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Mass Public: God's Word, the People's Language, and U.S. Catholic Liturgical Reform 1940-1974

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Jennifer A. Callaghan

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ABSTRACT

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Jennifer A. Callaghan

In 1964 the Second Vatican Council encouraged a switch from Latin Mass, celebrated by Roman Catholics across the globe in standardized form since the 16th century, to Mass in the languages spoken by the local people and with some adaptation to local circumstances. This event is familiar to scholars of Religion, American Religious History, and U.S. Catholicism, for all of whom it marks an important historical pivot in culture and practice. The story of the Latin Mass, and its mid-20th century exile, has subsequently come to occupy a central symbolic place in the construction of popular as well as scholarly ideas about religion, modernity, and political responsibility. The language reforms of the middle to late 1960s were opportunities for U.S. Catholics and those who studied them to emphasize certain aspects of many interwoven liturgical strategies, but the narrative that emerged surrounding these events often ignores local projects in favor of projecting a story about the obvious suitability of English for post-war U.S. Catholic practice.

This dissertation explores liturgical reform projects undertaken by two urban Catholic dioceses between 1940 and 1974, a period including but not confined to the vernacular language reforms of the 1960s. I argue that liturgical reform both before and after the Second Vatican Council was a category name for efforts by liturgical activists with related but not identical agendas. They hoped to use the persons, spaces, and ambience organized within the Mass to create a common U.S. Catholic identity suitable to the range of religious and civic activities in which Catholics found, or hoped to find, themselves. This attitude would operate outside the

Mass, but it would be especially legible in the bodies, faces, and voices of individuals who helped to create the experience of the Mass for each other each Sunday.

In the 1940s, a limited interest in the phrase active participation inspired numerous conversations in Catholic liturgical publications. Attending to these conversations yields a historically situated definition of active participation as a phrase with useful authority for inspiring liturgical campaigns and for disciplining the Catholics involved in them. In early 1950s Boston, one such campaign gave diocesan liturgical experts the opportunity to create a significant local community of liturgically expert lay Catholics simultaneously enjoined to capitalize on the growing political and cultural strength of white Catholics, especially men, after the Second World War. Both the narrative and strategies adopted by the archdiocese of Chicago for standardizing vernacular worship in the 1960s continue this pattern, simultaneously working on local Catholics as members of a religious community and as citizens in this period of relative political, economic, and cultural success for white middle class families.

With the advent of the vernacular, largely English, Mass, scholars of and within Catholicism identify a tradition that has finally become a producer of American political virtues. Yet, both before and after the council, liturgical activists used Mass education programming to form Catholic parish communities. Before the Council they did so using English as an educational supplement to Latin celebration. After, they used English as both a measure of participation and a guarantee of communal modernity. To understand vernacular liturgy as a liberation of U.S. Catholics is to miss both the continuity of liturgical discipline across this period and the triumphal nationalism that is smuggled into U.S. Catholic history by uncritically accepting a uniformly English Mass as metonymy for lay freedom, maturation, and spiritual fulfillment.

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I gathered research for my argument at archives and libraries across the country, a few of which are included in the bibliography to this dissertation. I am extremely grateful to the staffs of both the Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Records Center and the New World Publication Office in the Archdiocese of Chicago, the American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives at the Catholic University of America, and the Archives of the University of

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Dedicated To
Beverly Tyleen Nora Anne Schott Callaghan
(1918-2009)

At the beginning of all this, there you are.

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A Brief Introduction: *Occurrences and Analyses of the U.S. Catholic Mass*

The Roman philosopher [Cicero] little foresaw that in Rome itself, and in the countries which have derived their creed from her, the belief [in consuming the gods in the form of food and drink] which he here stigmatizes as insane was destined to persist for thousands of years, as a cardinal doctrine of religion, among peoples who pride themselves on their religious enlightenment by comparison with the blind superstitions of pagan antiquity. So little can even the greatest minds of one generation foresee the devious track which the religious faith of mankind will pursue in after ages.¹ – James Frazer, 1890

The 1960s began with Christian theologians declaring that God was dead; it ended with millions of Americans finding that God could be approached and made relevant to their lives in more ways than they had ever imagined. Campus ministries forged new brands of politicized spirituality. Evangelical churches and conservative denominations grew quietly in the suburbs. After the Second Vatican Council, Catholics began hearing mass in English and participated more actively than before in Sunday services.² – Robert Wuthnow, 1998

The [19th century U.S. Catholic] Mass was a curious combination for lay people. It was private prayer done in public, an individual exercise that just happened to be carried out in the presence of other people. The service itself was more widely available than ever before, and yet it remained remote. Parishioners were there, but they were passive, often absorbed in their own thoughts. ... Some might simply lapse into inattention, of course, but those who tried to be prayerful could do so without actually following the liturgy.³ – James O'Toole, 2008

The U.S. Catholic Mass sits at the intersection of fundamental problems for Religious Studies, for American Religious History, and for U.S. Catholic Studies. It grounds these three constellations of interests in one central act of public worship for which Catholics come together and over which they come apart. The Sunday Masses celebrated in U.S. parishes during the

¹ James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A New Abridgement from the Second and Third Editions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 520.

² Robert Wuthnow, *After Heaven: Spirituality in America Since the 1950s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 53.

³ James O'Toole, *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 119.

transition from the traditional Latin rite to a new English liturgy between 1964 and 1969 are particularly problematic. In the first constellation, the Catholic Mass is a ritualistic religious practice that rests uneasily within modern life. In the second, shifts in the celebration of Mass provide a narrative for U.S. Catholic ascendancy at a time when they were seeing their tradition featured on the national stage, through the election of John F. Kennedy (1960), and global stage, through coverage of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1966). In the third, the long Latin history of the Catholic Mass represents a backwards age from which 20th century liturgical reforms finally liberated Catholics for a truly American articulation.

The Mass is also central to conversations about ritual and sacrifice that have organized Religious Studies since its birth in the 19th century. From Durkheim's totemic celebrations of community to Freud's collective memory of the primal horde, theorists of religion have been interested in sacrifice. Many have referenced its “survival” in rituals like the Catholic Mass.⁴ Attention to the Mass may also reconfigure that initial conversation, emphasizing practices over beliefs as a way of extricating the field from a theological and cultural agenda inflected by Protestant Christianity.⁵ Today, scholars engage the Catholic Mass with the accumulated influence of centuries of these conversations.

⁴ Religious Studies also posits sacrifice as producing social peace or social inequality. See for example Rene Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, translated by Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.); Maurice Godelier, *The Enigma of the Gift*, translated by Nora Scott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.) Each time, theorists preserve a functional equivalence between sacrifice rituals and the formation of community. Scholars involved in comparative projects are especially likely to encounter discussions of sacrifice, see for example David L. Weddle, *Sacrifice in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (New York: New York University Press, 2017).

⁵ Catherine Bell, discussed in Chapter Two, is engaged in this work. See also Kristin Norget, Valentina Napolitano and Maya Mayblin, eds., *The Anthropology of Catholicism: A Reader* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017). David Badillo ties this narrative explicitly to Latino popular Catholicism's use of sensory and performative religiosity, arguing Catholic elites alternately played on and suppressed popular piety. David Badillo, *Latinos and the New Immigrant Church* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), xii.

The Mass also figures prominently in discussions of American religion because Mass attendance can be quantified and subsequently correlated with other data, such as political affiliation or civic engagement. These are important analyses to Catholic institutions, to political parties, or to any well-informed citizen because they promise aids for analyzing, monitoring, or regulating complex populations. John McGreevy uses the “marked declines in mass attendance” to argue that the turmoil of Vatican II and its U.S. reception decreased the Church’s capacity to make “claims on Catholic lives.”⁶ Observers of American Catholicism over the past several decades have continued to take the Mass as a central piece of data for any examination of contemporary American Catholicism. The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life treats the Mass as a singular element of Catholic life.⁷ Surveys track Mass attendance as an indicator of religious commitment among American Catholics and predict the relative influence of distinct groups on the future of the American Catholic Church.⁸ By attending to the Mass, these researchers agree, we can learn fundamental truths about Catholicism’s operation in a given social environment.⁹

⁶ John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 260. Throughout this dissertation I will capitalize Mass to refer to Catholic public worship. But when quoting from other work I will preserve the author’s original capitalization.

⁷ Pew’s Survey uses self-identification to designate membership in the Catholic Church, not Mass attendance or any particular belief. But the latter two categories are tracked against designations and intensities of Catholic identity. Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, *U.S. Religious Landscape Survey*. February 2008. The Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate, a research center housed at Georgetown University, also tracks Mass attendance. Robert Wuthnow discusses the impact of polling on American religious identity, specifically noting that Boston’s Archbishop Richard J. Cushing, discussed in Chapter Two, responded to a 1945 poll suggesting a decline in church attendance with a warning against subsequent declines in patriotism. Robert Wuthnow, *Inventing American Religion: Polls, Surveys, and the Tenuous Quest for a Nation’s Faith* (New York: Oxford University Press), 60.

⁸ William V. D’Antonio, James D. Davidson, Dean R. Hoge, and Mary L. Gautier, *American Catholics Today: New Realities of Their Faith and Their Church* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 10.

⁹ Attendance at special Masses, especially those associated with particular political campaigns, bears the same weight for passionate historians as it does for self-reflective Catholic communities themselves. For examples of scholarly and religious Mass narratives converging around the issue of racial integration and anti-war protests respectively, see McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 149; Shawn Francis Peters, *The Catonsville Nine: A Story of Faith and Resistance in the Vietnam Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 116.

The problems and promises of studying the Mass form a background against which this dissertation presents the diocesan project of securing active liturgical participation both before and after the 1964-1969 vernacular reforms. I argue that active participation was an idea applied to calls for both laity and clergy to take their rightful place in understanding, celebrating, and leveraging the potent religious formation made possible by the Roman Catholic Mass in the middle decades of the 20th century. Active participation in the Mass was a framework that had become available to Catholic agencies decades before the Second Vatican Council for envisioning ideal Catholic communities and the relationships between their members. When the liturgical reforms initiated by the Council began to take effect, dioceses adapted this conversation for the development of their programs in a way that had conflated vernacular and active participation by the early 1970s. The constellations summarized in the opening of this dissertation have limited scholarly analysis of this liturgical reform project. But a close reading of the points of intersection between liturgy, language, and U.S. catholic public activity provides a useful analytical approach.

There is a particular narrative that dominates 20th century American Catholicism, contested but not as of yet replaced. In it, the Second Vatican Council opened both the Catholic Church and the Catholic person to the world. This consensus continues, if incompletely, to hobble consideration of the Latin Mass in late 20th/21st Century American Catholicism.¹⁰ This dissertation argues that active participation named a long-term liturgical project undertaken for numerous, sometimes competing, agendas. The project sought to understand Catholic community at the level of parish, nation, and universal church. It also hoped to publicize this community to those within

¹⁰ Even with an essentially conservative view of “religion,” 20th century U.S. Catholicism is ultimately a liberal project. Mary Jo Weaver and R. Scott Appleby wondered, “since our understanding of religion suggested to us that it is generically conservative, . . . if momentum favored an organized group of right-wing Catholics. Could they effectively change the direction American Catholicism has been moving for the past thirty years.” Mary Jo Weaver and R. Scott Appleby, eds, *Being Right: Conservative Catholics in America* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1995), viii.

as well as outside of its borders. The vernacular stage of the liturgical reform campaigns following the Second Vatican Council provided a landscape upon which simultaneous conversations about the public place, and face, of Catholics in U.S. culture could be staged. These conversations also formed a set of circumstances out of which to build not one response but a set of inextricably opposed counter-responses: the dominant English Mass forces of mainstream and diocesan Catholicism, and the dissenting Catholic partisans of the old Latin Mass.

The Haunting Figure of the Latin Mass in U.S. Culture

Central to my argument is the idea that the Mass operates both within the Catholic herself, as her realization of the relationship between creature and creator articulated by her tradition, and in public spaces which touch her but over which she has no control. One example of the latter sphere is popular culture. In her 2006 article, “Don DeLillo’s Latin Mass,” literature scholar Amy Hungerford describes the novelist DeLillo as a non-practicing Catholic “essentially formed by the experiences of his early life” in Bronx Catholicism, from parochial schools through graduation from Fordham University just before the Second Vatican Council.¹¹ DeLillo’s novels provide Hungerford with an opportunity to see this biography lifted entirely out of U.S. Catholic history and made instead into a theory of aesthetic rapture.

Hungerford argues that the novelist “ultimately transfers a version of mysticism from the Catholic context into the literary one . . . through the model of the Latin mass, [skirting] doctrine while maintaining a Catholic understanding of immanent transcendence. The Latin Mass demonstrates, for Hungerford “how religion that is abandoned in most respects can persist in a

¹¹ Amy Hungerford, “Don DeLillo’s Latin Mass” *Contemporary Literature* 47, no. 3 (Autumn 2006): 343.

literary form.”¹² In DeLillo’s work the Latin language is “a secret held and protected by a group that itself does not know the secret but nevertheless believes in it,” and it is this structure that Hungerford sees organizing his approach to writing.¹³ She argues that his theory of language, and thus of writing, draws on the same process as the one by which the Latin Mass produces worshippers who “may recite the prayers without knowing the meaning of the words while nevertheless understanding the experience of saying those words as his or her most powerful approach to God.”¹⁴ This is a theory of transcendence enabled by obfuscation, by either a dismissive or deliberate insistence by elites on closing off intelligible communication.

This same figure has been made available to DeLillo’s use and to Hungerford’s analysis by Catholics themselves, by the scholars who study them for institutional improvement or collegial discussion, and by the commentators who share a world but not a religion with their Catholic fellow citizens. Everyone has told their story of the day the Mass changed. A synthesis of that narrative gives Hungerford an opportunity to ground the literary argument that she constructs for interpreting DeLillo’s work:

starting on the first Sunday of Advent, 1964, the Latin mass largely, and immediately, disappeared from the common parishioner’s experience. But the rise of the vernacular mass did not do away with the Latin mass altogether, or do away with the need to respond to a form of religious ritual that, over the centuries, had posited a special relationship between language and the mystical. The Latin mass, as a linguistic and spiritual practice, persisted in the imagination of Catholic writers for decades after its replacement. Indeed, perhaps because it was no longer at the heart of weekly religious habits, it became available, in a new way, for literary engagement.¹⁵

The narrative of the Latin Mass is simply a metonymic figure, illustrating the biographical and aesthetic development of author Don DeLillo. It persisted in the imagination of more than

¹² Ibid., 344.

