace or paralyse the lay leaders and militants.

....

The Church will never have lay apostles, will never reconquer life, the environment, the lay masses, unless she trains leaders, militants, apostles in Catholic Action.

Just as an aside, I think it is important to note that this form of discourse does support the notion that the laity was being used in this and other movements to build up

the "spiritual monarchy" of the Church, personified in the Pope, on the ashes of the Church's loss of secular power. But to continue with the point about the role of the clergy in the Y.C.W., Cardijn goes on:

On the other hand, the chaplain is not confined to a role of doctrinal and spiritual formation, to a specific and exclusive religious function, such as the giving of religious training and spiritual direction.

At every level of the organisation, national, regional or local, the chaplain is the representative of the Hierarchy. He gives to the whole organisation, to all its action, to all its training, the stamp and character of Catholic Action.

He is the guardian of this character, of this spirit, and his task is to care for the whole organisation and all the action, as demanded by the national institution willed by the Hierarchy. Nothing connected with the organisation -- even its administration and finance -- is outside his concern.¹⁴¹

Clerical domination was felt very deeply by the New York Y.C.W. Here is Mary Irene Caplice Zotti, as recorded in the taped meeting of March 8, 1986:

This group that met today had a meeting a month ago and they had some judgments that they came to. Some of the problems and why the movement failed was that the priests were running it too much; that there was a guru mentality; that the priests have this charismatic effect on the people; that the priests were making decisions that the lay people should have.

Trudie Lucie Lee:

We got our programs, at least when I was in it, from Chicago and they were for a year. No matter what, we could have glaring necessities. I blame the priests, because I can say honestly, in each one of my weekly meetings with father, first with Father Powell and then with Father Wendell, we were very strongly influenced by what they wanted for you to do at the meeting. This was your preparation as the leader for the meeting.¹⁴²

Another aspect of this spiritual domination which developed was the idea of these members of the Y.C.W. taking temporary vows. This was not limited to the Y.C.W. The most famous example of lay persons taking vows was the vow of chastity taken by the Maritains who lived together as brother and sister. It was referred to in writings as their "mariage blanc." It reflects once again the monastic model as the universal model of holiness in the Catholic Church.

Bill Goode from the Young Christian Students in Chicago joined the discussion at a certain point. He takes up this idea of "vows." He asks if Father Wendell ever suggested the Y.C.W. members take vows or make promises of poverty, chastity and obedience.

Bill: Let me ask you something. Did he ever ask you to make some promises?

Erudie: No. I guess he knew that I wouldn't. But that first cell, the one that Winnie was in, there were a lot that did take vows. Some were Third Order.

Bill: Mary Lu Langan did. Not third order. They had a duration for three years. Poverty, chastity, obedience. They weren't called vows. They were called promises.¹⁴³

The search for an authentic lay spirituality engaged all of these groups in the lay apostolate. There were many reasons for this concern. First of all these movements asked a lot of their members in time and energy. In order to keep going spiritually, a lot of support and inspiration was needed. But perhaps even deeper than the need for personal support was the sense of responsibility for the lives of the girls they were "influencing." People were being challenged

to make radical changes in their life-styles. This kind of responsibility called for spiritually mature leaders. It is obvious from the comments made during this meeting of former Y.C.W. members that the spiritual formation they received was too monastic to meet their particular needs.

In a very interesting article included in a volume dealing with pronouncements made at Vatican II regarding the laity, Denys Turner bases the holiness of the lay state not on a monastic type "order" but on the fluidity, indeed even the chaos, of the freedom which is intrinsic to lay life.

This is one paragraph:

Secularity implies, therefore, that if we are to speak of the layman's 'vocation to holiness' we shall have to rethink the matter, so as to be able to give as much real ascetical force to the word in its application to the layman sanctifying his profession (organizing his plan for sanctity in terms of his environment) as we very readily do in its application to, for example, the religious, who organizes his environment in terms of his plan for holiness. For it is now the explicit teaching of the Church that all Christians are called to holiness by virtue alone of being Christian. And if it follows that a layman can achieve that aim without any change in human circumstances, then it follows too that the completely lay condition must itself be the sphere, occasion and means of a form of holiness at least equal to that of the religious. Only the vocation of religious can justify the flight from secular commitments. But all men have a vocation to holiness.¹⁴⁴

Denys Turner represents an advance in thinking about the lay vocation. What is very important in that thinking is a new attitude to the world. The world as bad was part of the monastic model of holiness. The possibility for holiness was on a decreasing scale the further one got away from a monastic type of existence and really lived in the "world." The

advance in this respect sees the world as that area of human existence which is properly lay. It is where, for instance, mankind must create social relationships based on justice and charity. A particular form of fortitude is called for to protect against nuclear arms, and against torture and death squads in Latin America. These are some of the areas that are calling for a particularly lay penetration of the environment. It is activity, not prayer, that becomes the basis of this spirituality.

But this attitude to the world and even to the actions of the Y.C.W. was still in the future. The negative attitude caused a lot of criticism of the clergy on the part of the laity. The criticism seems to stem from a lack of understanding on the part of both the priest and the members of the Y.C.W. as to what should constitute their relationship and their spirituality. Here are some of the remarks of Trudie Lucie Lee:

Part of our problem in New York, I think, was that Father Wendell had very stern ideas about women. He would never go out the door with anyone after a meeting, because you're not supposed to be seen on the street with a woman. I would have to leave. Then a few minutes later, he would come out. Then, there was the big emphasis on spirituality. Certainly, it was not required that Father be your spiritual director, but it certainly was ...!

....

There were some of that first group who used to run down to see Father almost every day or every other day to go to Confession, which I felt was kind of over-exaggerated. They became so dependent on the chaplain.

....

(Telling story of a girl who was singing some kind of song that Father became absolutely incensed about and said she had to stop because it was suggestive. This was '48 or '49).

Really, at that time, none of us were into that kind of thing. We were really trying to work for social action and make changes in that. I remember at one of the international day dances, he was really very, very upset, in a quiet way, but that quiet way certainly would come across to you, about what was acceptable. There was a lot of rigidity about it. They were trying to mold us after the European groups. Hell, we're a whole different ballgame¹⁴⁵

How did the former Y.C.W. members judge their movement which has now ceased to exist in that form in New York? First of all, what was accomplished? The most important result was the effect it had on the cell members, themselves. They were changed from being nominal, or even devout Catholics, to being Christians who were committed to definite values, such as the necessity of social involvement in questions of race, war, poverty, women's issues. Lasting friendships were made which has provided a support system for former Y.C.W. members.

Many of the reasons for the failure of the movement we have touched on above. The domination of the clergy, the age "cut-off," the insistence on "workers," meaning factory or manual workers with little understanding of the real situation of upward social mobility in the United States. Again, there was little really thinking about problems. Those with intellectual training were discouraged from joining the group because they might inhibit the workers.

This movement of the Young Christian Workers had a brief life. In the form discussed above it went from 1939 to 1949.

In the following decades it became more national and international. Some of the members remained active under the new circumstances and others moved on to other commitments.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN EUROPE AND AMERICAN MOVEMENTS OF THE LAY APOSTOLATE

What was experienced as the Catholic Revival in the 1930s was the partial unfreezing of the life of the Church after the almost complete immobility caused by the condemnation of modernism. In the 1930s new ideas were cautiously put forward, like those of Congar on ecumenism and on the lay apostolate. In England and America the publisher Frank Sheed found he was able to encourage writers to make public their ideas and overcome their nervousness. This partial unfreezing threatened to become a flood, and Rome tried to prevent this with Humani Generis (1950) -- a scare document against la nouvelle théologie. Only in the Second Vatican Council was this check overcome.