¹³ Ibid., 352.

¹⁴ Ibid., 354; 375-7.

¹⁵ Ibid., 347. Hungerford’s Catholic narrative is nuanced and grounded in both primary and secondary scholarship.

Catholics, and more than writers, and once there it was available for all manner of engagements.

There is a general discomfort with Latin that extends beyond the Catholic Mass and is reflected in the deepest corners of U.S. media and its popular consumption. The website tvtropes.org, a collaborative internet site for defining and discussing television programs, describes three of the most common ways these programs trade on the meanings associated with Latin.¹⁶ These tropes provide a helpful summary of the ways that viewers now know Latin to operate in popular culture. Contributors associate Latin with remote (in time and space) cultures, refined intelligence, or dangerously mishandled power. It suggests both prestige and pretense, both the possession and misuse of power. In certain situations, it is enough to know that something is in Latin for television audiences to register a scene as ominous.

The cliché of dangerous Latin chanting is deeply embedded in popular US cultural consciousness, particularly within the horror genre.¹⁷ In the 2011 film *Cabin in the Woods*, a group of friends weekending in a remote cabin find themselves the targets of a family of homicidal zombies.¹⁸ The group's predicament begins when one character finds a diary in the cabin basement. She begins to read aloud from the diary to her friends' delight and discomfort, and then breaks off.

¹⁶ The first trope is *The Queen's Latin*, which points to the use of British accents to indicate remote or antique cultures. The second is "Smart People Know Latin," which uses knowledge of Latin to indicate a character's intelligence and/or elite cultural status. The third is "Ominous Latin Chanting," which applies associations from magic and liturgy (http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/search_result.php?q=latin&cx=partner-pub-6610802604051523%3Aamzitfn8e7v&cof=FORID%3A10&ie=ISO-8859-1&siteurl=&ref=&ss= accessed May 29th 2017).

¹⁷ The feminist humor website *the-toast.net* published a Sept. 2015 article "Welcome to Final Girl Groves Retirement Home!" (<http://the-toast.net/2015/09/29/welcome-to-final-girl-groves-retirement-home/>). It describes a retirement home community for the 'final girl,' another horror movie trope. The final girl is that girl who somehow escapes until the end to defeat the horror villain (at least until the next film in the franchise). The post describes an idyllic retirement community for final girls. Residents alert medical professionals if they encounter "sleeplessness, loss of appetite, or sudden bursts of Latin speech while bleeding from the eyes," as these would indicate ongoing repercussions of their horror movie experiences. Commenters on the piece suggested other home rules, such as a staff position dedicated solely to scouring the residential library for any texts "in Latin or in Gothic print (or – shudder – both)."

¹⁸ Filmmakers Drew Goddard and Joss Whedon also worked on television's *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (1996-2003), a genre crossing show that lovingly skewers a number of narrative conventions. Here they skewer horror movies by framing the events at the cabin within a larger conspiracy in which a human organization coordinates and administers human sacrifice, such as the one depicted here, to appease gods who would otherwise destroy the world.

“And then there's something in Latin,” she says. Another character interrupts, “Okay, I'm drawing a line in the fucking sand, here.” He emphasizes his reason for interjecting by stating explicitly, “Do not read the Latin.” But she continues despite her companions’ cries to stop, insisting that the text “doesn’t even mean anything.” But the film insists that it does, as the screen cuts to monsters waking and beginning to rise. Latin can raise zombies in the film, and its villains intentionally left the particular words which do so out where foolish youths could stumble on them. The group is doomed, in part, because they have forgotten, or have dismissed, the idea that Latin really is dangerous after all. The 21st century media landscape builds on a historical suspicion of Latin that extends back far beyond the 1960s. But it has been significantly recontextualized, along with U.S. Catholicism, by the liturgical reforms of those years and the narrative of Latin’s obvious inappropriateness for modern American life.

Tropes referencing the dangerous elitism of Latin are not reducible to the special history of the Catholic Mass. Even the Catholic Mass itself is not reducible to a history that fails to consider other terms. Latin is a shared possession, one which circulates in sacred and profane registers, within and without the tradition. But the 20th century translation of the Mass from Latin into vernacular languages, most frequently English in U.S. dioceses, intersects with this story in a number of ways. Cultural attitudes towards Latin informed the development of the Mass and the Mass developed in conversation with these same cultural attitudes.

This dissertation focuses on the story that Catholics told each other about the Latin Mass between 1940 and 1974, but attends to other stories, ones they shared with distinctly non-Catholic groups and interests and into which their translation narratives fit with varying degrees of ease. I also emphasize the collaboration between scholars of U.S. Catholic history and Catholics themselves on the liberatory and triumphant aspects of this story. I do so in part to free this area

of scholarship *from* a historiography that justifies itself by condemning the Latin Mass partisans of the late 20th century and *for* a wider engagement with the 21st century resurgence of Latin Mass attendance. I offer not a revision of these latter stories but a supplement, an illumination of what is lost when a single narrative dominates and what can be regained by applying a different lens to these events.

The Politics of Latin Mass Representation

Related but not identical to the cultural associations discussed above, non-Catholics in the U.S. have viewed the Latin Catholic Mass with substantial suspicion since well before the vernacular reforms of the mid-20th century.¹⁹ This attitude has survived into the 21st century, though it is usually deployed in more complex patterns than the simple anti-Catholicism of earlier ages.²⁰ In the middle of a glowing review of both Eileen Markey's biography of Sister Maura Clarke, *A Radical Faith: The Assassination of Sister Maura* and Sister Maura herself for online

¹⁹ See for example the 19th century exchange between anonymous non-Catholic and Catholic newspaper editor in H. "Letter 1 -- no Title." *The Catholic Telegraph (1831-1846)* 10, no. 43 (Oct 23, 1841): 342-342. See also B, C. "Letter V." *United States Catholic Miscellany (1822-1835)* 8, no. 7 (Aug 23, 1828): 52-52; VERAX. "The Catholic Doctrine of the Mass." *The Catholic Telegraph (1831-1846)* 12, no.29 (Jul 22, 1843): 228.

²⁰ Andrew Greeley argues that several media narratives with unfounded suspicion of Catholic leadership and obedience dominated political coverage of abortion. Andrew Greeley, *An Ugly Little Secret: Anti-Catholicism in North America* (Sheed Andrews and McMeel: Kansas City, 1977), 27. Greeley provides a list of those suspicions that include but are not limited to several points tied to the Mass as I discuss it here: Catholics "could not be a good American because of your *superstitious religion*, because of the constraints of ecclesiastical discipline . . . , *because you were dominated by your clergy and your scheming, plotting hierarchy*, . . . because you went to bad parochial schools, because you were led by corrupt politicians, *because you did not have the ambition or the energy to work hard like other Americans*, because the commitment to Catholic faith impeded serious, open-minded, intellectual research, because you worshipped the saints and the Virgin Mary, because you thought what the priests and bishops told you to think, . . . because your religion was incompatible with modern science" (29, italics mine). Greeley goes on to argue that the residual biases of these narratives were perhaps especially preserved in "the upper levels of the American educational enterprise" in forms more sophisticated than the popular nativist origins (2, 63;78). Anthony Petro highlights an additional approach to 'anti-Catholicism' and urges scholars not to mistake the voices of queer and feminist activists, whose use of Catholic imagery lies outside mainstream understandings professed by both the Church hierarchy and the secular press, as necessarily anti-Catholic. Doing so, Petro argues, deprives both the activists and Catholicism of legitimate ties to one another, unnecessarily truncating the category of Catholicism. Anthony M. Petro, "Ray Navarro's Jesus Camp, AIDS Activist Video, and the 'New Anti-Catholicism,'" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, forthcoming.

socialist magazine *Jacobin*, Hilary Goodfriend describes the massive impact of the Second Vatican Council as follows: “In 1962 . . . the council sent shockwaves through the Catholic world by authorizing mass to be celebrated in local languages, freeing the teachings of the church from an elite order of Latin-speaking guardians to be understood and interpreted by any worshipper.”²¹ Goodfriend gives a relatively thin description of the council and its impact, but it is not markedly different from the organizing themes by which, as I demonstrate below, historians of U.S. Catholicism depict this period. It is a commonplace that the Council freed Catholics, that it freed U.S. Catholics in ways that are inextricable from the particular political situations in which they found themselves, and that the best way to illustrate and explain this new freedom is through reference to the democratization of the liturgy. The Latin Mass is, obviously and essentially for these arguments, an impediment to any U.S. Catholic possibility for doing good in the world. Latin binds Catholics, acclimating them to passive attendance at a ritual in which they learn only to submit to authority. A well-formed citizen in the U.S. is expected to operate with intelligence and independence in political life, that is, when she participates in the election of representatives and in the various methods used to lobby elected officials for or against particular legislation. Attending Latin Mass trains her in precisely the suppression of these abilities.

I want to examine this suspicion of Latin Mass attendance through an example that does not, initially, involve any explicit reference to Catholicism. Andrew Sullivan is an English Catholic pundit, now based in New York. In early 2017 he cautioned his *New York* readers against a new “academic craze,” “operating, in Orwell’s words, as a ‘smelly little orthodoxy,’ [manifesting] almost as a religion.”²² Sullivan critiques the protest that shut down a controversial

²¹ Hilary Goodfriend, “Not Just Nuns” *Jacobin*, May 15, 2017.

²² Andrew Sullivan, “Is Intersectionality a Religion?” *New York*, March 10, 2017.

speaker's talk at Middlebury College in Vermont for being beholden to the intellectual "orthodoxy" that certain speakers should not be invited to speak to a community if members of that community are threatened by the speaker's topic.²³ Sullivan does not engage with the substance of this "craze" or the scholarship out of which it developed. He simply identifies protesters as crazed in order to describe their protest strategy. He calls it an ideological commitment that "controls language and the very terms of discourse," and proceeds to critique it using terms loaded with religious valence – original sin, confession, heresy, etc. More, he describes the Middlebury protesters as engaging in "organized chanting," and a "form of religious ritual – a secular exorcism, if you will – that reaches a frenzied, disturbing catharsis." He then condemns protesters as insufficiently democratic because they perform a ritual opposition instead of entering into dialogue, a behavior he calls a "total rejection of reason or conversation."²⁴

The weight of Sullivan's critique falls on "religious" elements of the protesters' worldview. The protesters, insists Sullivan, are religious creatures precisely insofar as they are *not* reasoning ones. But, Sullivan continues, "reason and empirical debate are essential to the functioning of a liberal democracy." Language must support reason. It must function primarily and entirely as communication suited to contemporary conversations. Language that is chanted in unison, that does not grapple with its own motivating ideas, is anathema to Sullivan's vision for America and for modern civilization. He links these anti-democratic qualities with "the Puritanism once familiar in New England," perhaps to avoid condemnation of Catholicism or perhaps to ground the

²³ Sullivan attributes the actions of protesters to a new investment in intersectionality, a term which entered academic discourse in 1989. See Kimberle Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *The University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989: 1, Article 8.

²⁴ Sullivan feels no compulsion to engage rigorously with the intellectual framework behind the protester's choices (or even to accurately identify his anti-shibboleth's original author) because he sees in the students who adopt it no such engagement. He is unreasoning because he does not see them as practicing reason. The cycle guarantees itself.

Middlebury incident in an American religious history dominated by the Puritan story. But the authors of a response published by the online magazine *Religion Dispatches* dismiss his position by arguing that, “of course what Sullivan describes . . . isn’t exactly ‘religion’ so much as Christianity or, more specifically, Catholicism.”²⁵ The “obvious” comparison for chanting and anti-democratic organizing, when it comes to religious elements, is Catholics and their Mass.

* * *

My study of the Catholic Mass in recent American religious history brings together many of the particularly vivid elements of choreographed and scripted behavior which so offended Andrew Sullivan in the Middlebury protest that he was forced to compare it to a religious system. Broadly, this dissertation grapples with a complicated tendency among those who think about U.S. politics, demonstrated in the *Religion Dispatches* response but also in Sullivan’s own argument, to pit certain past or passive religious elements against particular democratic ideals.²⁶ Sullivan’s

²⁵ Sunnive Brydum and Evan Derkacz, “Andrew Sullivan really took this opportunity to misread intersectionality?,” March 23, 2017. <http://religiondispatches.org/andrew-sullivan-really-took-this-opportunity-to-misread-intersectionality/>, accessed May 29, 2017). Brydum and Derkacz’s point is also made, though through a very different method and in service of a very different strategy, by Amy Hungerford in her article, discussed above. Hungerford comments that “One cannot talk about the blockage of intention in the context of Catholicism without coming, quickly, to the question of obedience.” Hungerford, “Don DeLillo’s Latin Mass,” 352. There is some inextricable relationship between blind obedience and Catholicism. More recently, Angela Nagle comments on the aesthetic of Hulu’s 2017 adaptation of Margaret Atwood’s *The Handmaid’s Tale*, which explicitly gestures toward America’s Puritan past. Nagle resists that interpretation. “There is a distinctly Catholic clerical quality to the dramatic dark red robes in these Magdalen-laundry-style institutions,” she writes, “and flashes of public hangings and cloaked women resemble something closer to modern-day Saudi Arabia,” (Angela Nagle, “The Market Theocracy,” *Jacobin*, May 10 2017, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2017/05/handmaids-tale-margaret-atwood-trump-abortion-theocracy>, accessed May 17 2017). Nagle refuses to let Catholicism (and, somehow relatedly, Islam), off the hook for theocracy, or to direct the usual fundamentalist critiques against Protestantism instead.

²⁶ I do not argue that this tendency is unique to the U.S. case. This principle has a longer and more geographically diffuse history, one that has occupied Talal Asad in much of his work. Asad makes the point that religion and politics have evolved, in Western democracies, to occupy mutually enabling jurisdictions. Talal Asad, “Trying to Understand French Secularism,” in *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-Secular World*, ed. Hent de Vries and Lawrence E. Sullivan (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), 500. But the tendency is grounded in the particularities of the U.S. case as I engage it here, a case marked by the argument Martin E. Marty makes for a U.S. public Church that is built up through local churches which are each an “invitation to people to share power, to multiply their efforts for work in the world,” for precisely the kind of public work that requires pluralist religious debate. Martin E. Marty, *The Public Church: Mainline – Evangelical - Catholic* (New York: Crossroad, 1981), 51.

references to bodily gestures performed in unison, to recitations of “a common liturgy . . . from sheets of paper,” and the scripted dialogue of protesters is certainly one associated with Catholics, and aligns with aspects of liturgical conversations and campaigns that I discuss throughout this dissertation. But my analysis will not conflate these historical elements with uncomprehending and anti-democratic formation. As a scholar of U.S. Catholicism, I disaggregate the largely non-Catholic voices who use religious elements especially associated with Catholicism to pit religion against democracy from the Catholics who embrace those same elements while refuting the charge that they corrupt democratic participation.

The Latin Mass offers Hungerford an analytical model for linguistic transcendence and the editors of *Religion Dispatches* an opportunity to distinguish unreasoning and anti-democratic religion from reasonable political demonstrations like the Middlebury student protests. Scholars of American religion have rarely found the Latin Masses a useful model for explaining anything beyond Catholic particulars. They prefer to assign religious ideas, usually those derived from and operating within Protestant Christian communities, to that explanatory work.²⁷ To the extent that any religious practice serves scholars metonymically as an American religio-political identity, the revival is the most obvious candidate. For decades, the field of American religious history has produced expansive studies of revivals, pairing them with democratization, marginalized communities, socio-economic classes, institution-building, militarism, media, and political activism.²⁸ George Thomas argues that revivalism “was central to the constituting of the U.S.

²⁷ Attempts to reframe the topic in just such terms notwithstanding. For one attempt, see Jon Butler, “Historiographical Heresy: Catholicism as a Model for American Religious History” in *Belief in History: Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion*, ed. Thomas Kselman (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991).

²⁸ For a discussion of minor or oppressed communities who found power in 19th century revival contexts, see also Catherine Brekus, *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845* (University of North Carolina Press, 1998) and Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). For a discussion of revivals powered by middle-class self-preservation as flattening the possibilities for those who fell outside class boundaries, see Paul E. Johnson and Sean Willentz, *The Kingdom of Matthias* (New York:

polity, and it has shaped subsequent religious-political movements.”²⁹ William G. McLoughlin posits an explanation of the American religious identity entirely through the mechanism of revivals, the last of which coincided with the Catholic period of liturgical reform stemming from the Second Vatican Council³⁰ For McLoughlin, revivals allow those who attend them to abandon old forms of life for ones better suited to contemporary conditions. They are moments of critical thinking, of an individual’s “mature belief,” that simultaneously re-establish ties to institutional religion and guarantees that those ties are healthy ones.³¹

Collectively, historians of American religion understand revivals as the corporate experience of individual salvation in a form extraordinarily suited to the needs of democratic capitalism. Revival scholars carefully insist that, even if revivals contribute to religious

Oxford University Press, 1994). For the beginnings of Pentecostalism in revival meetings, from an initial support of marginalized groups developing into far more rigid social conservatism, see Randall Stephens, *The Fire Spreads: Holiness and Pentecostalism in the American South* (Cambridge: Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008). For a discussion of revivals as opportunities to reformulate relations between labor and management in the early 19th century, see Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978). For a discussion of how revivals led to the embrace of church organizations modeled on economic individualism, see Curtis D. Johnson, *Islands of Holiness: Rural Religion in Upstate New York, 1790-1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989). For a description of the “institutional linkages” revivals wove between 19th century religion and politics, see George M. Thomas, *Revivalism & Cultural Change: Christianity, Nation Building, & the Market in the 19th-Century United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). For a discussion of how revivals organized the national feeling of both sides of the Civil War, though particularly in the south, see Harry S. Stout, *Upon the Altar of the Nation: A Moral History of the Civil War* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001). For the hope that U.S. evangelicals held for a “revival” after their popular defeat in the aftermath of the Scopes Trial, a revival that would mean a return to political ascendancy, see Tona J. Hangen, *Redeeming the Dial: Radio, Religion, and Popular Culture in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). For an extension of Hangen’s story into the middle of the 20th century, when evangelicals began to regain institutional political position, see Joel A. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

²⁹ George M. Thomas, *Revivalism & Cultural Change: Christianity, Nation Building, & the Market in the 19th-Century United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 1.

³⁰ William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: ... Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

³¹ Frank Lambert describes the role of national papers in creating the idea of the revival which village ministers then “found” and fanned in their own congregations. Frank Lambert, *Inventing the Great Awakening* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 128. Relatedly, see Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity* on the importance of newspapermen as religious authorities in the early American republic. See also Butler’s observation that popular religion may seek out institutional authority as easily as their opposite and argument that the 2nd great awakening firmly established institutional religion. Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 4.

institutions, the individual confrontation between soul and deity, is personal.³² This very tension between the individual and the institution, then, produces a uniquely “American” religious community. The Latin Mass exists in the negative space of this narrative, a religious practice that fails to align with it on every level. The vernacular Mass has provided scholars of U.S. Catholicism with a way to narrate Catholic worship in a way still distinct from this “American” religiosity but not fundamentally opposed to it. They discard an anti-democratic threat by discarding the Latin Mass. But they do not untie the knot binding revival-style religious practices and political participation. Where the Latin Mass remains, so too does the danger to representative democracy.

The Historical Context of U.S. Catholic Liturgical Reform

In 1964 most Americans Catholics experienced their first vernacular Mass; by 1974 it was the only legitimately American Catholic ritual for an America that had given Catholics the legitimacy of a successful presidential candidate for the first time in 1960. The history of U.S. Catholicism is one of coming to constitute a developing nation, swelling to fill in its gaps and fill out its edges. But it is also, simultaneously, one of constituting the nation’s other. It sits “askew” the national character and its version of modernity, as Robert Orsi argues in his reflection on Catholics in the American Century.³³ The history of liturgical reforms recapitulates, realizes, or

³² See Johnson and Willentz, *The Kingdom of Matthias*; Thomas, *Revivalism & Cultural Change: Christianity, Nation Building, & the Market in the 19th-Century United States*. 19th century revival-goers discovered themselves to be “free, but morally responsible to yield to God,” a sentiment that supported both industrial capitalism and the social gospel. Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Abingdon, 1957), 25. Kevin M. Kruse makes a similar point in *One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America* (New York: Basic, 2016), in which he argues that “corporate titans” and “conservative clergymen” combined their efforts in order to constrain government regulations and maintain the freest possible marketplace.

³³ Robert A. Orsi, “U.S. Catholics between Memory and Modernity: How Catholics Are American,” in *Catholics in the American Century: Recasting Narratives of U.S. History*, eds. R. Scott Appleby and Kathleen Sprows Cummings (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 41. James J. Hennessey argues that Catholics were contiguous but not continuous with modernism. James J. Hennessey, S.J., *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

reconfigures a much more expansive history of Catholicism in the United States, a history that becomes especially salient with the opening of the 20th century. Scholars have explained the liturgical changes either as the culmination of a long story or as the beginning of a much more recent one. The argument from continuity maintains that a vernacular (usually English) liturgy had always been important to American Catholics but only the Second Vatican Council had given this principle the space to develop. The argument from rupture claims that the Council empowered previously passive bishops, clergy, religious and laity, making the American Catholic Church both finally and fully a modern American institution.

U.S. Catholics remained somewhat uninteresting to Rome through the first two decades of the 20th century, the nation's status as a 'missionary' territory of other European lands having only been lifted in 1908. This relative autonomy left U.S. Catholics subject to the whims of various national and international authorities, creating a space for the working out of a distinctly American set of competing jurisdictions and strategies for leveraging one against the other.³⁴ At the same time, the Catholic population continued to grow significantly, pushed by waves of immigration from Western, Southern, and Eastern Europe.³⁵ These populations provided financial support and manual labor for the construction of substantial infrastructural resources. Churches, schools, hospitals, and space for other Church activities were built across the country but especially within the large cities of the North and West, all to be inexpensively staffed by clergy and religious, especially nuns.³⁶

³⁴ See Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J., *The Vatican and the Americanist Crisis: Denis J. O'Connell, American Agent in Rome, 1885-1903* (Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae, 36, Roma 1974); see also Peter R. D'Agostino, *Rome in America: Transnational Catholic Ideology from the Risorgimento to Fascism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

³⁵ See David O'Brien, *Public Catholicism* (New York: MacMillan, 1989).

³⁶ See Maureen Fitzgerald, *Habits of Compassion: Irish Catholic Nuns and the Origins of New York's Welfare System, 1830-1920* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006) and Anne M. Butler, *Across God's Frontiers: Catholic Sisters in the American West, 1850-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015). See also Ann Braude,

Spurred by nativist as well as political concerns, the U.S. government restricted immigration during the first world war, ushering in a period during which the number of U.S.-born Catholics gradually came to overwhelm the population of their immigrant co-religionists.³⁷ Many U.S. Catholics were inspired by a loose association of projects grouped under the name Catholic Action which began in Europe in the late 19th century. By the early decades of the 20th century Catholic Action constituted an international agenda of lay action under hierarchical direction. This movement coincided roughly with a number of U.S. progressive economic campaigns as well as the Protestant social gospel movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.³⁸

Catholics remained a distinct community within the country, sensitive to anti-Catholic prejudice. This communal solidarity combined with Catholic Action's drive for public engagement and the massive resources that had grown up around the Church made U.S. Catholics into a potent political force, and an attractive voting block for F.D.R. during his initial 1932 and subsequent presidential campaigns.³⁹ Though the failed 1928 presidential campaign of Al Smith, a New York Democrat associated with opposition to Prohibition, showed that Catholics themselves were not acceptable political figures to many US voters, Catholic votes could buoy not only local candidates but a national campaign as well. Over the next several decades many Catholics, either

"Women's History Is American Religious History" in *Retelling U.S. Religious History*, ed. Thomas A. Tweed (San Diego: University of California Press, 1997). For a related argument set in mid-20th century U.S. Catholic history, see Kathleen Holscher, *Religious Lessons: Catholic Sisters and the Captured Schools Crisis in New Mexico* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

³⁷ Waves of U.S. immigration from the Americas follow a different timeline than those from European nations, due to fluctuating national/territorial borders, temporary worker programs, and other influences on human geography uniquely pertinent to the former group. For an argument that the modern surge of Latinx immigration into U.S. cities originated in the post-war period, modulating but not enervating my periodization here, see Lilia Fernandez, *Brown in the Windy City – Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Postwar Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

³⁸ Pius XI encouraged the expansion of Catholic Action projects and provided its most frequently circulated definition during his papacy (1922-1939), but the movement and its ongoing tensions between lay energy and hierarchical control both preceded and extended beyond his tenure. See Robert A. Graham, "The Laity, the Council and the New Apostolate," *America*, May 6, 1961. <https://www.americamagazine.org/issue/100/laity-council-and-new-apostolate>.

³⁹ See David B. Woolner & Richard G. Kurial, eds., *FDR, the Vatican, and the Roman Catholic Church in America, 1933-1945* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010).

through affiliations with the hierarchy or the labor movement, also cooperated with the American state by helping the FBI monitor suspected communists. Throughout the mid-20th century they increasingly sought public service in the FBI itself, as well as, much more commonly, local urban police forces or the U.S. military.⁴⁰ The story of the American state was a Catholic story. But it was a story Catholics told through tensions, not identification, with a society that remained vaguely suspicious of their tradition, a suspicion that had not infrequently used their liturgical use of Latin as an example.

World War II brought Catholics into close association, both militarily and in popular entertainment, with their non-Catholic fellow countrymen.⁴¹ Those primarily white ethnic Catholics knit into the new American “Judeo-Christian” cultural consensus enjoyed the fruits of a postwar economic boom, which in combination with increased educational attainments derived from decades of dedication to both parish schools and Catholic universities, tuition to the latter increasingly provided by the G.I. Bill after WWII, thrust them into new socio-economic success. Their success meant that the Catholic “block” began, by the 1950s, to relax its boundaries.⁴² Still, many Catholics, especially in established urban centers like Boston and Chicago, maintained distinct practices, relationships, and symbolic systems. Historian John McGreevy marks this era with the comment that “altar boys [still] struggled to learn Latin responses” to the liturgy that held the idea, if not the actuality, of the parish together.⁴³ The Catholic community retained a sense of

⁴⁰ See Steve Rosswurm, *The FBI and the Catholic Church, 1935-1962* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), and Patrick McNamara, *A Catholic Cold War: Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., and the Politics of American Anticommunism* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005)

⁴¹ See Kevin M. Schultz, *Tri-Faith America: How Catholics and Jews Held Postwar America to its Protestant Promise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). For a discussion of the limits of this narrative, see also John C. Seitz, “The Mass-Clock and the Spy: the Catholicization of World War II,” *Church History* 83, no.4 (December 2014).

⁴² See Donald Crosby, *God, Church, and Flag: Senator Joseph McCarthy and the Catholic Church, 1950-57* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978)

⁴³ McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 79.

religious separateness, a sense which was inflamed in the 1959 presidential campaign of John F. Kennedy, who would become, as of 2017, the nation's only Catholic president.⁴⁴ His election coincided with the buildup to a massive international council of bishops that began meeting in 1962 to “throw open the doors” of the Church to modern life. The Catholic president and the modern Council combined to give both Catholics themselves and those who watched them, with suspicion or simple interest, a new set of rhetorical devices for articulating U.S. Catholic identity. One of those devices was the English Mass and the liturgical practices associated with it.