I think it would be generally accepted today that the condemnation of Modernism by the Catholic Church was a serious mistake. This condemnation introduced a period of intellectual stagnation into Catholic institutions of higher learning throughout the world. In the United States it resulted in excessive energy going into the building of Catholic institutions. From birth to death Catholics need never meet or participate in non-Catholic projects, that is, outside the

workplace. Because of the inferior higher education provided under these circumstances Catholics rarely found themselves in positions of leadership or decision-making. This state of affairs was finally ended by two men, John Tracy Ellis and John F. Kennedy. Ellis, an outstanding scholar, called for Catholics to take their place in American society in a famous paper given to the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs on May 14, 1955. This talk entitled "American Catholicism and the Intellectual Life,"¹⁴⁶ simply "exploded" on the American Catholic scene. Ten major editorials discussed the talk, nine of them in agreement with the basic premise and scores of books, including Thomas F. O'Dea's American Catholic Dilemma,¹⁴⁷ followed publication of Ellis' paper.

John F. Kennedy released Catholics from the ghetto. I purposely did not say the "American" ghetto because he was responsible for the psychological liberation of Catholics in all English-speaking countries. The fact that a Catholic could be the president of the United States, the leading country of the world, proved that being a Catholic no longer disabled an individual from full participation in the life of a democracy. Supporting both of these challenges laid down before American Catholics to participate more fully in the intellectual and political life of the country was the work of John Courtney Murray. Murray, a Jesuit, had been teaching, lecturing and writing about Catholic participation in pluralistic democracy. "Error has no rights" had formed

the basic political dogma of Catholics since the fourth century. Catholic participation in American life had been seen by many as a simple expedient based on the Catholic Church's weak position. But should the Catholic Church come into power through its members what position would it take toward non-Catholics? That dilemma was laid to rest for Catholics as well as non-Catholics in the Vatican II document on religious liberty. This was largely the work of John Courtney Murray. Pluralistic debate leading to consensus thus replaced the older coercive position. Below, we will discuss these points more fully.

In Europe during the period between the two World Wars there developed a kind of spiritual fascism which gained its most explicit expression in Pétain's Vichy government. To many during this period Europe seemed bankrupt of spiritual ideals. A secularistic society was developing both on the right with unrestrained capitalism and on the left with atheistic communism. Catholics such as Maritain were talking about a third option, a New Christendom. In his book True Humanism,¹⁴⁸ Maritain discusses his ideas on this subject. When talking to clerical and lay leaders involved with the lay apostolate this book constantly came up as seminal. Maritain outgrew these ideas in later life but they had a large audience in the '30s. John Hellman in his lecture "Vichy, Fascism and French Catholics,"¹⁴⁹ remarked that Yves Simon in a letter to Maritain asked why of all his students Simon alone had not become a fascist? What were the

hallmarks of this Catholic fascism? "In the chapter "Personalism in Power," Hellman in his book on Emmanuel Mounier,¹⁵⁰ points to a number of distinguishing attributes. In announcing the armistice, Pétain had pointed not to the deficient fighting power of the French army but "our defeat came from our decadence; the spirit of pleasure destroyed everything the spirit of sacrifice had built." Hellman adds:

The old marshall seemed to have struck a responsive chord when he insisted that France had been sick, that her politicians had failed, that authoritarian regimes were the wave of the future and that France had best create a 'new order' in harmony with them. Some, like Mounier, had been calling for an authoritarian revolution in France until the very outbreak of hostilities.¹⁵¹

In other words, what was envisioned was a single-party, authoritarian régime. This anti-democratic proposition did not strike horror into the hearts of all who heard it because what was being proposed seemed so good. It was to be a spiritual elite. The best of the youth was to be culled out and given a spiritual formation which included such virtues as purity, self-sacrifice, honesty, patriotism, love of family and home. These virtues were to be enforced in the society that was being set up. Mounier's personalism found a place in this new society proposing, as it did, the importance of the person, as opposed to the individual, who must be totally developed in his talents and trained in his abilities, to take responsibility in the society. Mounier resisted the efforts of the society to take over any responsibility, including the care of the poor, which should be handled on a personal basis. This involved returning to a more primitive

form of social life. Impersonal forms of capitalistic development was replacing the traditional forms of work. The worker was dehumanized by not being in control of the work he did. The "new order" would restore the older values of manual work and service. The dignity of the worker and the peasant should be acknowledged. To those who are familiar with the lay apostolic movements with which I am concerned will be struck by the resemblance of ideas between these principles and the goals of many of these movements.

England does not seem to have been caught up in this type of Catholic revolutionary thought and action. Perhaps the English Catholic spirit is best illustrated in the perhaps apocryphal remark ascribed to an English bishop when the encyclical condemning socialism was published, "they couldn't mean English socialists" and that was the end of the matter. But the great contribution made by the English to the Catholic revival was in the field of publishing, especially through the publishing house of Sheed and Ward. Sheed and Ward simply flooded the Catholic market during the years between the wars and directly following World War II with translations of books written mainly by French Catholic authors but a number of Germans, as well. There were in England during this period many well known men and women who became Roman Catholics. These, like the French mentioned above, were alarmed at the direction and rate of change. Christopher Dawson was the most outspoken convert in seeing the Roman Catholic Church as the bulwark against a return to

a barbarous age. To these new Catholics the Roman Catholic Church seemed the only organization powerful enough to prevent the growth of the modern world which most feared and did not understand. So the condemnation of Modernism for these was a positive step. The Church's authoritarian structure suited them because it made it possible for the Pope and Catholic hierarchy to speak out against the abuses they perceived in the society, and to speak with a strong, authoritative voice. Thus the authoritarian regimes sweeping Europe found their spiritual counterpart in the Catholic Church. This gives "the primacy of the spiritual" a new twist. Political action was discouraged which was pluralistic and open. Catholic parties developed but their purpose was to defend the Catholic position. When priest-workers in France became involved in political action with allies amongst the Marxists, they were soon squelched.

Now I would like to take a closer look at several of the formative currents mentioned above. First of all, what was Modernism? Lawrence F. Barmann of the history department of the University of Saint Louis has written a most provocative book on the modernist crisis called Baron Friedrich Von Hügel and the Modernist Crisis in England. Here are the opening lines of the book:

In the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth a conflict of ideas arose within the Roman Catholic church which history now knows as the modernist crisis. In this struggle the party supported by the Roman church's full moral authority and coercive power inevitably prevailed.

At no point was the crisis really a conflict between truth and error, nor even, for the most part, between genuine Christian orthodoxy and genuine heterodoxy.¹⁵²

In 1907 Pope Pius X issued the encyclical Pascendi Domini Gregis which spelled out the official condemnation of modernism. Ostensibly it was directed at such biblical exegetes and theologians as Alfred Loisy in France, and Francis Tyrrell in England but as Dolan remarks, "In one fatal blow the Pope destroyed the budding renewal of Catholic theology."¹⁵³ Besides condemning modernist research into biblical language and historicity, it rejected any idea of development in theology.