Chicago in Catholic History

Liturgical practices were governed by universal norms, but they lived in materially distinct places, subject to local adaptations and the varying capacity of particular dioceses to ensure uniform practices. Chicago, the setting for the second half of this dissertation, underwent local variations on the preceding national themes as much as in the implementation of liturgical reforms. Its strong parish structures stretched to accommodate suburban expansion after World War II and the mutual relaxation of borders between U.S. and U.S. Catholic culture. Historian Charles Shanabruch details the 19th century roots of archdiocesan strategies for managing and integrating diverse immigrant populations, such as the creation and maintenance of national parishes for distinct language groups, and shows how those parishes organized the Catholic Chicago of the 20th century.⁴⁵ The archdiocese became adept at championing the 19th and 20th century progressive

⁴⁴ See Thomas J. Carty, *A Catholic in the White House? Religion, Politics, and Kennedy's Pres. Campaign* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). This is not to say that all Catholics supported Kennedy, or that all Catholics supported Kennedy's statements about the role of religion in American life (that is, submerged into political service as nothing more than its moral center).

⁴⁵ Charles Shanabruch, *Chicago's Catholics: The Evolution of an American Identity* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981). For more general reading on Catholic immigration see Coleman Barry, *The Catholic Church and German Americans* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1953), Thomas T. McAvoy, *The Great Crisis in American Catholic History*,

social legislation that would benefit its members, both during waves of immigration and as the waves of succeeding generations began to break on the shores of the American middle class. As the Catholic population stabilized, larger social patterns combined with friction between old-world parents and children who were only comfortable in the new country.

Catholic and non-Catholic public spheres became increasingly interdependent, but their interdependence was expressed as part of devotional parish Catholicism. Robert Orsi's study of women's devotions to St. Jude, a national devotion with a local home in Chicago's South Side, traces the generational tensions that emerged between an older immigrant pattern, predicated on loyalties not so much split between old and new countries as dismissing the right of that distinction to overwhelm more personal projects, and new generations raised to meet and exceed American expectations.⁴⁶ These children spread and reconfigured their parents' Chicago Catholic faith through intermarriage, professional success, and geographic mobility, not to mention the Great Depression and the global wars on either side of it. The needs of a church-building clergy and an anxiety-managing laity led both to make a massive investment in devotional culture. By the 1950s Catholics could adapt these material conditions (in both the financial and sensory splendors of that phrase) to sew individual stitches in a shared religious fabric.

U.S. Catholic educational infrastructure was a clear example of the resources accumulated and distributed by a parish. James W. Sanders describes the institutional network that Chicago leveraged to create one of the world's most substantial parochial school networks, responding to

(Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1957), Robert Cross, *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), Victor Greene, *For God and Country: The Rise of Polish and Lithuanian Consciousness in America* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1975), and Jay Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).

⁴⁶ Robert Orsi, *Thank You, St. Jude: Women's Devotion to the Patron Saint of Hopeless Causes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

the needs of a Catholic population of impressive cultural and linguistic diversity.⁴⁷ The political power of Chicago's Catholics, especially the Irish community, meant that the Church had many friends in the halls of power.⁴⁸ The special nativist concern with public schooling encouraged Catholics to build their own educational infrastructure and the low salaries of religious staffs allowed these institutions to weather economic conditions more easily than their public counterparts. By 1965, the city of Chicago and its suburbs sent over 300,000 students to parochial school, representing about two thirds of the Catholic youth in the area.⁴⁹ An increasingly well-educated adult laity, coupled with shortages of priests and religious, led to the hiring of more lay teachers who made up 4% of the elementary teaching staff in 1950 but 38% by 1965.

At the same time, many parish schools within Chicago emptied as white Catholics fled to the suburbs to avoid integrated neighborhoods. For decades, scholars converged on a diagnosis of the pre-Vatican II Catholic as unprepared for integration into the American mainstream until they had overcome, in many cases tumultuously, the very parishes whose resources gave them the opportunity to do so from a relatively stable position. The same history that created strong urban parish environments put Catholics on a collision course with parallel forces in their nation and their Church. John McGreevy makes religion an explanatory factor for the violence with which

⁴⁷ James W. Sanders, *The Education of An Urban Minority: Catholics in Chicago, 1833-1965* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

⁴⁸ Those halls, both civic and chancery, were less hospitable to the city's black and latinx populations. Chicago Parish schools kept white and black students separate through 1945, when the archbishop (Stritch) desegregated them (but could not impose his order on schools, especially high schools, run by religious orders) with limited support from white priests and parishioners.

⁴⁹ Sanders, *The Education of An Urban Minority*, 4-5. These numbers must have included students who would not necessarily be considered Catholics but attended Catholic schools for educational opportunity, including some of the 21,000 black pupils attending parochial schools by 1965. For a discussion of Chicago black Catholic schools, see Matthew J. Cressler, "Authentically Black and Truly Catholic: African American Catholics in Chicago from Great Migrations to Black Power" (PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 2014). See also Sanders, Chapter 12 and McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*. The remaining third largely attended U.S. public schools (by choice, or because they were turned away by over-enrolled parochial schools), other private schools, or Catholic schools run by religious orders.

white Catholics in Chicago, Boston, and other northern cities responded to the Great Migration of African Americans from the southern states. He argues that Chicago Catholics in particular “defined their surroundings in religious terms,” exhibiting a special “Catholic propensity for equating parish and neighborhood.”⁵⁰ The surrounding U.S. culture faulted the “parochial” insularity of these self-contained worlds. Eileen McMahon argues that the worldview of Chicago’s midcentury Irish Catholics “developed out of their own historical experiences [which] unfortunately made them psychologically unprepared to deal with broader social issues that encroached on their community. . . . parish Catholicism, with its emphasis on devotionism, had not demanded a broader social conscience.”⁵¹ If devotionism was to blame for Catholic opposition to integration, active participation in the liturgy would provide the demand for broader social conscience that U.S. Catholics so urgently required. This was the argument made by many in the U.S. Catholic liturgical movement.

Power struggles, within the Church hierarchy and between clergy and laity, also featured prominently in Chicago Catholicism in the years immediately after the Council. Charles W. Dahm and Robert Ghelardi’s 1981 study focuses on the exercise and sharing of clerical power within the

⁵⁰ McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 5; 251. Through the 1940s, these neighborhood parishes helped various immigrant groups to settle in the U.S, letting them hear “the gospel in their native tongue, [worship] with other immigrants and [meld] European with American customs,” 11. McGreevy expands on this point by noting that a 1916 US Census found 2,230 parishes in the country used only a native tongue while another 2,535 switched between national language and English. Both McGreevy and Peter D’Agostino, in his *Rome in America*, describe the various power struggles between distinct national groups in the U.S.: a largely English-speaking and Irish-descended U.S. hierarchy, national dioceses and orders from the homelands of parishioners in question, and Roman administrative jurisdictions. D’Agostino is especially adept at demonstrating the complex lines of power between these groups, lines which led to alternating successful and unsuccessful outcomes for all parties. The founding of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in 1921, an offshoot of hierarchical activity during the First World War, was an early attempt to develop a unified strategy for an Americanizing process. During the interwar period, the ability of smaller national groups to leverage jurisdictional confusion became much more limited.

⁵¹ Eileen McMahon, *What Parish Are You From? A Chicago Irish Community and Race Relations* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), 3. McMahon allows that Irish arriving in nineteenth-century America encountered an Anglo-Protestant society skeptical of the arrivals, attributing their suspicions to Catholicism as “authoritarian, antidemocratic, and steeped in mysterious rites that bordered on hocus-pocus” (14).

archdiocese of Chicago. Like Sanders, they emphasize the massive administrative structure into which Archbishop Cody stepped in 1965 when he replaced Albert Cardinal Meyer. They argue that the Council's calls for expanding the exercise of power, "for greater participation in decision-making at every level in the Church," appealed to democratically inclined U.S. Catholic laity, and especially to clergy within the archdiocesan administration that employed them.⁵² The authors also document the emerging tactic of using Chicago's secular press to wage battles between priests and their bishop over administration of the archdiocese and its parishes. Tensions between bishops, priests, and people might be exacerbated by liturgical reforms. But the formation of U.S. Catholics after the Second Vatican Council also provided opportunities to form new alliances.

The Mass in the Long U.S. Catholic Liturgical Movement

The history of U.S. Catholicism is significantly inflected by the Second Vatican Council, and the Council performed its work both as a massive media event and through the documents it produced. Among these documents *Sacrosanctum Consilium*, the 1963 Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, is important both because it was the first to be issued by the Council and because the reforms it inspired took on so much of the work of representing the Council in the following decades. There is a rough consensus among both scholars and the general public that the advent of

⁵² Charles W. Dahm with Robert Ghelardi, *Power and Authority in the Catholic Church: Cardinal Cody in Chicago* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1981). Though the authors engage their topic with some degree of nuance, and in fact ascribe authentic and complex personal realities to the various Catholic figures they discuss, it would be difficult to find a more blatant example of an interpretive tendency to associate the Catholic Church with authority and materialism than the following sentence: "the bishop becomes the main secular beneficiary of the laity's eagerness to buy its way to salvation, and clearly the hierarchy's willingness to baptize this bourgeois tactic is part of the deal" (276). Dahm and Ghelardi's work treats the laity only in passing, but assert that lay Catholics have had enough of the power-mad clergy as well as bishops and have rejected the authoritarian Church for more participatory engagements. They point out the thriving organizational work of Reynold Hillenbrand, of the Christian Family Movement begun by Chicago couple Patrick and Patty Crowley, and the nation's first diocesan office serving Spanish-speaking Catholics, established in the 1950s. Chicago was also the basecamp for the National Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice, all powered, they argue, by the work of Chicago priests and laity with little institutional support.

the English mass in late twentieth Century American Catholicism was sudden, and it is closely related to the story of how the Second Vatican Council brought the Catholic Church into the modern world. This narrative emerged among those most intimately involved with the Council's work. In the year before it ended, Jesuit Clifford Howell wrote to Archbishop Hallinan that "when at last SOMETHING happens (as it is bound to do before the Parousia) it will be allowed to burst like an atomic bomb upon a totally unprepared, uncomprehending, startled and even shocked rabble of liturgically ignorant clergy and people who at present haven't a clue about anything."⁵³ Many of Howell's contemporaries considered his point to be accurate, and it continues to influence the discussion.

The Catholic liturgical movement began in Europe, taking its most concrete form in the Benedictine abbeys of Solesmes in France and its daughter-abbeys Maria Laach and Beuron in Germany, Maredsous and Mont Cesar in Belgium.⁵⁴ At Mont Cesar in 1909, Dom Lambert Beauduin (1873-1960) initiated an informal discussion of the liturgy. That September he gave a talk to the National Congress of Catholic Works calling "for full and active participation of all people in the Church's life and ministry, particularly in the liturgy."⁵⁵ Beauduin had found Pope Pius X's recent call for frequent communion somewhat disappointing for its neglect of the importance of Communion to the Mass, and his subsequent efforts redirected Catholic liturgy towards that end. In November, Mont Cesar began publishing a monthly publication (with French and Flemish editions) called *Liturgical Life*. Beauduin and the conversations at Mont Cesar and

⁵³ Clifford Howell, S.J., to Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan, May 14, 1964, Folder 18, Box 15, Frederick McManus Papers, Catholic University of America Archives, Washington D.C. Hereafter FRM.

⁵⁴ J.A. Jungmann, S.J., *The Liturgical Movement: With a Chapter on the Liturgical Movement in the United States by Rev. David M. Murphy* (Derby: St. Paul Publications, 1966); Keith F. Pecklers, *Unread vision: the liturgical movement in the United States of America, 1926-55* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1998). For a discussion of German diocesan liturgical developments and their articulation of the liturgical movement, see Leonard Swidler, *Aufklärung Catholicism 1780-1850: Liturgical and Other Reforms in the Catholic Aufklärung* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978).

⁵⁵ Pecklers, *Unread Vision*, 12; Sonya A. Quitslund, *Beauduin: A Prophet Vindicated* (New York: Newman, 1973).

its related abbeys became the center of a campaign to improve liturgical piety which soon became known as the liturgical movement.

American Benedictine Virgil Michel departed Collegeville, Minnesota's St. John's Abbey in 1921 to study in Europe.⁵⁶ There he took courses from Beauduin and developed an interest in liturgical principles which he brought back to the United States, founding the American liturgical movement in 1925 in collaboration with William Busch, a diocesan priest and seminary professor in St. Paul, Minnesota, Martin Hellriegel, a chaplain of the Sisters of the Most Precious Blood in O'Fallon, Missouri, and the Jesuit priest Gerald Ellard studying in Missouri at the time. These and other U.S. Catholics helped to found the press at Collegeville which produced liturgical pamphlets and the foundational journal *Orate Fratres*. Michel's Collegeville order was also originally responsible for the National Liturgical Week Conferences, annual meetings organized by the Benedictine Liturgical Conference from 1940 through 1944, and by the newly created Liturgical Conference of the U.S.A thereafter.⁵⁷ Between 1926, the year *Orate Fratres* began publication, and 1963, the year that the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy was promulgated, U.S. liturgical campaigns were oriented around Collegeville. Gradually after the Council, however, liturgical campaigns became organized around the Council.

Historians of the Second Vatican Council treat the introduction of vernacular liturgy as a radical course correction in U.S. Catholic development. Jay Dolan describes "the basis for liturgical renewal [as] a new theology of the church [whose] chief prayer was the Mass," because it encouraged the communal, public religion that devotions did not.⁵⁸ Most Catholics, Dolan

⁵⁶ Pecklers, *Unread Vision*; Paul B. Marx O.S.B., *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1957).

⁵⁷ Godfrey Mullen, "Participation in the Liturgy: The National Liturgical Weeks, 1940–1962" (PhD dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 2003). The conference was never held without episcopal sponsor until 1968.