The Vatican issued certain directives which implemented the condemnations outlined in the encyclical. This included making scholastic philosophy the Catholic philosophy to be taught in all institutions of higher learning under Catholic control. Councils of vigilance were set up in every diocese to oversee Catholic teachers, writers, publications and to report any taint of modernism. All priests and candidates for the priesthood had to take an oath against modernism. Theologians were required to renew this oath at regular intervals. It is easy to see how such a move minimized the authority of the local Church and gave the Pope a new and unprecedented power in the running of the Church, especially in America. As Dolan says:

The condemnation of modernism, coupled with the condemnation of Americanism, brought an end to the American Catholic romance with modernity.... Pascendi Dominici Gregis expanded this sphere of authority and put the Papacy in an unprecedented position of power.

It now claimed over the minds' as well as over the souls of Catholics This Romanization bound the American church more closely to the Vatican and its way of thinking. The spirit of independence articulated by Carroll, England, Hecker, Ireland, and others disappeared. Novelty and pluralism were cast aside in favor of order and discipline.¹⁵⁴

I want to say a word about "order and discipline." As we can see in the description of Vichy and its training programs, order and discipline were supreme objectives. But this could also be said of the movements of the lay apostolate. There was a conviction about the rightness of their position that made any discussion of alternative views almost impossible. I would equate order and discipline with an internal dogmatism. The goodness of the people involved in these movements and their heroic efforts to perform some service to the Church made any criticism from outside next to impossible. I am sure that in none of these movements were members gathered together and told "this is the party line." But a party line existed. Any divergence was looked upon as disloyalty. It was almost impossible to disagree. I am going to quote part of a letter John Cogley sent to Dorothy Day which contains the kind of "loving" control which existed in these groups. The issue is pacificism. Dorothy Day had sent out a letter to all the Catholic Worker houses across the country stating that if they could not support pacificism, "they should disassociate themselves from the Catholic Worker movement and not use the name of a movement with which they are in such fundamental disagreement."¹⁵⁵ As a matter of fact pacificism was not a fundamental principle at the

foundation of the Catholic Worker. This is obvious in Cogley's accusation:

Lord, I didn't write the letter. Emerson Hynes didn't write the letter. The Los Angeles group didn't write the letter. You did. And you must have realized when you wrote it that it would nestle like a bombshell in every Catholic Worker House and group throughout the country.

This was a response to Dorothy Day's assertion that her letter had been misunderstood. Because of the amount of disagreement on the question of pacificism a national retreat was held to discuss the question and ostensibly that was the reason for the gathering of Catholic Worker adherents. However, no real discussion was possible. What took place was a kind of deactivation of anyone not in agreement with Day's stand.

"The only thing I resent about this whole matter is an attitude of toleration, of deliberate charity to another who is not able to go 'the whole way'." Cogley goes on with the letter and toward the end says:

And on this score I am very much to blame myself. I had a fine chance to start a controversy at the Retreat -- and I failed. I felt so hopelessly outnumbered and was too much a coward to begin the attack ...

I don't mean this observation as a condemnation of anyone. It is an attitude that has somehow creeped in, and it is the attitude that I don't like. The fear that if the question were thrown out openly bitterness and hostility might creep in. Nobody can criticize for fear of hurting others. You can criticize the fear that others would be hurt if everybody spoke freely. There is something cagy, something not quite honest about that, something foreign to the Catholic Worker. 156

This kind of internal unease was also touched upon in the Young Christian Worker report that Father Wendell did not like certain kinds of songs or dances, and that this was

communicated to the group in such a way that these expressions were dropped. With the Grail there was the complaint that "everything came down from the top." The Friendship House group in Harlem finally ousted the Baroness because they wanted a more open, democratically run movement. But this form of authoritarian leadership had persisted for many years in these movements. One friend of mine related that her parents belonged to a married couples group that considered it wrong to go to the movies -- it was probably couched in more elaborate terms but that was the upshot of the group's decision. Her parents used to sneak off to the neighboring town to go to the movies.

How does this relate to modernism? Modernism was an attempt to open out all questions. It was trying to replace a morality of obedience with a morality of personal conviction. But the condemnation of modernism reinforced something in the Catholic Church which was festering. Many Catholics simply did not agree with the teachings of the Catholic Church on issues such as birth control, divorce, abortion, to mention only the most obvious. But somehow they lived with these inner disagreements. But it took its toll on their ability to sort out just what they did personally believe. This double-think went on in these lay apostolic groups too. The authoritarian type of leadership which was the accepted mode in Catholic groups seemed to breed this conformity based on belonging to the group not conviction.

These movements acted like magnets, siphoning off

potential radicals, into sect-like movements, that had their own projects and objectives but did not directly call for changes in the structures of the parishes and dioceses in relation to the role of the laity. The Mass preparation groups in the parishes of Brooklyn had little or no effect on the organization of the parish. The laity were not recognized as interested and competent Christians able to make a really distinctive input into the direction the parish should take. These movements for all their concern with doing good, were tremendously preoccupied with their own spirituality and formation, which made them seem private, not public and political, but ingrown.

The study of modernism is now occupying a number of scholars, especially as new archival evidence is coming to the fore. As Roger Aubert says in his Concilium article:

Recently there has been a sudden and general revival of interest in the subject, and a point of special importance to the historian is that documents which have been long unavailable are now beginning to appear.¹⁵⁷

The reason I am bringing the subject of modernism into this chapter is that I believe it important to try to reconstruct the mental world into which these movements of the lay apostolate started and the kind of metamorphosis which took place. At the beginning of the 1930s the Catholic Church was still firmly in the grip of this kind of modernist fear of the modern world. When any new idea was considered or accepted a sort of shock was felt in the Catholic community. When Catholics were allowed to accept the fact that the

creation did not take place in six "days" as stated in the Bible but that the word "day" stood for a period of time, there were tremors. This was coming close to opening the question of evolution and a human descent from a single set of parents.

When one realizes the fact that Catholic thinkers were held in the grip of the anti-modernist campaign until well after the Second World War -- the anti-modernist oath was only rescinded during Vatican II -- the work of such scholars as John Tracy Ellis and John Courtney Murray take on a new importance. Almost universal Catholic education in the United States had prepared a very large number of lay boys and girls, men and women for some form of participation in the life of the Church. Into this Catholic mass two different influences struggled for allegiance. One was the older form of American Catholicism which emphasized Catholic participation in a pluralistic democracy. This was John Courtney Murray, Thomas O'Dea, John Tracy Ellis, Daniel Callahan. The other was a European import at first thought to represent the universal Church. American Catholics were overimpressed by the culture and tradition of Europe and for a time were simply passive recipients of all that Europe had to offer in the way of writing, organization; one English Catholic seminary professor used to boast that all he had to do was translate a chapter of St. Thomas and send it to an American Catholic magazine and they would jump to publish it. What was thought to be a spiritual revival in Europe I now think

was a desire to return to a past age, an age dominated by the Catholic Church, where life was controlled. The fear of the modern world gave rise to an attempt to resurrect past symbols. This was elaborately worked out by the Vichy government and since they had the political power to implement many of the ideas that were abroad in Europe, I think a close look at the Vichy program will give a picture of what these European based movements were aiming at. I think it will be possible to show that each of these movements exemplified certain aspects of what I will call the Vichy experiment. The leaders of these movements I do not think had ever raised to the level of consciousness the implications of some of their beliefs and actions; they had been formed themselves during a certain period in the history of Europe and accepted as "true" beliefs that were in the last analysis only social constructs. One such belief was that the authority of the Church came directly from Christ and that all those in authority in the Church were to be obeyed as one would obey Christ. The belief in authority influenced the kind of leadership that emerged in these movements. It also influenced the attitude of these movements toward priests and bishops; there was little or no challenging of episcopal policy or decisions even when they represented flagrant violations of human rights.

Robert O. Paxton, a professor of history at New York's Columbia University, has made his reputation by his research of the policies of the Vichy government, using archival

material from Germany as well as France. One of his major discoveries has been the degree to which Vichy under Pétain inaugurated its own "final solution" of the Jewish question by rounding up Jews and sending them to Germany.¹⁵⁸ He also notes the religious revival which identified the Vichy experiment. The following is included in the section on "The Churches and the Jews":

The changes of summer 1940 seemed to offer Catholic France the prospects of deliverance. After decades of growing secularism, declining official support for the Church and its values, the images of violent hostility to religion evoked by the Popular Front and the civil war in Spain, Marshall Pétain promised order, hierarchy, discipline, and respect for religious and traditional values.

The main attraction was a change of tone, a new world view, in which the new regime took on the imprint of a moral order and made public expressions of deference to the Church. No Vichy public ceremony was complete without some form of religious observance. When in a tremulous voice, Pétain offered France "the gift of my own person" and spoke of the penitence and suffering that must come before redemption, the Christian symbolism of his gestures was lost on no one.¹⁵⁹

What strikes me most about this description is its echoing of the idea of a new Christendom which had been made popular by Maritain and others before the war. This new Christendom had its inspiration in the Middle Ages and although it would have rejected a "return to the past" approach, it used constantly a rhetoric of relevance to the modern world, it was built on a political base that was not democratic and saw no value in tolerance and pluralism.

Paxton in another book on Vichy France¹⁶⁰ takes note of the means the Vichy officials took to implement this new "world vision."

Among officers already in mid-career, a select few were chosen to join young civil servants at the Ecole nationale de cadres at Uriage, near Grenoble, a study group which experimented with leadership techniques and social doctrines in the atmosphere of a religious retreat.

Clearly the Armistice Army took seriously its role as a "school of character." As the bearers of "the torch" of French tradition, all 100,000 officers and men must be made a model to the nation and a leaven to raise the whole society to new values.¹⁶¹

Uriage, which had the "atmosphere of a religious retreat" was an incarnation of what had gone before in Catholic circles in France and other continental countries. However, before going into a more detailed description of the Uriage program, I should like to insert here a section from the autobiography of Helene Iswolsky, the co-founder of The Third Hour, an ecumenical movement which I am including in my study of Catholic Movements in New York.

My closer contact with Berdiaev came not through these ecumenical attempts, but because of my involvement in certain youth movements of the "new wave." One of these was led by Emmanuel Mounier, a young, French Catholic philosopher who was inspired by Maritain and Berdiaev, with their Christian humanism, and gave it his own original and dynamic form: a call to the "Personalist and Communitarian Revolution."

Mounier had an acute sense of the crisis in the modern world. He denounced the social and economic evils of capitalist countries as "the established disorder." Personalism as opposed to selfish bourgeois individualism, affirmed the dignity of man, "created in the image and semblance of God. It held that each person was unique, informed by the Spirit. But at the same time, he was related to other persons, a part of a community and called to serve all men."¹⁶²

"This 'revolution,' this transformation of society which is regularly spoken of is not political action as we have come to know it since the 1960s. It was something 'spiritual.'"

During the Vichy regime this "spiritual" movement was able to enlist the aid of authority. No matter how lofty the ideals and noble the motives what is increasingly obvious is that it was an attempt to foist a way of life on the citizenry. Its this "knowing what is good for the society" without opposition voiced or open debate which gives the effort its fascist bad name. This approach to how to change the society impregnated these Catholic movements and eventually clashed with the more democratic, pluralistic and basically egalitarian Americanism.

Uriage. We read in John Hellman's book on Mounier,

Thus Mounier was at Vichy at the end of July and the beginning of August 1940 when the new government established the youth movements Chantiers de la Jeunesse and Compagnons de France.¹⁶³

These youth movements were to be the basic training for the youth of France and it was from among their ranks that the élite cadres of national leaders were to be chosen. The Chantiers de la Jeunesse were made up of young soldiers who, now that the Armistice had been signed, were without any clear reason for existence. Rather than simply releasing them onto an already overfull work force, the government decided to use this opportunity to instill into these young Frenchmen the ideals dominant in the Vichy experiment. Thus each French man upon reaching the age of twenty was obliged to spend eight months in training with the Chantiers de la Jeunesse. They lived in primitive conditions, often in outdoor camps. Their day consisted in manual work and sports or

moral education. The leaders of this program were old Boy Scout leaders and their chaplains were largely drawn from Boy Scout chaplains. Père Forestier who had been the national chaplain of the Scouts became the general chaplain of the Chantiers. As Hellman says: "For Père Forestier 'the structures built upon authority, hierarchy, and the disappearance of class struggle', were extraordinarily harmonious with the scout ideals."¹⁶⁴ These young soldiers were given a vigorous moral formation based on Catholic spirituality. The person responsible for the Chantiers, La Porte de Theil sprinkled his speeches liberally with references to Christianity and a host of well known clerics served as celebrants at the Masses, retreat masters, spiritual directors and made contributions to the publications of the Chantiers.

The other youth movement sponsored by the Vichy government was known as the Compagnons de France. Boys and young men from sixteen to twenty made up the ranks of this movement. They wore a distinctive dress, followed strict rules, included Protestant as well as Catholics, crossed all class lines and were engaged in manual work in the country especially where there was a lot of unemployment. Their director, Guillaume de Tournemire, explained the aims of the Compagnons in this way: "Our conception of the world seeks to introduce the primacy of the interests of the community over the interests of private individuals ... to give community reflexes to the new generation."¹⁶⁵

These two youth movements were to prepare the masses for

the National Revolution which Pétain hoped would be the work of his Vichy government. To find leaders for this National Revolution there was set up at Uriage the Ecole Nationale des Cadres which was to train a special elite, to establish a new "mystique." Uriage was to be a school of chivalry.

The officers at Uriage made a personal oath of fidelity to Marshal Pétain, and a student swore fidelity to 'the rule of the Order' while merging himself into the evolution of the world towards forms of collective life, and adopting for a goal the liberation of man on the economic, social and spiritual levels.¹⁶⁶

The idea of taking the youth outside of its environment and giving a special, elitist training was used by the movements of the lay apostolate to a greater or smaller degree. Friendship House, the Young Christian Workers, the Catholic Worker, there is even evidence of the Third Hour having special weeks together where solidarity could be built and the ideas and ideals of the movement could be instilled in the members. But the leader in this sort of training was the Grail which maintained a special training center at Grailville in Ohio. Besides weeks and weekend courses, the Grail developed a year of training called Metanoia, or change of heart. It is significant that this was an anti-political attempt to change the society. This kind of anti-political attempt to change a society may start with persuasion but continues linearly until it comes to violence. In speaking of Uriage, Hellman quotes one of its directors as saying Uriage was "modelled after a German Ordensburg 'where the elite of the Nazi elite, were trained in romantic settings'."

Certainly the leaders at Grailville and the Centre for Men of Christ the King which had a shorter life, were not consciously modelling their training centers on the Nazis or even Vichy. But neither were they part of the American effort to change society through the democratic process. They presented a vision of the world as steeped in secular materialism which could only be redeemed by heroic Christian witness. It had a terrific appeal for the young because it offered an heroic solution to the complexities of life which was in some ways quite simple. At the same time it offered friendship and an alternative society to family, neighborhood or parish. Obviously, this kind of élan requires the closed ranks that accompanies an authoritarian régime.