⁵⁸ Jay P. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 389.

continues, embraced liturgical reforms as an embrace of their own maturity. Those who did not were simply petulant isolationists.⁵⁹ In his 2008 *The Faithful*, James O'Toole foreshadows the Council's work when he describes the 19th century introduction of several vernacular prayers as notable "since these were the only prayers [the laity] actually said aloud."⁶⁰ O'Toole takes it as natural that the laity would not say Latin prayers aloud and that saying prayers aloud in the vernacular was a positive development.⁶¹ In the same vein, David Badillo writes of the pre-conciliar U.S. Church that "the Mass was celebrated in Latin, a language that was not understood by any parishioners, regardless of birthplace."⁶²

Scholars understand the U.S. Catholic social reforms that followed Vatican II to have drawn heavily on the liturgical movement and its ideas. Recent books by Katharine E. Harmon and Michael Woods, S.J., develop the idea of liberation, documenting the ways that liturgical movement reformers attempted to open Catholicism to the needs and talents of previously neglected lay categories like women and rural Catholics.⁶³ Keith Pecklers concludes his illuminating history by emphasizing that "the liturgical movement in the United States . . . was a return to the very heart of the liturgy, to full and active participation as the source of Christian social consciousness. . . . [it] campaigned against individualism and materialism in the United

⁵⁹ Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, 430.

⁶⁰ O'Toole, *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America*, 136.

⁶¹ In a related move, scholars explain the pre-Vatican II popularity of devotions by contrasting them with the Latin Mass, implying the former filled a spiritual vacuum created by the latter's failure to satisfy the spiritual needs of lay Catholics. See Ann Taves, "Relocating the Sacred: Roman Catholic devotions in mid-nineteenth-century America" (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1983), 6; Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 211.

⁶² Badillo, *Latinos and the New Immigrant Church*, 209. Badillo seems to be arguing that both the Mass itself and the degree of difference between Spanish and, for example, Bohemian, liturgies is specific to the era of vernacular liturgy. His point is valid, but ignores the significant variation that was available prior to a fully vernacular Mass – variations in both the language used for instruction, announcements, homilies and non-Mass liturgies.

⁶³ Katharine E. Harmon, *There Were Also Many Women There: Lay Women in the Liturgical Movement in the United States, 1926-59* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2012); Michael J. Woods, S.J., *Cultivating Soil and Soul: Twentieth-Century Catholic Agrarians Embrace the Liturgical Movement* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2009).

States, offering a new vision of Church and human society.”⁶⁴ Anscar J. Chupungco, O.S.B.’s foreword to Peckler’s 1998 book notes with satisfaction that “after more than thirty years of postconciliar liturgy there is an ever growing interest in the liturgical movement that happily concluded with the promulgation of the Constitution on the Liturgy.” Chupungco’s insistence that the goals of the movement were realized by the Council both obviates any need for further liturgical reforms and casts a redemptive glow on the Second Vatican Council itself.

Many scholars have discussed the meaning of active participation for U.S. Catholicism. Theorists have identified active participation with the public character of Church worship.⁶⁵ Historians of U.S. Catholicism have emphasized the role that active participation rhetoric played in counteracting lay passivity and encouraging engagement with 20th century Catholic life and worship.⁶⁶ Historians of the liturgical movement offer greater detail about the history and application of the phrase. They contrast a 20th century marked by active participation with the previous centuries’ passivity and spectatorship.⁶⁷ Theological authors have developed more

⁶⁴ Pecklers, *Unread Vision*, 281

⁶⁵ Giorgio Agamben, *Opus Dei*, Meridian Crossing Aesthetics (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 27.

⁶⁶ See Timothy Kelly, *The Transformation of American Catholicism: The Pittsburgh Laity and the Second Vatican Council, 1950-1972* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 146; Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Seasons of Grace: A History of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 414; Patrick Allitt, *Religion in America Since 1945: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 81; Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 110, 389. Kelly is particularly interested in the collaboration between liturgical reform and a larger ‘reform spirit’ among Pittsburgh laity while Tentler confines her discussion to the Mass more narrowly. Allitt references active participation as part of a cluster of Second Vatican Council reforms which democratized the Catholic Church. Dolan’s argument is similar, but he locates it earlier in U.S. Catholic history and confines it to the history of the ‘liberal’ faction of the Church up through the present. Sociological explorations of post-conciliar developments of active participation illuminate the divergent uses to which various Catholic groups have put the phrase. David R. Maines and Michael J. McCallion, *Transforming Catholicism: Liturgical change in the Vatican II Church* (New York: Lexington Books, 1997), 27. The overall theme is perhaps most efficiently encapsulated by John W. O’Malley who says that “the most basic principle the council adopted on the liturgy [was] the insistence on the full and active participation of the whole assembly in the liturgical action.” John W. O’Malley, S.J., “Introduction” in *Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?* ed. David G. Schultenover (New York: Continuum, 2007), 8.

⁶⁷ Pecklers, *Unread Vision*, 47; Harmon, *There Were Also Many Women There*, 22-3; Woods, *Cultivating Soil and Soul*, xviii. These authors take for granted that the working of active participation had an ultimate, not merely a historical, meaning.

substantive definitions of active participation itself.⁶⁸ Each argument attributes significant importance to the phrase. But they do so largely in order to define other projects or patterns, leaving “active participation” itself a negative space, a rejection of some more concrete deficiency.

These arguments suggest that the liturgical movement machined tools for a postconciliar landscape and the U.S. Catholics who finally reached their potential upon it. Liturgical activism rescued both clergy and laity from their passivity, inaugurating conciliar changes that would see ever greater participation. And then its work was done.⁶⁹ Though authors never argue that a fully English mass was the organizing principle of the liturgical movement, the former’s dominance after 1970 is understood to be perfectly consonant with the latter’s vindication by the Second Vatican Council. Scholars accept that no one except clerical elites could understand liturgy unless it was in the vernacular and no one could be a part of the liturgy without understanding it in this way. Making this the only line of analysis has the unintended consequence of failing to ask how one or both of these might have been achieved without vernacular language. It neglects how this narrative has constrained much of our analyses of the Latin Mass, and it obscures all of the ways that liturgical programs sought not the liberation but the management of U.S. Catholics.⁷⁰ Joseph Chinnici, OFM’s insights into the “pedagogy of participation” harnessed for liturgical work, Keith Pecklers’ obvious sympathy for the frustrating experiences of the Chicago-born Vernacular Society, and Katharine Harmon’s history of efforts to increase Catholic understandings of Latin in

⁶⁸ Harold J. Wickey, *The Living Mass* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1961), 15; John L. Murphy, *The Mass and Liturgical Reform* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1956), vii. For Wickey, the important point was not to emphasize activity to the exclusion of intention; for Murphy it was to understand and appreciate as much as to do.

⁶⁹ One historian of Catholic Chicago notes sadly that “even the liturgical movement [lost] its vital connection with social action” there. Steven M. Avella, *This Confident Church: Catholic Leadership and Life in Chicago, 1940-1965* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992) 345.

⁷⁰ Robert Hovda, “‘We Need a Christian Elite’: Every Parish Must Develop Responsible Adult Catholics,” *Catholic Action News*, May, 1950.

the years before the Council all help push the study of liturgical reform to account for the full complexity of its subject.⁷¹ But their arguments remain embedded in an origin story which conflates vernacular with liberation. This dissertation attempts to provide a simple reference for disentangling them.

A Split U.S. Catholic Subject

The Second Vatican Council, according to the dominant narrative outlined above, was a modern and liberalizing endeavor. Recent scholarship on this issue has been more nuanced, suggesting, for example, not that the Council made American Catholics modern but that the Council caught up to American Catholics and the modernity they had already joined.⁷² Still, it tends to take the Council and its promise as inherently liberal. This suggests an escape from discipline, instead of an adapted (and in some cases more comprehensive) discipline, which more accurately depicts the liturgical apparatus that emerged during the 1960s.

Scholars vary in the division of their sympathies between “most Catholics” at vernacular Masses and the “rearguard” who prefer Latin, but they are largely in agreement that liturgical reform was essential to the post-Vatican II development of American Catholicism. For McGreevy, the “most dramatic” changes of the Council were liturgical, but he insists that these are impossible to disentangle from a Church-wide investment in social justice campaigns like the U.S. Civil

⁷¹ Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M., “The Catholic Community At Prayer, 1926-1976,” in *Habits of Devotion: Catholic Religious Practice in Twentieth-Century America*, ed. James M. O’Toole (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004); Keith F. Pecklers, *Dynamic Equivalence: The Living Language of Christian Worship* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2003); Katharine Harmon, “Learning Your Catholic Language: Attitudes and Approaches to Latin and Vernacular in the United States’ Liturgical Movement,” *Worship* 87, no. 4 (2013).

⁷² Kelly, *The Transformation of American Catholicism*, 296; Maines and McCallion, *Transforming Catholicism*.

Rights movement.⁷³ O'Toole ties rejection of liturgical changes explicitly to American conservatism when he observes that only a small minority of American Catholics whose “unease with the broader cultural changes of the 1960s fueled their passions” went so far as to picket outside New York’s St. Patrick’s Cathedral for the restoration of the Latin Mass.⁷⁴ James Hennesey S.J., though more troubled by liturgical reformers than later writers Dolan or O'Toole, celebrated their role in ending the “individualism and materialism [and] resultant social apathy” of the pre-conciliar period.⁷⁵ In conflating the new liturgical normal with adequate social responsibility, this historiography pulls any interrogation of Latin Mass Catholics towards descriptions of their social irresponsibility and failed modernity instead of towards identifying or analyzing any positive content to their decision.

The liturgical narrative has implications for the study of Catholic conservatives in the 20th and 21st Centuries. In the introduction to their 1995 edited volume of essays on conservative Catholics, Mary Jo Weaver and R. Scott Appleby muse, “the most obvious candidate for inclusion in this book was an essay on the pre-conciliar liturgy.”⁷⁶ Weaver and Appleby track with a good deal of sympathy the diverse Catholics who fit their definition. However, the defining characteristic, the reason each instantiation ultimately fits into their taxonomy, is that while both progressive and conservative American Catholics may be unhappy with the status quo, only “conservatives . . . are animated by resistance and opposition.”⁷⁷ Joseph Komonchak approaches this contrast more precisely when he suggests that categories like “liberal” and “conservative,”

⁷³ McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 160. Later in the same discussion McGreevy ties the “abandonment of Latin – a language obviously tied to Western Christendom – and the unprecedented tolerance of new liturgical forms” more directly to ecumenism and to a Church organized more and more by the global south.

⁷⁴ O'Toole, *The Faithful*, 307; 243

⁷⁵ Hennesey, *American Catholics*, 284, 316.

⁷⁶ Weaver & Appleby, eds., *Being Right: Conservative Catholics in America*, 11

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 13

which emphasize some sort of ideological coherence, may be less useful than tracing the careers of particular groups whose concrete conciliar agendas succeeded or failed over a particular time period.⁷⁸ The use of the Latin Mass for creating the category of the “Conservative Catholic” in the postconciliar period is both a postscript to my story and its initial provocation.

The triumphal story of this reform told by scholars and commentators simplifies the shift from Latin to vernacular Mass by neglecting the overwhelming resources devoted to English worship at the expense of other languages spoken by U.S. Catholics. It also obscures the systematic disciplining of Catholic subjects in educating them for new forms of religious practice that both necessarily and aspirationally suited the white, masculine organization of the U.S. state and society.

Chapter Outline

Throughout this dissertation, I look for the rationality of power instead of its headquarters. That is, I describe and analyze the standards accepted by a network of agents and agendas that between them comprised the landscape of Catholic possibilities.⁷⁹ That the English Mass liberated certain people, and that the language of liberation became inseparable from the narrative of a triumphant American Catholicism, should not be ignored. But it should not obscure the other, more illiberal, elements of the story. In the confrontations and negotiations that grew up around liturgical reform, archdiocesan actors contributed to an idea of lay activity, to the idea of the post-

⁷⁸ Joseph A. Komonchak “Vatican II as an ‘Event’” in *Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?* ed., David G. Schultenover (New York: Continuum, 2007).

⁷⁹ For a related argument see J. Michelle Molina, “Making a Home in an Unfortunate Place: Phenomenology and Religion,” in *The Anthropology of Catholicism: A Reader*, eds. Kristin Norget, Valentina Napolitano, and Maya Mayblin, (Oakland: The University of California Press, 2017).

conciliar Church, and to the role of the Mass in Catholic experience. That articulation offered opportunities for both sides to develop an interdependent Catholic subjectivity.

Intervening in the lives of Catholic practitioners at the level of their liturgy involved directing their bodies, both physically and socially. That public and political discourse frequently took Mass attendance to stand in for Catholic identity further complicated the issue. An underlying assumption about the Latin Mass was, and often is still, that it ritualized (produced and legitimized) lay passivity and clerical authoritarianism. This passivity was stored in the body, “placed beyond the grasp of consciousness, and hence [it could not] be touched by voluntary, deliberate transformation, [could not] even be made explicit,” as Pierre Bourdieu argued.⁸⁰ I push this analysis further, exploring both the fear of ritualized lay passivity and the goal of ritualized lay activity as aspects of the same process. For recent scholars, ritual “is a mastery that experiences itself as relatively empowered, not as conditioned or molded.”⁸¹ To be apt, to have mastery, in concert with a community of like-minded and like-bodied co-religionists, is to be more than merely passive. The Catholic Mass, Latin or vernacular, offered Catholics an opportunity to feel empowered relative to one or another situation.

This dissertation tracks the use to which liturgical campaigns both before and after the Second Vatican Council put the rhetoric of active participation. The phrase has a history longer than the one which I address, but I begin my discussion by summarizing its contours in the 1940s, a decade that saw the end of World War II and the invigoration of U.S. Catholic public life. **Chapter One** surveys articles in the founding U.S. Catholic liturgical movement journal *Orate Fratres* in order to arrive at a working definition of active participation, and to explore the ways

⁸⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) 94.

⁸¹ Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 221.

that contemporary liturgical activists understood the issue of liturgical language to modify more general active participation concerns. I build on Constance Furey's insight about the tendency of recent Religious Studies scholarship to elide the role and valence of relationships in its attention to the interactions of individual bodies and social structures. This approach illuminates the fundamental organizing work done by the relationship of priests and lay people to each other and to the Mass. The chapter argues that active participation was a fraught and contentious term, the details of which experts could not agree on even while each agreed that it was ideally suited to forming Catholic community, the goal towards which they all worked. This was especially pronounced among liturgists who debated the language question, with pastoral partisans of both Latin and the vernacular (primarily English) sharing space in the pages of *Orate Fratres*.