I will just quote some passages from the Grail's Program of Action, which was published in 1946. This is from a talk given during a Grail course by Frank O'Malley, a professor from Notre Dame.

For men in time, this is then the meaning of life; in fact, the very meaning of earthy life is to be found in that which at first sight seems to empty earthly life of all significance: the eternal and supernatural life towards which the whole universe and all the centuries march. The salvation of anguished contemporary man is to be found in the belief in the existence of a supernatural order and the knowledge of the dependence of human kind and human society and law upon the divine society and law of the supernatural order.

You can understand the beauty and the power and the wonder of it because you have come here and been, even for a very short time, a member of this place, a place concerned really with integrating a true faith and a true philosophy with the life of culture Possessed as you ought to be of a true spiritual culture, you will not be too much disconcerted or ravaged by contemporary civilization; you will not feel yourselves

prisoners of life, scratching on the walls of your cells; you will not succumb to the sorrows of the savage world. Instead, you will save yourselves and save all men!¹⁶⁷

This kind of rhetoric is similar to that of the Vichy experiment. What it shows, I think, is that there was in the Catholic revival something that was not in harmony with American democracy. It had a way of whipping up enthusiasm and even life-time devotion to certain ideals such as poverty. It produced many heroic and saintly individuals, many of whom, like Dorothy Day and Lydwine van Kersbergen, I consider to be of extraordinary significance for the life of the Catholic Church during this period. But I think it becomes obvious that this form of lay action just didn't lead to any societal change.

If we look at New York during most of this period, particularly in the '50s, one would have thought that just the weight of the Catholic population would bring about some sort of change. On East Forty-Second Street and Wall Street the Catholic Churches would be jammed for noon Masses or novenas. Catholics were going to Cana Conferences to think and pray about their married life; the Retreat Movement engaged business and professional men in weekends of prayer and reflection; lay men and women became members of the Franciscan and Dominican Third Orders. Catholics by the thousands were energetically pursuing their spiritual development. But there was little social consciousness among many of these groups. They were interested in personal salvation not societal change.

Where, then, was one to look for change? How was a more just society to be formed? How were those who seemed to have values in opposition to those of the secular society to be part of the society while not surrendering their convictions?

First of all I think many Christians began to take a look at "truth" as taught in the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church claimed to teach "the truth." What can we make of this claim? Truth is something which has been taken captive, it is something static. Contrary to this idea of truth is a view of development or emergence or even the evolution of truth. That is, truth is something we discover.

An event in the Roman Catholic community which was the product of new thinking in the American Catholic Church and the occasion of a tremendous new surge of critical life, was the talk of John Tracy Ellis, "American Catholics and the Intellectual Life." This was an indictment of Catholics. In the past they had given various reasons for their second class citizen status in America. But Ellis was not buying this. As Daniel Callahan wrote:

Monsignor Ellis had to a great extent repudiated the traditional line of American Catholic self-analysis, that is, economic disadvantages, immigrant difficulties and anti-Catholicism as providing the sole explanations for Catholic deficiencies With one blow, the direction and tone of Catholic self-criticism was changed. While considerable respect was still paid to sociological conditions, the real culprit was rapidly accepted to be the American Catholic mentality.¹⁶⁸

As I said above, the publication of this talk in Fordham's Thought inaugurated a new day in Catholic America.

From what I have said about the Enlightenment tradition in America, it is possible to see that this development is another manifestation of that dormant liberalism which was sleeping just below the consciousness of American Catholics. One of the books to come out of this period of self-examination and new resolutions was Thomas O'Dea's The American Catholic Dilemma.¹⁶⁹ In his chapter "The Divided Man," he tries to analyze the reason for the ineffectualness of the American Catholic in his society.

Our minds are in a sense compartmentalized in relation to American society as a whole. On the one hand, we have formed a firm identification with certain aspects of the national culture -- notably in the fields of politics, constitutional law and economics. On the other, we have developed in certain areas an aloofness amounting at times to alienation.

This aloofness amounting to alienation, I would lay directly at the door of the modernist condemnation. At the turn of the century there are many indications that Catholics had portions of their community ready to enter the intellectual life of the country, for example, The New York Review and the faculty of St. Joseph's Seminary were making inroads into the wider educated milieu of New York. A less well-known victim of this anti-modern mentality is the case of Father John A. Zahm. Dolan speaks of him as the "most able Catholic scientist of his day." He published a book Evolution and Doctrine:

Wherein he vigorously advanced the idea of a theistic evolution that 'admits the existence of a God, and the development, under the action of His providence of the universe and all it contains'. In 1898, the Vatican censured Zahm and forced him to withdraw his book from circulation.¹⁷⁰

Afterwards Zahm wrote travel books.

O'Dea's book is a brilliant analysis of the dilemma of the Catholic, particularly the Catholic lay person, and even more particularly the members of these movements of the lay apostolate. The reason I say this is that the participants in these movements had made a deep, personal commitment which depended not so much on their incorporation into the structure of the Church as on the integrity of their apostolate itself. They had put themselves at risk. The articulation of their own deeply felt but unvoiced criticisms pointed to a new way of going on. One of the most acute aspects of this dilemma was the relation to the world. O'Dea sums up this situation:

The life of man in the world, the human enterprise as a metaphysical reality, has no interior relation to the spiritual development of the human person, insofar as it does not involve breaking the rules of morality conceived as quasi-legal formulae. Human fulfillment and Christian fulfillment are not seen as interpenetrating processes. They are separated and even segregated from each other. Thus the secular is not seen as valuable to the spiritual quest of man.¹⁷¹

O'Dea lists five areas which he says inhibit the intellectual development of Catholics. They are formalism, authoritarianism, clericalism, moralism and defensiveness. Together, they describe the moral and spiritual crisis that overtook many active lay people during the '60s. However, they were only the first step.

Since this dissertation is meant only to cover a specific time, 1933-1967, from the beginning of the Catholic Worker to the Third Congress of the Lay Apostolate, I am

going to bring this account to a close with a section from Alden Brown's account of the Grail. As he indicates the experience of the Grail during this period is mirrored in all these movements, and throughout the American Catholic community.

In the early 1960s, in light of its conviction that personal relations (which were felt to have been sacrificed along with the need for personal competence) and communal solidarity (which was felt to have been distorted by being hierarchically structured) were the things which really required attention, the Grail set out in common search of "the human." The new strategy was "openness" -- to all women in the Grail (married and unmarried, the fully committed, those still searching, and those in full rebellion against the past), to contemporary society, and to the religious experience of women outside the Catholic tradition. It proved to be an agonizing process, characterized by a powerful determination to shed the old limitations and an unyielding insistence on setting no new ones. As with other American Catholics of the 1960s, the romance of certainty was transmuted by the Grail into a romance of risk which there was much opportunity to indulge in the turbulent American society of the time -- much more opportunity, it seemed late in the decade, than in Church circles.¹⁷²

When we come to the sixties as Brown points out above, there was "a powerful determination to shed the old limitations and an unyielding insistence on setting no new ones." What were the old limitations that were being shed? First of all the unquestioning loyalty to authority was gone. By the end of the sixties this included the authority of the Pope. Lay people did not accept the teaching on birth control as expressed in Humanae Vitae. This was not only on the grounds that they felt a new stage had been reached with the development of the Pill, but also because the process of consultation had simply been negated without sufficient cause.

The commission set up to study the question of birth control, a commission of experts, had reached a unanimous decision that birth control was morally acceptable. This decision had been simply set aside and the old teaching reaffirmed. This new attitude of the laity was noted by Vaillancourt at the Third World Congress of the Lay Apostolate which took place in 1967. He writes:

The resolution asked 'that the choice of the means to prevent a new conception be left to the conscience of the married couple with due consideration of medical, psychological, economic, and sociological insights'. The omission of "theological insights" from this list, and especially the omission of any reference to the magisterium of the Church, would lead one to conclude that in the case of conflict between the dictates of the magisterium and an individual conscience, the voice of conscience was meant to prevail ... the resolution expressly asked the magisterium to "focus on fundamental moral and spiritual values" and to leave the choice of technical means to parents.¹⁷³

Catholics turned in greater numbers to politics as the way of influencing the development of history. Eugene McCarthy and Douglas Roche were among the Catholics who had long been involved in efforts of the laity in the movements mentioned above. McCarthy made his bid for the American presidency with the support of many lay apostles.

The presidential campaign of Minnesota Senator Eugene McCarthy, an old acquaintance of the Grail, especially evoked the social passion of the Grail members During that campaign, American Grail leaders found themselves unable to be content with reporting developments within the Grail without referring to the general -- social and political situation in the United States.¹⁷⁴

A mood of assertiveness followed the Third Congress of the Lay Apostolate as well as Vatican II. Gone was the old docility. Catholics in lay movements were questioning the

leadership, the organization, the goals and the spirituality which they had simply accepted as a price of membership. Now, as Douglas Roche observes, the laity everywhere in the United States have become more vocal.

Not all the laity know enough about the Vatican Council to react to its intellectual challenge, but sufficient numbers are reasonably well informed to provoke a storm of criticism and creativity. Docility has given way to assertiveness.

....

From the Lay Congress in Rome to the parish precincts of Missouri, the laity have taken the bishops at their word. As a result, educated, informed, articulate men and women are challenging traditions in a way that would have been considered outrageously presumptuous before the Council began.¹⁷⁵

Perhaps it was the civil rights movement, or the Vietnam protest, but whatever combination of events is responsible, Catholic lay individuals and groups took another look at their path to holiness. The day in, day out slog that was demanded of those active in social justice was seen as more in keeping with the lay vocation than say Lauds and Vespers, or for that matter, even going to Mass. Masses were the center of evenings with other committed Catholics and took place in someone's living room or basement. In Oklahoma a Christian Family initiative went even a step further. In June 1966 Paul Sprehe, a member of the Christian Family Movement and Father William Nerin obtained permission from Bishop Reid to set up their own parish.

The Community is run on democratic lines with an elected chairman and board The Community has a strong social orientation. In addition to helping the unwed mothers who are members, it runs a Montessori Day Care Center in Oklahoma City and has adopted a poverty center

in South America "When we first talked about Vietnam," Nerin told me "we were equally divided between hawks and doves. After three or four discussions, only 12 percent were for involvement and escalation, and 45 percent were for de-escalation." 176

Terms like "the world" and "conversion of the world" have fallen out of use by the end of the '60s, at least in the former context of Church imperialism. World became that area where Christians met their fellow-countrymen to try to discover the values they meant to live by and how to implement those values in their society.

Many of the initiatives begun at that time have failed. New, sometimes less bombastic experiments have gradually emerged. Catholic movements such as the Catholic Worker and the Grail have passed through a period of intense trial and have re-emerged in a changed pattern of relationships. Old leaders have died; Dorothy Day, Catherine de Hueck Doherty, Joan Overboss, Helene Iswolsky and Father Wendell have all died. This has given the various lay movements a chance to reassess their organizations and try to build something new. What are the new values? Primarily, the concept of authority has changed. Pressure has given way to a greater participatory democracy. In fact increasing democratic processes in all Catholic organizations has recently been seen as a strategy for overcoming the Vatican's increased authoritarian style under the present Pontificate. This call for democracy in the Church has not changed since the Congress on the Lay Apostolate in 1967. At its final meeting the Congress decided on one area of discrimination in the Church that they

would dramatize:

Dramatizing its concern to end another form of discrimination -- the discrimination against women which is traditional with the Catholic Church itself, the Congress sent Mrs. John D. Shields, president of the United States Council of Women to carry its message to the Synod of Bishops.

.....
"The hour has come," Mrs. Shields told the bishops, "for the laity to be more effectively associated with the decision-making processes on which the Church government rests. Lines of communication within the Church call for extensioning and strengthening We desire to develop dialogue essential to the Church's life at every level."177

EPILOGUE

The movements of the lay apostolate represented a reawakening of the laity in the context of the Catholic Revival. Consciously and explicitly, this reawakening took place within the framework of a traditional understanding of the Catholic Church and faith. The participants were loyal to the Church, which they still understood as the one, true Church. They showed deference to the Pope and papal utterances. They still had as their aim the conversion of the world to the Catholic faith. They idealized the Middle Ages and made their aim the establishment of the New Christendom. This is what they were overtly and consciously.

Unconsciously and implicitly, these lay movements were striving for a different relationship between the hierarchical Church and the laity. They wanted the kind of participation in Church life that they experienced in their everyday worldly activity in America. It is perhaps too strong to say that even implicitly they wanted democracy in the Church, but it was in that direction that their American experience was drawing them. This unconscious drive was gradually brought to the level of consciousness through the writings of a group of articulate educated Catholics who examined the position of Catholics in America. Their forthright criticism, a new

experience for a ghetto community accustomed to closed ranks loyalty, pierced the armour of Catholic defensiveness and began a move in a new direction. Catholics began to operate in a pluralistic society with a new openness.

What they did not themselves realize was that they were experiencing in themselves the twofold trend in American Catholic life, going back to Carroll and the Catholic Enlightenment. American Catholic history is the story how the development of the American Catholic Church in the cultural context of the American ideals of freedom, democracy and social equality was checked and smothered by the reaffirmation of hierarchic and absolutist forms by Rome. The repressive measures following the condemnation of Modernism created an atmosphere of rigid orthodoxy which was not conducive to independent thinking. The condemnation of Americanism and later Modernism prevented the emergence of a truly American understanding of the Catholic mission. Gibbons and Ireland, although staunch Churchmen, were nevertheless in touch with the American experience and prudently open to historical development and change. After them the Catholic hierarchy were outstanding as builders and managers whose first loyalty was to Rome and its dictates. They built schools, hospitals, convents, seminaries, old age homes, orphanages. They cut off Catholic participation in American life, protecting the faithful within the spiritual and psychological walls of the ghetto.

All the movements of the lay apostolate which I have

dealt with belong to the gradual unfreezing of the anti-Modernist rigidity in the '30s, which we call the Catholic Revival. This Revival reached its final point in the Second Vatican Council. Nevertheless, that Council marked the end of a period as subsequent history has shown, not a beginning. It marked the end of the lay apostolate in its previous ecclesiastical form because the Council left intact the hierarchical structures which prevented and still prevent the laity from fully participating in the life of the Church in a way that corresponds to their American political and social context. The call, issued by Thom Kierstans at the Third World Congress of the Lay Apostolate in 1967, for a democratization of the process of decision-making in the Church, has gone unheard. Instead of taking part in such movements active Catholics work out their apostolate in the secular world they know, addressing those social issues that are imperative in the human community.

What I consider the original contribution of this thesis is the uncovering of the latent contradiction in these movements, and the relating of that contradiction to the double stream found in American Catholic history. The latent contradiction is also the explanation I offer for the seemingly inexplicable fading away of these movements at the very time, namely, the Second Vatican Council, when one would have expected a fresh flowering of them.