In the archdiocesan liturgical campaign of early 1950s Boston, active participation was bound up with local Catholic and secular concerns. **Chapter Two** explores the Demonstration Mass series, part of a liturgical campaign organized in the early 1950s by the archdiocese of Boston that presented a lecture-demonstration on the Mass to thousands of local Catholics and a few of their non-Catholic neighbors. Throughout this period, in the same newspapers and newsletters which encouraged Boston Catholics to attend Demonstration Mass programs, American Catholic men and women were encouraged to carefully yet confidently take their place in the political life of a post-war U.S. electorate. The constellation of programs associated with the Demonstration Mass, as well as the careful ways in which its sponsors differentiated it from an actual Mass, is usefully analyzed through focus on ritualization as a process, not ritual as a genre, suggested by Catherine Bell. The chapter examines active liturgical participation through an exploration of the ways that the Demonstration Mass slipped between performative, pious and political registers.

Like Boston, Chicago was a large U.S. city partially defined by its massive Catholic population and with an accompanying apparatus to manage that population. Unlike Boston, however, it had not developed a systematic liturgical program before the Second Vatican Council. After the Council's first session, however, Chicago began to organize its archdiocesan resources around addressing the implementation requirements of liturgical reforms. **Chapter Three** details the beginnings of Chicago's Liturgical Commission, which oversaw the reforms, and the Liturgical Training Program, which carried them out in the form of trainings and related publications. I examine the strategies created by the Liturgical Commission to define and subsequently cultivate active participation in Chicago through the various stages of vernacular liturgical reform. I also investigate the small experimental parish that several Chicago contemporary priests established in Panama. The comparison highlights what Chicago considered necessary and appropriate for the formation of particularly American Catholic communities. This formation involved training Catholics to be fully aware of their roles in the liturgy, and how performing them in the proper way could transform their own public works. The work of Pierre Bourdieu illuminates Chicago archdiocesan efforts to organize area Catholics, and the stakes of doing so.

Both the experience and the story of liturgical reform was part of the rich religious experience of Catholics themselves. Observing it was also part of the experience of non-Catholics, and of the narratives which reconfigured the public image of national religiosity over the course of the 20th century. These narrative lines converge in **Chapter Four**, which traces the final years of liturgical reform implementation in Chicago. The translation of the final Mass prayer into English in 1967, followed by the relatively rapid rollout of 1969's *novus ordo* Mass, established a fully vernacular liturgy in U.S. parishes by 1971. Chicago strictly enforced norms of liturgical language, but took a less rigid view of vernacular instrumentation, allowing guitars during Mass

but not attempting to place them in every parish. This wove two slightly different stories about the place of local variation in public Catholic worship. Over the same period Catholic offices and newspaper editors began to collect communal stories of the English Mass. The archdiocese and those Catholics satisfied with liturgical changes became part of a new, modern U.S. Catholicism. But Catholics who preferred the earlier Latin Mass fought for equality of liturgical participation from their archdiocese under the terms of American democratic rights. Journalists both contributed to and complicated these stories. Drawing on the observations of legal theorist Robert Cover, I consider the way that these distinct narratives emerged from the implementation of liturgical laws through “normative mitosis,” through the budding of distinct narratives around a shared legal event or edict, such as Chicago’s 1974 vernacular liturgy mandate.

Both before and after the council, liturgical activists used Mass education programming to form Catholic parish communities. Before the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* they did so using English as an educational supplement to Latin celebration. After, they used English as a measure of real participation. To understand English liturgy as a liberation of U.S. Catholics is to miss both the continuity of liturgical discipline across this period and the triumphal nationalism that is smuggled into U.S. Catholic history by uncritically accepting a uniformly English Mass as metonymy for lay freedom, maturation, and spiritual fulfillment.

Elementary Forms of Active Participation: *Liturgical Community and Language in 1940s Orate Fratres*

INTRODUCTION: Dialogue in the Mass and Media

More than a decade after Virgil Michel and a small group of colleagues established the U.S. Catholic liturgical movement Michel's Collegetown abbey was the center of a substantial publishing concern, the Liturgical Press. Perhaps its most widely known publication was *Orate Fratres*, founded in 1926 "to furnish a common medium of exchange, and to present to all the faithful the opportunity of an active exchange of views and impressions" about liturgical matters.⁸² As the young movement entered the 1940s, one of the more popular conversation topics in the pages of its flagship liturgical magazine was the Dialogue Mass.⁸³ In a Dialogue Mass, or *missa recitata*, parishioners and pastors exchanged designated Mass prayers as a dialogue.

In his 1947 encyclical *Mediator Dei*, Pope Pius XII insisted that "the Christian community is in duty bound to participate in the liturgical rites according to their station."⁸⁴ Liturgical experts emphasized the various elements of Pius XII's claim both before and after this document. Participation according to station required that every member know and perform their roles in close collaboration with other members of their community. Roles required specific communication strategies, whether Latin or vernacular. The Catholic Mass in the 1940s was

⁸² The Editors. "Foreword," *Orate Fratres*, November 28, 1926, 3. Editors were Mr. Donald Attwater, T.O.S.D., Capel-y-ffin, Wales; Rev. William Busch, St. Paul, Minn.; Rev. Patrick Cummins, O.S.B., Conception, Mo.; Rev. Gerald Ellard, S.J., St. Louis, Mo.; Mother Mary Ellerker, Duluth, Minn.; Rev. Martin B. Hellriegel, O'Fallon, Mo.; Rev. Leo F. Miller, Columbus, O.; Rev. James E. O'Mahony, O.S.F.C., Rochestown, Ireland; Rev. Richard E. Power, Springfield, Mass.; Mrs. Justine B. Ward, Washington, D.C.

⁸³ Jerome M. Hall, S.J., "Intelligent and Active Participation: The Liturgical Press," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 21, no. 3, Catholic Publishing: Revival, Reform, and Renewal (Summer, 2003): 49.

⁸⁴ Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, (Vatican City: AAS, 1947).

sacramentally effective where an ordained priest spoke the Latin words approved by Rome for use across the world. Dialogue Masses employed either Latin alone or both Latin and a national language like English. Either combination retained the effect of the sacrament while drawing increased attention to the fundamental social and spiritual dynamics organizing Catholicism's central public worship.⁸⁵ At some Masses in English-speaking parishes both celebrant and congregation spoke entirely in Latin. At others the celebrant and server spoke in Latin, another minister provided an English translation, and the people responded to him in English with prayers taken from missals or other pre-circulated publications.

The largely but not exclusively clerical authors from the English-speaking Catholic world who wrote about “active participation” for *Orate Fratres* in the 1940s were particularly concerned with parish celebrations of Mass. An English Dialogue Mass celebrated by a Catholic parish involved something more than simple translation of the Latin liturgy into English responses. “Since the responses made to the priest *by the server* must be in Latin,” explained one of the founding editors of *Orate Fratres*, “when we speak of a Dialog Mass in English it means that, while the server is answering in Latin, the people say the same prayers in English, if at all possible, in response to another priest leading them from the sanctuary.”⁸⁶ The prayers of both server and congregation were responses, ritual relationships linking distinct liturgical roles. The emphasis on roles, relationships, and the liturgy's ability to illuminate them was an important element of liturgical movement discourse.⁸⁷ *Orate Fratres*' authors discussed how a properly celebrated

⁸⁵ See preface to St. Andrew Missal for breakdown of difference between missas *recitata*, *dialogata*, and *cantata*. The general phrase ‘Dialogue Mass’ was used most often in English. I capitalize the word “Mass” throughout this dissertation but capitalization practices vary. Where an author uses “mass” I will maintain their convention.

⁸⁶ Gerald Ellard, “Progress of the Dialog Mass in Chicago,” *Orate Fratres*, November 26, 1939, 23. “Dialogue Mass” and “Dialog Mass” were both used to describe the liturgy. I use the former in my own discussion.

⁸⁷ And for scholars of U.S. Catholicism who see in the liturgical movement the beginnings of a more liberated laity. For example, Mullen argues that Dialogue Masses were particularly useful precursors to the contemporary period

parish Mass might affect the relationship of lay and clerical U.S. Catholics to one another, to the Church, and to the world.⁸⁸ This chapter explores how relationships structured liturgical movement arguments about active participation generally and the impact of liturgical language on active participation more narrowly.

Jesuit priest and liturgical movement figure Gerald Ellard's late 1939 *Orate Fratres* article about Dialogue Masses in the United States began by summarizing a September 11, 1939 *Newsweek* story on the same topic.⁸⁹ Ellard's article was meant for a small, liturgically active Catholic audience. He would certainly have appreciated its enlargement, though he might not have thought to aim for the size or religious pluralism of *Newsweek's* readership. *Orate Fratres* and *Newsweek* shared certain approaches to the Dialogue Mass, however. Both publications drew their respective audience's attention to two recent high-profile Dialogues Masses in Chicago. Both also linked these events to Catholic Action, Pope Pius X's 1905 "movement designed to enlist laymen as soldiers in a spiritual army," fighting under ecclesial authority for the realization of Catholic projects in the secular sphere of lay responsibility.⁹⁰

because "here, the faithful would be given a voice to pray as the co-offerers they were known to be." Mullen, "Participation in the Liturgy: The National Liturgical Weeks, 1940–1962," 267.

⁸⁸ Of approximately 100 references to "active participation" in that journal between November 1939 and November 1951 (following a liturgical year calendar), more than half emphasized some element of the parish dynamic. These findings are based on a digitization project in which I scanned published volume of *Orate Fratres*, conducted searches for variations on the phrase "active participation" (including "active and intelligent participation," "participate actively," "active participant," etc.), and tracked the liturgical context under discussion in each.

⁸⁹ Ellard was born in Wisconsin in 1894 and was ordained in 1926. He died in 1963 after substantial contributions to the U.S. Catholic liturgical movement. In a 1957 review of one of Ellard's books about the Mass, fellow Jesuit David Bowman remarked that praising Ellard "for scholarly and comprehensive work is somewhat like praising the grass for being greener in Ireland." David J. Bowman, S.J. "The Mass in Transition. By Gerald Ellard, S.J., Book Review." *Theological Studies* 18, January 1, 1957, 291-3.

⁹⁰ Ellard, "Progress of the Dialog Mass in Chicago," 19. Catholic Action as a means of organizing Catholics, especially Catholic youth, draws on Pope Pius X's 1905 encyclical *Il Fermo Proposito* and the social landscape of late 19th-century Italy, but the movement draws its most oft-quoted definition, "the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy," from Pope Pius XI in 1927. See Introduction for more on U.S. Catholic Action.

In 1939 Ellard took it upon himself to conduct “something like a ‘Dialog Mass Census’” of Chicago, in the hope that the information would encourage pastors already eager to adopt this liturgical practice in their own parish churches.⁹¹ Clerical experience organized and drove Ellard’s discussion of each Mass, but priests and laity were necessarily discussed in tandem. His article examined two instances of Chicago Dialogue Masses: the first at Mundelein’s Our Lady of the Lake Seminary, the second at St. Aloysius parish in Chicago’s near northwest neighborhood. Ellard quoted *Newsweek*’s critical diagnosis that “Most Masses in American Catholic churches” were, despite U.S. liturgical efforts to expand participation, “celebrated by one priest, assisted by acolytes (altar boys). The priest recites the Latin ritual, and altar boys respond on the congregation’s behalf. The layman in his pew is a ‘mute and silent spectator.’”⁹² The ‘mute and silent spectator’ was an unattributed quote from Pope Pius XI’s 1928 encyclical *Divini cultus* (or “Divine Worship”), one of three papal documents cited frequently within the pages of *Orate Fratres* itself.⁹³ Neither Pius XI, *Newsweek*, nor *Orate Fratres* meant it as a compliment. Rather, it registered as an indictment for both Catholic and non-Catholic readers. For the former, it was part of an internal conversation about the proper approach to public worship. For the latter, it echoed long-standing fears of U.S. Catholic obedience to an undemocratic authority that were just

⁹¹ Ibid., 20. The spellings ‘Dialogue’ and ‘Dialog’ were interchangeable.

⁹² Ibid., 19.

⁹³ The others were Pope Pius X’s *Tra le Sollecitudini*, a motu proprio issued in November of 1903, and *Mediator Dei*, an encyclical of Pope Pius XII issued in November of 1947 and thus available only to the later articles I discuss here. Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*; Pius X, *Tra le Sollecitudini* (Vatican City: AAS, 1903). It is likely that *Newsweek* knew the provenance of the phrase, although it is certainly possible that the author was simply picking it up from its ubiquity in U.S. Catholic conversations and publications without knowing the origin. In *Divini Cultus* Pius XI lauds the progress of Catholics since 1903 but urges that “these most wise laws” related to liturgical music be more fully implemented by bishops and ordinaries. Pius XI, *Divini Cultus* (Vatican City: AAS 21, 1928). This primarily meant a focus, among clergy and laity, on Gregorian Chant and sacred music. Mary Alice O’Connor discusses the importance of music to liturgical reforms, tracking it from *Tra le Sollecitudini* through *Divini Cultus*, *Mediator Dei* (1947), and the 1955 *Musica Sacra Disciplina*, along with the Sacred Congregation of Rites 1958 *Instruction on Sacred Music and the Sacred Liturgy* and John XXIII’s 1962 address to the UNESCO Congress on Music shortly before the opening of the Second Vatican Council. Mary Alice. O’Connor. “The Role of Music in the English Vernacular Liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church: 1963-1974” (DMA Dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1974.)

beginning to fade and that the Second World War would submerge in a narrative of the U.S. as a Judeo-Christian nation.⁹⁴

Ellard's Dialogue Mass census began with a clerical example. Priests at Chicago's Mundelein seminary performed every role constitutive of a Catholic Mass and they performed them all, "of course," in Latin. In a typical participated Mass Catholic laity were responsible for the 'ordinary' prayers, those prayers that did not change weekly. Priests-in-training took on the lay roles which they would soon leave behind forever. In their Dialogue Mass, Mundelein seminarians sang those as well as the part of the choir, that set of prayers 'proper' to a particular Mass according to the Church calendar.⁹⁵ The seminarians acting as choir and congregation also observed the priest acting as celebrant in preparation for their own future role.⁹⁶ Ellard described this exemplary Dialogue Mass, "admirably suit[ed to] the clerical status of the student-worshipers, utilizing to the fullest the opportunity for active participation," as follows:

not only the altar boy responses are said in common, which is often called the minimum type of Dialog Mass, and not only the choral parts of the ordinary, that is, the *Gloria*, Creed, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*, are recited jointly with the celebrant, which with the altar boy responses make up what is sometimes called the maximum type of Dialog Mass, but even the choral parts of the proper of the day, that is, introit, gradual, offertory and Communion anthems, are recited in their entirety.⁹⁷

Ellard lauded the seminarians' Dialogue Mass for inculcating an appreciation of the liturgy as a dynamic, social, and cooperative endeavor. But Ellard cautioned his *Orate Fratres* readers that few pastors in 1939 had an education like this one. Unsurprisingly, then, few Chicago parishes were given the opportunities granted St. Aloysius, the second example from Ellard's article.