Footnotes

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⁴⁸ William L. Portier, Isaac Hecker and the First Vatican Council, Studies in American Religion, Vol. 15 (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1985), p. 173.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 214.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 219-220.

⁵¹ Roger Aubert, "The Church and Liberalism," The Church in a Secularized Society (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), pp. 45-46.

⁵² David P. Killen, "Americanism Revisited: John Spalding and Testem Benevolentiae," Harvard Theological Review, 66 (1973), 413-454, p. 426.

⁵³ Jay P. Dolan, The American Catholic Experience, p. 318.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 318.

⁵⁵ Fulton J. Sheen, The Cross and the Crisis (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1937), p. 192.

⁵⁶ "What is the Lay Apostolate?" Program of Action, (Loveland, Ohio: Grailville), p. 42.

⁵⁷ Michael Harrington, The Other America (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963).

⁵⁸ Mel Piehl, Breaking Bread, p. 173.

⁵⁹ Sally Kennedy, Faith and Feminism, p. 119.

⁶⁰ Marguerite Tjader, Diakonia, 11: 171-7 (No. 2), 1976.

⁶¹ Mel Piehl, Breaking Bread, p. 109.

⁶² Ibid., p. ix, Preface.

⁶³ John Cogley, Catholic America (Garden City, New York: A Doubleday Image Book, 1974), p. 82.

⁶⁴ John Hellman, Emmanuel Mounier and the New Catholic Left, 1930-1950 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), Introduction.

⁶⁵ Jacques Maritain, True Humanism (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938).

⁶⁶ Jay P. Dolan, The American Catholic Experience, p. 329.

⁶⁷ Mel Piehl, Breaking Bread, p. 60.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 156.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 193.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 88.

⁷¹ John Cort, "The Catholic Worker and the Workers," Commonweal, No. 55 (1952), 635-637.

⁷² Mel Piehl, Breaking Bread, p. 160.

⁷³ Sally Kennedy, Faith and Feminism, p. 121.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 123.

⁷⁵ Rachel Donders, an unpublished manuscript on the history of the Grail, written by the second international President of the Grail.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 6, 7.

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 7, 8.

⁷⁹ Conversations with Rachel Donders.

⁸⁰ Alden V. Brown, The Grail Movement, p. 13.

⁸¹Private interview with Monsignor James F. Coffey, Bay Shore, N. Y., 1986.

⁸²Alden V. Brown, The Grail Movement, p. 28.

⁸³Rachel Donders, pp. 28, 29.

⁸⁴Alden V. Brown, The Grail Movement, p. 89.

⁸⁵Letter of Bishop Thomas E. Molloy, Bishop of Brooklyn, to Doctor James F. Coffey, April 28, 1955.

⁸⁶Joyce Dietrick, Janet Kalven, Peg Linnehan, and Dorothy Rasenberger, "The United States of America," in Histories of the Grail, 1982, p. 81.

⁸⁷See Appendix for copy of Monica House Fall Program '52.

⁸⁸Rachel Donders, p. 43.

⁸⁹Ibid., as quoted by Rachel Donders, p. 44. Taken from Father van Ginneken, "Course on the Apostolate of Women," Conference No. 23.

⁹⁰Alden V. Brown, The Grail Movement, p. 316.

⁹¹As quoted in Alden V. Brown, The Grail Movement, p. 309.

⁹²Ibid., p. 300. "A Summary of Responses to the Draft Statement on the Nucleus from the Grail in North America," January 1967, p. 2, GA.

⁹³Ibid., pp. 300, 301.

⁹⁴Catherine de Hueck Doherty, Fragments of My Life, pp. 65, 66.

⁹⁵Eugene Cullinane, "... And Was Called a Communist," in Restoration, Combermere, Ontario, Canada, p. 6.

⁹⁶Catherine de Hueck Doherty, Fragments of My Life, p. 110.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 112.

⁹⁸ Stanley Vishnewski, "She Ain't White and She Ain't Colored," Restoration, Memorial Edition, February-March, 1986, p. 8.

⁹⁹ Wilfrid Sheed, Frank and Maisie (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985), p. 163.

¹⁰⁰ Catherine de Hueck Doherty, Fragments of My Life, p. 165.

¹⁰¹ Audrey Monroe, "Remembering the B," Catholic Worker, January-February, 1986, p. 4.

¹⁰² Anna M. Brady, "The Baroness in Harlem," Catholic World, January 1940, p. 476.

¹⁰³ Eddie Doherty, "Harlem's Holy House," Catholic Digest, April 1941, No. 6, Vol. 5, pp. 1-5.

¹⁰⁴ Mary Fregeau, "Friendship House," Catholic Digest, August 1947, pp. 16-19.

¹⁰⁵ Maisie Ward, Unfinished Business (London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1964), p. 249.

¹⁰⁶ Catherine de Hueck Doherty, Fragments of My Life, p. 154ff.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Merton, The Seven Story Mountain (New York: Random House, 1948), p. 346.

¹⁰⁸ From a private letter from Belle Mullins to the author, October, 1986.

¹⁰⁹ Catherine de Hueck Doherty, Fragments of My Life, p. 172.

¹¹⁰ Letter of Belle Mullins.

¹¹¹ Helen Iswolsky, "The Third Hour," The Commonweal, November 29, 1946, pp. 163-164.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 163.

¹¹³Julie Kernan, Our Friend, Jacques Maritain (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1975), pp. 67-68.

¹¹⁴V. S. Yanovsky, "Helen and Her Third Hour," The Third Hour, Memorial Volume, The Third Hour Foundation, 1976, pp. 3-10.

¹¹⁵William Miller, Dorothy Day, p. 361.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 419.

¹¹⁷Marguerite Tjader, "Helen Iswolsky Lives On," The Third Hour, Memorial Volume, The Third Hour Foundation, 1976, p. 15.

¹¹⁸Alexander P. Obolensky, "Helen Iswolsky: In Memoriam," The Third Hour, Memorial Volume, The Third Hour Foundation, 1976, pp. 23-24.

¹¹⁹Helen Iswolsky, "Soloviev and the Eirenic Movement," The Third Hour, Memorial Volume, The Third Hour Foundation, 1976, p. 74.

¹²⁰Helene Iswolsky, No Time to Grieve . . ., p. 256.

¹²¹Ibid., p. 269.

¹²²Ibid., p. 277.

¹²³Alexander Dru, The Church in the Nineteenth Century: Germany, 1800-1918 (London: Burns & Oates, Faith and Fact Books, 1963), pp. 8, 9.

¹²⁴Bill McSweeney, Roman Catholicism, pp. 37, 38.

¹²⁵Alexander Dru, The Church in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 14, 15.

¹²⁶John Fitzsimons and Paul McGuire, eds., Restoring All Things, A Guide to Catholic Action (London: Sheed and Ward, 1939), from "Catholic Action in Belgium," p. 138.

¹²⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸Eugene Langdale, ed., Challenge to Action, Addresses of Monsignor Joseph Cardijn (Chicago, Ill.: Fides Publishers, 1955), p. 11.

¹²⁹Louis J. Putz, The Modern Apostle (Chicago: Fides Publishers Association, 1961).

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 79.

¹³¹Ibid., p. 81.

¹³²The account of the beginning of the Young Christian Workers in New York is taken from an interview with Dr. Mary Buckley who was one of the first members of the Y.C.W. in New York City.

¹³³William D. Miller, A Harsh and Dreadful Love (Garden City, New York: Image Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1974), p. 214.

¹³⁴Minutes of Ex. Y.C.W. Members Meetings, Spring, 1986.

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 1.

¹³⁶Meeting in New York of Father Wendell's 1335 group, March 8, 1986, p. 10.

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 7.

¹³⁸Private interview with Carol Jackson, May 1986.

¹³⁹Private interview with Doreen O'Sullivan, May 1986.

¹⁴⁰Meeting in New York of Father Wendell's 1335 group, March 8, 1986, pp. 11, 12.

¹⁴¹Eugene Langdale, ed., Challenge to Action, p. 108.

¹⁴²Ibid., meeting in New York, p. 16.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁴⁴Denys Turner, "Freedom in the World," as found in Vatican II: The Christian Layman, edited by Jeremiah Newman (Dublin: Scepter Books, 1966), p. 109.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

¹⁴⁶John Tracy Ellis, "American Catholicism and the Intellectual Life," Thought, Fordham University, Fall, 1955.

¹⁴⁷Thomas F. O'Dea, American Catholic Dilemma (New York: New American Library, Sheed and Ward, 1958).

¹⁴⁸Jacques Maritain, True Humanism.

¹⁴⁹John Hellman, lecture delivered at Lonergan University College, Concordia University, 1987.

¹⁵⁰John Hellman, Emmanuel Mounier and the New Catholic Left, 1930-1950.

¹⁵¹Ibid., p. 159.

¹⁵²Lawrence F. Barmann, Baron Friedrich Von Hügel and the Modernist Crisis in England, p. ix.

¹⁵³Jay P. Dolan, The American Catholic Experience, p. 318.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., p. 319.

¹⁵⁵Mei Piehl, Breaking Bread, p. 156.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 157-158.

¹⁵⁷Roger Aubert, "Recent Literature on the Modernist Movement," Concilium.

¹⁵⁸Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, Vichy France and the Jews (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1981).

¹⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 197-198.

¹⁶⁰Robert O. Paxton, Parades and Politics at Vichy, The French Officer Corps Under Marshal Pétain (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1966).

¹⁶¹Ibid., p. 200.

¹⁶²Helene Iswolsky, No Time to Grieve ..., p. 185.

¹⁶³John Hellman, Emmanuel Mounier and the New Catholic Left, 1930-1950, p. 165.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 166.

¹⁶⁵As quoted in Hellman, p. 167.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p. 175.

¹⁶⁷Program of Action, a suggested outline for the Lay Apostolate of Young Women, Grailville, Loveland Ohio, 1946, pp. 95, 99.

¹⁶⁸Daniel Callahan, The Mind of the Catholic Layman, pp. 97-98.

¹⁶⁹Thomas O'Dea, The American Catholic Dilemma, p. 78ff.

¹⁷⁰Jay P. Dolan, The American Catholic Experience, p. 317.

¹⁷¹Thomas O'Dea, The American Catholic Dilemma.

¹⁷²Alden Vincent Brown, The Grail Movement in the United States, p. 321.

¹⁷³Jean-Guy Vaillancourt, Papal Power, p. 126ff.

¹⁷⁴Alden Vincent Brown, The Grail Movement in the United States, p. 270.

¹⁷⁵Douglas Roche, The Catholic Revolution (Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1968), p. 148.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., p. 110.

¹⁷⁷Ibid., p. 50.

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APPENDIX

a

Witness is a man

whose life and faith
are so completely one
that when the challenge comes
to testify for his faith,
he does so,

DISREGARDING ALL RISKS,
ACCEPTING ALL CONSEQUENCES

Whittaker Chambers
Witness

MONICA HOUSE FALL '52

"This man came for a WITNESS, to give testimony of

A CORDIAL WELCOME

Nov. 6, 1952

OPENING SUPPER—6:30 P.M.

Officially beginning the fall program at
MONICA HOUSE

With an official Opening Supper to be held on Thursday evening, November 6th, the Fall Program at Monica House will be underway. The Staff warmly invites all young women who realize the need for a dynamic Catholic influence in our Twentieth Century to be with us for the evening. At this time the plans and courses for the year will be discussed as well as the why's and wherefore's of Monica House itself. Florence Henderson and Joan Lark, newly in charge, together with Marguerite Lunney, leader of the High School Program, will be on hand to meet and greet all who come.

THE CATHOLIC IN THE WORLD

Nov. 9 - Dec. 14

a program of six lectures by outstanding Catholic lay men and women—eminent WITNESSES for Christ in contemporary society.

Sunday - 8 P.M.

ALL ARE WELCOME

DRAMA - A MEDIUM FOR TESTIMONY

Starts Nov. 9

a Sunday afternoon series on this forceful means of public influence — with a dual experience of play-reading and play-writing . . . to be held at Monica House apartment by Mary Wolfe.

3:30 P.M.

SATURDAY NIGHT PROGRAM

Beginning Nov. 8

result of the growing desire to celebrate Sunday—the great weekly feast, the day of adoration, renewal and re-dedication . . . a vigil program built around the Mass and Office of the following day and the season of the Church year.

Gay Charles and Ann Hinchey

7:30 P.M.

the TRUTH that all men might believe through him."

INTRODUCTORY PROGRAM **Opens Nov. 12, 6:30 supper**
six week series of study and discussion on the role of
young Catholic women in the present world crisis.

Nov. 12 THE ETERNAL WOMAN **Rev. James Coffey**
lecture on the Psychology of woman

Nov. 19 WOMAN AND THE CRISIS
special guest lecturer

Nov. 26 THE SPIRITUAL MISSION OF WOMAN
Total Dedication - Joan Lark
Spiritual Motherhood - Pat McMahon

Dec. 3 YOUR VOCATION AND THE CHURCH TODAY
an open discussion

Dec. 10 TECHNIQUES OF LAY ACTION
Rev. George Fogarty - the apostolate
of young women in the New York area

Dec. 17 NEW SPHERES OF INFLUENCE
panel on apostolic opportunities in
the metropolitan area

ADVANCED PROGRAMS

FALL 1952

THE APOSTOLATE TO THE NON-CATHOLIC

a study of this field and development of specifically
LAY approaches to groups outside the Church—with a
view towards creating an "Open Door," led by Sylvia
Agar.

THE UNIVERSITY APOSTOLATE

designed to foster in students and graduates of secular
and Catholic universities a spirit of initiative in assuming
roles of leadership and responsibility, headed by Valerie
Stoppani.

EXPANSION GROUP

preparation by a team of young business girls to carry
on the work in Queens area in the new year. Marie
Klonowski.

Announcing - - -

new fall program

for high school girls

A RECREATION WORKSHOP

4:00 P.M. MONDAY AFTERNOONS - Starting Nov. 17.

experience of practical techniques in
recreation leadership, including—

demonstration dance teams

square dance calling

group singing and directing

principles of party planning and decoration

psychology of group participation

—based on a background study of the need for WHOLENESS
in Catholic lay life . . .

—climaxing in the presentation of a recreation course during
Christmastide.

—with a view towards establishing a recreation service for
parishes and groups in the diocese.

Marguerite Lunney

TRANSPORTATION:

BMT Brighton to Seventh Avenue

IRT Seventh Ave. express to Bergen St.

Fifth Ave. Bus to Sterling Place

Flatbush Ave. Bus to Sixth Ave.

For any additional information:

MONICA HOUSE

131 Sixth Avenue

Brooklyn 17, N. Y.

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