⁹⁴ See Schultz, *Tri-Faith America*.

⁹⁵ In common parish practice the choir was often made up of priests from nearby schools or professional musicians, but in its ideal form it was made up of upstanding men from the specific parish congregation itself.

⁹⁶ There is a sense that as active participation approaches its 'fullest' form, laity would approximate their parish priests more and more closely. A similar teleology pervades the development of the liturgical movement more broadly, where monastic devotions are used to describe and evaluate lay progression.

⁹⁷ Ellard, "Progress of the Dialog Mass in Chicago," 20.

Ellard's census suggested that just under 12.5% of Chicago parishes used some form of Dialogue Mass in 1939.⁹⁸ Among that minority was St. Aloysius parish, which celebrated five Sunday Masses each week. Four Masses included dialogue: a 7:30 AM Dialog Mass in Latin, a 10:30 AM Dialog Mass in English, 12 PM Dialog Mass in English, and a 9 AM Solemn High Mass "with full participation of the children and many adults."⁹⁹ The pastor reported to Ellard that "nothing is easier than to get the people to participate. The men are as eager as the women. Our priests like to celebrate the Masses where there is this participation, on account of the spirit of the people."¹⁰⁰ Their active participation in the liturgy helped every member to realize the essential truth of Catholic community.¹⁰¹ The St. Aloysius Dialogue Mass represented an ideal liturgical form in which both clergy and laity reached religious fulfillment with and through one another.

Historian of Christianity Constance Furey argues that recent Religious Studies work has isolated the operation of religion at the intersection of individual bodies and collective social forces, de-emphasizing relationships in the process. Practice theorists like Catherine Bell, Michel Foucault, and Pierre Bourdieu have helped scholars to demonstrate "that what we study when we study the religious subject is not a free and autonomous being, but instead what is often called the split subject, a creation of forces and desires that escape conscious control."¹⁰² But Furey cautions

⁹⁸ Ibid., 23. A children's mass using English was most common. Local schools may have been more engaged in this aspect of the liturgical movement, though rates of response make it difficult to substantiate that claim. Of nine colleges/universities, three of the four responding institutions claimed to use the Dialogue Mass. Similarly, of sixty-six high schools, twenty-three reported with seventeen claiming to use it (22.) Ellard's conversations with a few local leaders of CISCA (the Chicago Inter-Student Catholic Action group) indicated that many of their member students were unaware of any church in or near Chicago offering a Dialogue Mass. (25)

⁹⁹ Ibid., 23. There was also a 6 AM Silent Mass (a "Low Mass") each Sunday.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 23.

¹⁰¹ Ellard's article does not mention how parishes were prepared. Other descriptions, often from slightly later, indicate that parish priests engaged in training parishioners before, after, or during mass, and that priests as well as other liturgical specialists scheduled special trainings, distributed printed materials, or attended choir practices in order to reach lay Catholics. Parochial schools and sodality meetings were other convenient training sites.

¹⁰² Constance M. Furey, "Body, Society, and Subjectivity in Religious Studies," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 80, no. 1 (March 2012): 20.

Religious Studies scholars against becoming overly reliant on a reading of practice theorists narrowed to analyses of social power either visited on or resisted by physical bodies. This reading elides or ignores how “intimacy is important . . . because although it most often reiterates convention, it can also be the space for imagining or enacting alternatives.”¹⁰³ Furey advocates a shift to relational understandings of this ‘split subject,’ neither wholly independent of nor fully determined by external forces but visible in “dependence, care, and the claim of enduring or intensely experienced affiliation.”¹⁰⁴ Furey’s insight illuminates an essential aspect of the liturgical movement and its projects. Catholics at Mass depended on, cared for, and experienced intense and enduring affiliations with one another.

Furey draws attention to several recent relational analyses of religious subjects, such as those by anthropologists Veena Das and Fenella Cannel, Cultural Studies scholar Lauren Berlant, and Religious Studies scholar Robert Orsi. In keeping with this earlier work and Furey’s call to continue in their direction, I argue that the liturgical proposals submitted to *Orate Fratres* should be understood not simply as pronouncements about the nature of the liturgy but as the authors’ vision of an ideal community for themselves and their tradition. This approach creates a useful tension with Catholic historian Jerome M. Hall’s understanding of the Second Vatican Council’s impact on the Catholic Church. Hall acknowledges that Catholics before the 1960s were defined by their relationships, but insists the majority “concentrated on the individual’s relationship to Christ or the saints rather than on the relationship of worshipers to each other by virtue of their

¹⁰³ Ibid., 22. As I discuss in the introduction, Bell and Bourdieu are useful for understanding the implementation history of U.S. Catholic liturgical reform. But their arguments, especially as they have been narrowed by particular usage of scholars who came after, lend themselves to an analysis that loses sight of relationships, as Furey points out (14).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 21.

common membership in the Church.”¹⁰⁵ Hall’s comment suggests that liturgists writing for *Orate Fratres* in the 1940s and scholars of U.S. Catholicism in the 21st century share certain assumptions about the tradition, though the contexts and therefor implication of those assumptions differ.

Furey’s approach offers a useful analytic point, but also a warning. “To study relationships,” she writes, “even intimate, intense, and enduring relationships, is to study not only love but also hate, not only growth but also loss, and not only nurturance but also violence.”¹⁰⁶ Relationships were exceptionally important to Catholic liturgical conversations, and these relationships could work both positively and negatively on those they tied together. The liturgy came together through relationships between members of the congregation, between priest and parishioner, between members of the clerical profession, and between Catholics and their world. These relationships were not innovations of the liturgical movement but the material with which movement experts did their work and the measurement by which they evaluated their results.

This chapter defines active participation through the various uses *Orate Fratres* authors made of the phrase when envisioning an ideal Catholic community. I examine articles published over the course of a decade in order to establish the limits of the expression and its use for U.S. Catholic liturgical projects of the 1950s and 1960s discussed later in this dissertation. Section I provides a general background of the liturgical landscape relevant to my discussion. Section II looks closely at articles from leading liturgical movement journal *Orate Fratres* in order to show how contributors to that publication articulated active participation as a liturgical project. Section III explores the particular impact that discussions of liturgical language had for *Orate Fratres* writers on the issue of active participation and Catholic community.

¹⁰⁵ Hall, “Intelligent and Active Participation,” 39.

¹⁰⁶ Furey, “Body, Society, and Subjectivity,” 25.

My approach identifies those aspects of a liturgical community that *Orate Fratres* authors agreed were important enough to disagree about. Australian theologian Gavin Brown argues that “a close reading of texts within any definable liturgical movement often reveals the presence of different, sometimes even competing, ecclesiastical or institutional discourses.”¹⁰⁷ Brown’s choice to focus on the ecclesiastical or institutional nature of the liturgical movement discourses he examines lead him to explore opposing “agonistic” and “integrative” styles. I analyze arguments submitted to *Orate Fratres* in the 1940s, some explicitly institutional and others self-consciously popular, to articulate a set of U.S. Catholic liturgical movement concerns. The shared commitment to improving liturgical practice in the U.S. offered each author an opportunity to describe the roles and relationships that active participation would draw on and develop. It also offered authors an opportunity to be *avant the garde*, well positioned to serve as advance scouts if not guides for the rest of their coreligionists.

Attending to *Orate Fratres* articles in this way tells the story of active participation not as an idea or even an agenda, though both are useful and will be explored in subsequent chapters.¹⁰⁸ But understood as the intimacy, intensity, and endurance of those relationships that constituted Catholic community, it provides a definition in terms of the Mass liturgical activists sought to

¹⁰⁷ Gavin Brown, “From Stages to Strands: Re-interpreting the Liturgical Movement,” *Pacifica* 23 (February 2010): 60. Brown draws broadly on foucauldian discourse analysis but more narrowly on Michel Pecheux’s observation that the change over time in discourses and their practices is the result of continuous clashes. He pushes for “the *strands model* of interpretation,” as a move away from the “traditional scholarly interpretation” of the liturgical movement as a cohesive, unified whole. Robert Orsi makes a similar call for a “braided” history counteracting the “linear narratives so beloved of modernity,” not in order to disprove them but to show how they “mask the sources of history’s dynamics, culture’s pain, and the possibilities of innovation and change.” Robert A. Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 9.

¹⁰⁸ A definition that emphasizes the idea of active participation privileges the mental categories and the specific logic that connects them; one that emphasizes the agenda privileges the projects that active participation was able to engage with in the world. Both the idea and the agenda recur throughout this dissertation. But a definition that emphasizes relationships privileges the complexity of both idea and agenda, the way that active participation was something that bound U.S. Catholics as much as, sometimes exactly as, it liberated them and suggesting that neither binding nor liberation adequately account for the U.S. Catholic liturgical movement.

create and regulate when they used it. Active participation was the horizon against which liturgical activists measured each other's plans. It named the interdependence of Catholic community, established a standard with which to measure that interdependence, detailed the education that would prepare Catholics for it, and guaranteed the civic action that would flow from it. The small subset of articles on liturgical language further emphasized the importance of local adaptation and the different responsibilities laid upon clergy and laity for the Mass.

I: “Active Participation” in Liturgical Movement Discourse

One phrase is threaded through the Catholic liturgical movement of the 20th century, originating in a 1903 Italian papal document and translated into English as “active participation.”¹⁰⁹ The phrase was a key norm for evaluations of liturgical projects. As it was used and developed, however, the expression was clearly also a metric for evaluating relationships: those between priests and people, between liturgically advanced clergyman and their lagging colleagues, and between liturgically advanced members of the laity and the pew-mates they left behind. The question of whether to translate the liturgy from Latin into the vernacular drew on these intertwined systems of evaluation and relationships. A particularly lucid example of these elements' effect on one another is the Dialogue Mass, introduced above. Here the question of language became extremely important, as priest and parishioner traded responses in one language or the other.

¹⁰⁹ An English translation of Pius X's document states that the “indispensable font [of true Christian spirit] is the active participation in the most holy mysteries and in the public and solemn prayer of the Church.” Pius X, *Tra Le Sollecitudini*, November 22, 1903, Introduction, Paragraph 2, <https://adoremus.org/1903/11/22/tra-le-sollecitudini/>. In the document's original Italian, this read “la partecipazione attiva ai sacrosanti misteri e alla preghiera pubblica e solenne della Chiesa.” Pius X, *Tra Le Sollecitudini*, November 22, 1903, Introduction, Paragraph 5, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/es/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-x_motu-proprio_19031122_sollecitudini.html.

Fr. Virgil Michel, discussed in the Introduction, is credited with organizing the U.S. Catholic liturgical movement.¹¹⁰ His position at its center is bound up with the publications he initiated and oversaw, chief among which was the liturgical journal *Orate Fratres*. In 1926 Collegeville, Minnesota's Liturgical Press began producing scholarly and popular books about the liturgy, liturgical aids, and a monthly liturgy journal titled *Orate Fratres* ("Pray, Brethren") for the celebrant's Latin exhortation to the faithful at the end of the Offertory section of the Catholic Mass.¹¹¹ Historians of U.S. Catholicism recognize *Orate Fratres* as fundamental to U.S. liturgical activism. Jay P. Dolan calls it "the bible of the liturgical movement" and Katherine Harmon the movement's "central journal."¹¹² Jerome Hall describes it as "the only periodical in the country that dealt with the theology and practice of the liturgy."¹¹³

Orate Fratres encouraged all readers "to use [its] pages as a clearinghouse for shared information and experiences, writing about those [liturgical] experiments that failed and those that were successful," Keith Pecklers explains.¹¹⁴ It was published and largely written by clergy. But it offered U.S. laity access to and engagement with global Catholic trends. In his biography of Virgil Michel, fellow Collegeville Benedictine Paul B. Marx notes that the journal was designed to be "the official spokesman for the liturgical movement in the English-speaking world."¹¹⁵ It was embraced by the American hierarchy, initially prompting Michel to misrecognize the willingness of U.S. Bishops to sponsor the movement. The magazine never made the impact on

¹¹⁰ See Introduction. For more on Michel, see Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*.

¹¹¹ Hall, "Intelligent and Active Participation: The Liturgical Press," 37. Hall uses the phrase "intelligent and active participation," which is also used in the contemporary literature, though less often.

¹¹² Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 389; see also Pecklers, *Unread Vision*, 158, 151 and Harmon, *There Were Also Many Women There*, xvi.

¹¹³ Hall, "Intelligent and Active Participation: The Liturgical Press," 37.

¹¹⁴ Pecklers, *Unread Vision*, 47.

¹¹⁵ Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, 111; 128.

seminaries that its founders hoped, but laity were an unexpected strong point.¹¹⁶ Along with *Commonweal*, a magazine operated by Catholic laity and founded several years prior, *Orate Fratres* gave this group an early opportunity “to interact with and speak about their Catholic faith.” These efforts ran parallel to Catholic Action, a global late 19th century Roman Catholic campaign under papal sponsorship and consolidated in the early 20th century U.S. “as the organ of the NCWC to mobilize Catholic laity in working cooperatively with Church leadership in social justice” and other efforts to influence society.¹¹⁷ Various “organized programs of Catholic Action encouraged lay people to take an active part in bringing their faith to life in the world.”¹¹⁸ *Orate Fratres* recognized the more explicitly hierarchical Catholic Action as well as the Catholic Worker, a collective of newspapers and houses of hospitality founded by Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin in New York in 1933, “as a means of promoting the goals of the liturgical movement.”¹¹⁹

By April of 1929 *Orate Fratres* was sent to subscribers in twenty-six countries. Between 1938 and the mid-1950s subscriptions grew from 4,000 to 10,000.¹²⁰ Though circulation was limited, the editor of *Catholic Journalist* claimed in 1951 that “in proportion to its circulation, no Catholic magazine ever exercised so great an influence on American Catholic life.”¹²¹ The press, through continued publication of books and the liturgical journal (now called *Worship*) still carries significant influence on ongoing efforts for that “full, conscious liturgical participation begun by the [Benedictine] monks in 1926.”¹²² The efforts are ongoing, but the Catholic liturgical world

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 160, 144.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 97.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 161; Harmon, *There Were Also Many Women There*, 188.

¹¹⁹ See Pecklers, *Unread Vision*, 102, 138. See also the discussion of *Orate Fratres*’ founder Virgil Michel’s “strong support and friendly criticism” of the Catholic Worker. Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, 374-8. Michel’s final column for the publication was a “vigorous defense of the lay apostolate in general and the CW movement in particular,” 377.

¹²⁰ Pecklers, *Unread Vision*, 161

¹²¹ Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, 188.

¹²² Hall, “Intelligent and Active Participation: The Liturgical Press,” 41.

they encountered changed significantly after Vatican II, the ecumenical council that met in four sessions between 1962 and 1965. U.S. Catholic historiography regards *Orate Fratres* as a precursor to the liturgical attitudes that developed during the post-conciliar era. Its readers, according to Hall, were particularly “well prepared for the liturgical teaching of the Vatican Council, all of whose guiding lights had appeared in its pages.”¹²³

Another well-known Catholic publication of the 1940s was *Commonweal*, a lay magazine that began publishing in New York in 1924. The weekly magazine’s content focused on domestic and international social issues relevant to the Catholic community. A comparison of *Orate Fratres*, published by priests on the narrow topic of liturgy, to *Commonweal*, published by lay Catholics on a broader range of issues relevant to U.S. Catholics, helps to identify the boundaries of the former journal’s rhetorical interests.¹²⁴ Active participation had special importance to the liturgical movement and was therefore subject to pitched battles over its most subtle implications in the pages of *Orate Fratres*. Its meaning was less fraught in *Commonweal*. But its presence in the latter publication shows how usefully the phrase served wider Catholic purposes.

Given the primacy of liturgy to the coinage and operation of the phrase, *Commonweal* authors’ use of ‘active participation’ less frequently than those who wrote for *Orate Fratres* is predictable. Still, *Commonweal* made about two dozen references to active participation between 1940 and 1950. “Active participation” fulfilled a number of different roles there but usage tended to cluster in three discussion areas, with several articles containing more than one of these: U.S.

¹²³ Ibid., 50.

¹²⁴ Catholics in the mid-20th century might mark *Commonweal*’s lay publication as proof of lay Catholic activity in U.S. society. “For the *Commonweal*,” *Pilot*, November 5, 1949. Or they might mark it as a useful lay perspective which, in combination with the Jesuit periodical *America*, provided a robust assemblage of informed Catholic views on political topics. George Higgins, “The Mass and Political Order,” in *The New Ritual, Liturgy and Social Order: Proceedings of the 1955 National Liturgical Week in Worcester, Massachusetts, August 22-25, 1955*, ed. Liturgical Conference (Elsberry, Missouri: Liturgical Conference, 1956.)

involvement in foreign affairs, often though not exclusively military actions; democratic and inclusive trends in U.S. domestic politics; and the Catholic liturgical movement.¹²⁵ The use to which *Commonweal* authors put the phrase ‘active participation’ suggests that it slipped among these contexts, unifying them by describing the Catholic individual and community who worked carefully at their intersection.

Commonweal items with a foreign military aspect were often engaged in debates about U.S. entry into the Second World War, for example James M. Eagan’s Letter to the Editor in the December 13, 1940 issue.¹²⁶ Eagan distinguished between participation and “active participation” in international affairs, cautioning that an American reticence to support England against an invading Germany was an act of self-delusion, given their very real stakes in the conflict.¹²⁷ He wrote, “If a victory of Britain will lead to [more permanent peace] and American participation will make a victory of Britain more certain and more rapid, then by all means the United States should recognize its *active participation* and cease hiding behind a false front of neutrality.” Writing at the other end of the decade, Waldemar Gurian described Soviet policies in the aftermath of WWII and the subsequent Korean War between U.S. and Soviet interests, and the political responsibilities of the newly created United Nations. Again, he contrasted ‘active participation’ with a failure to fully inhabit the responsibility an individual or nation bore for their activity. Gurian wrote that proactive efforts were in order, “assuming even the return of the Soviet Union to active

¹²⁵ The first category includes ten articles, the second and third both contain seven. To identify the frequency, I used the *Commonweal* search engine at opinionarchives.com to select 1940s articles which used the phrase “active participation,” then analyzed how “active participation” functioned in each argument or narrative.

¹²⁶ Contemporary questions of active participation outside the U.S. also engaged in slippage between political and religious realities. Anne Christine McGuire argues that the Masses 1930s German Catholics like Romano Guardini celebrated (including Dialogue Masses *versus populum*) were “understood to pervade the whole life of each member.” Similarly, she argues that Catholic youth activity outside of the church building stressed that the Church supported their involvement in other, ‘non-religious,’ activities. Anne Christine McGuire, “The Reform of Holy Week, 1951-1969: Process, Problems, and Possibilities Volume 1” (PhD Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, April 2001), 14.

¹²⁷ James M. Eagan, Letter to the Editor, *Commonweal*, December 13, 1940: 201. Italics not original.

participation in the UN, as if nothing had happened or, if anything, only an unimportant, minor incident. The time for such diplomatic legal fictions is past.”¹²⁸ Active participation was a realist orientation, reliant on an accurate comprehension of one’s responsibilities and the consequences of one’s potentially momentous acts for humankind.

Active participation in domestic affairs, according to *Commonweal* authors, was an inherently democratic and progressive endeavor. In his January 1940 description of a labor school run by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, Vincent J. McLaughlin lauded the curriculum of a public speaking course for requiring “active participation by every student in the class as either speaker, critic, chairman or discussion leader.”¹²⁹ Active participation by individuals, not just nations, required a sense of the varied roles native to a given social situation.¹³⁰ In a review of David E. Lilienthal’s 1944 book *Song of the Valley* singled out by *Commonweal* editors for special prominence, the author was described as “keen for active participation of the individual citizen; he believes, with Peter Maurin, that both the people and the experts have much to tell each other.”¹³¹ Editors appreciated Lilienthal’s vision of the interplay of roles, with an emphasis on amplifying the voices of non-specialists with everyday experience, as a corrective for conservative policies that marginalized particular subdivisions of U.S. society.¹³²

¹²⁸ Waldemar Gurian, “After Korea, What? The Time of ‘containing’ the Soviets is gone,” *Commonweal*, July 21, 1950, 360.

¹²⁹ Vincent J. McLaughlin, “A Labor School Takes Inventory,” *Commonweal*, January 12, 1940, 262.

¹³⁰ This ‘casuistic’ or case-based attitude has a long and complicated history in Catholic moral theory as well as practice, from its critics in the Protestant Reformation to activists in the liturgical movement like Fr. Frederick McManus who, as part of his duties in Boston prior to joining the Canon Law faculty at the Catholic University of America, responded to requests for marriage annulments on a case by case basis with careful attention to situational context.

¹³¹ “Book Review of *Song of the Valley*,” *Commonweal*, April 14, 1944, 656. Peter Maurin was a Catholic social activist and thinker who co-founded the Catholic Worker with Dorothy Day.

¹³² It is important to note that the phrase ‘active participation’ was not confined to liberal publications or causes, though it may have taken an earlier hold in those spaces. John T. McGreevy discusses a 1955 incident in which a Chicago Catholic woman asked a priest if Catholics fleeing urban parishes in the wake of growing black presence there could also “actively participate in trying” to keep them out (quoted in McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 110).

Commonweal mentioned the role played by active participation in Catholic liturgical projects several times during the same decade. They reported on the importance of “inducing active participation in the Mass by the whole congregation,” in their coverage of the eighteenth annual National Catholic Rural Life Conference.¹³³ Similar liturgical events received similar coverage, including explicit references to the origin of the phrase in Pius X’s formula from the 1903 papal document *Tra le Sollecitudini*.¹³⁴ In 1945, Francis B. Donnelly introduced the phrase into his article defending the use of Latin in Catholic liturgy.¹³⁵ In these articles, as in those related to foreign or domestic politics, active participation was held up as one of the goals for further U.S. Catholic development.

Orate Fratres authors in the 1940s were not unconcerned with political situations in the U.S. and abroad, but the magazine’s stated purpose was to focus on the liturgy. It therefore used active participation overwhelmingly to refer to explicit liturgical projects and only occasionally referenced the translatability of Catholic efforts in public worship and public service. Authors discussed military camps, another important site for liturgical developments, but they did so in order to describe the liturgical difficulties and possibilities of a U.S. army base in 1945 New Guinea or the use sailors in 1944 Wales or San Francisco made of Fr. Stedman’s Missals.¹³⁶ This created an artificial sense of isolation surrounding liturgical projects developed by U.S. Catholics serving abroad during the Second World War, participating in intensified nation-building at home, or working with global anticolonial movements which they learned about in part through the filter

¹³³ “The Inner Forum,” *Commonweal*, October 11, 1949, pg. 2.

¹³⁴ Daniel M. Cantwell, “Summer School of the Liturgy,” *Commonweal*, August 29, 1941, 445. *Tra le Sollecitudini* tracks the responsibility of the pastoral office to protect the Mass and the temple in which it was celebrated.

¹³⁵ Francis B. Donnelly, “Our Catholic Liturgy in a Catholic Language: A rejoinder to ‘English in Our Liturgy,’” *Commonweal*, May 11, 1945, 92.

¹³⁶ See “1941 Liturgical Week,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XV, No. 12 (November 2, 1941): 569; William Leonard, S.J., “Liturgy on Foreign Duty,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XIX, no. 8, June 17, 1945, 341-346; “Two Views” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XVIII, No. 12 (November 5, 1944): 573.

of missionary reports. A third important site of liturgical celebration and innovation was the classroom.¹³⁷ But the primary site was the Catholic parish. It was there that *Orate Fratres* authors grounded their pursuit of active participation in the Mass.

II: Active Participation in the Ideal Community of Worship

In this section I analyze 1940s *Orate Fratres* articles for the meaning of active participation and how writers planned to achieve it. Between one and five articles making significant use of the phrase appeared annually during this period. *Orate Fratres* was the communications hub for U.S. Catholics interested in the liturgical movement. Regular columnists, editors, guest contributors, and readers writing in with reactions to a past issue shared a common cause: the further extension of the liturgical movement into their Catholic communities. The publication offered solutions to a wide assortment of liturgical problems. Perhaps the only real consensus, however, was that Catholic liturgy meant more than the average priest or parishioner was presently bringing to or receiving from it. Much of this meaning, bringing, and receiving took place through the relationships that made up Catholic community.

The primary function of active participation was to describe a map of the ideal community to which all Catholics, especially the liturgical activists who contributed to *Orate Fratres*, might belong. In this section I explore four principles of the theory that organized *Orate Fratres* authors' vision of an actively participating liturgical community: (A) that it was made up of relationships between priests, between parishioners, between priests and their parish, and between Catholics and

¹³⁷ This include all levels of education, from kindergarten to University. See Virgil Michel, O.S.B., "Rediscovering the Obvious: Liturgy and the Psychology of Education," *Orate Fratres* Vol. XIV, No. 12 (October 27, 1940): 531; Mary Weissenberger, '42, "'Integrating' at Aquinas High," *Orate Fratres* Vol. XVI, No. 1 (November 30, 1941): 41.

the world; (B) that it required some degree of liturgical standardization and a method of regulating deviations from that standard; (C) that it also required educational spaces and techniques to sustain proper liturgy and participation in it; and (D) that it would be a staging ground from which Catholic efforts to improve the world, primarily through coordinated Catholic Action programs, could be prepared and launched.

II A. Relationality and interdependence: “a debt which may not be taken lightly”

A section of each *Orate Fratres* issue was devoted to “Liturgical Briefs,” reports of the liturgical movement’s national and international progress submitted by readers, contributors, or friends of the journal. In February 1940, one ‘Brief’ described the liturgy at St. John’s Church in Philadelphia, which had developed a reputation for its congregational singing. Drawing on an article from the *Catholic Standard and Times of Philadelphia*, the Brief described the effect when choir members “came down from the choir loft and mingled with the congregation.” The choir

practiced only the least involved of the Gregorian Masses, and singing Sunday after Sunday with all their hearts and souls, they made of St. John’s 11 o’clock Mass one in which the people joined – at first timidly and, as the years have passed, with an enthusiasm that brought a new fame to old St. John’s.¹³⁸

The choir was a vital part of St. John’s parish. Catholics from surrounding areas arrived intrigued and departed inspired to attempt the same kind of participation in their own church. The simple, popular orientation of the St. John’s choir made it a liturgical beacon.

Both clergy and laity bore their own distinct responsibility for realizing congregational participation. The St. John’s case showed that priests could be integral in making the choir a congregational aid. A “pastor’s periodic visit at choir-rehearsal, with a few minutes’ explanation

¹³⁸ “Liturgical Briefs,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XIV, No. 4 (February 18, 1940): 182.

of the liturgy of the Sunday or feast, would . . . be a big step towards ‘active and intelligent participation’ on the part of the congregation’s representatives,” that is, the choir that “represented” the laity by making the congregational responses to the priest during the Mass.¹³⁹ But participation of the representatives was not sufficient without a congregation that joined them. Choirs could impede congregational participation if they neglected to ‘come down from the choir loft,’ or took focus away from the congregation.¹⁴⁰ Laity, too, could impede the realization of liturgical community. They must be sensitive to the spirit of Christ experienced in the liturgy, perhaps attending liturgical retreats in order to be reminded of their responsibilities.¹⁴¹ Laypeople as well as priests and choirs must commit to fulfilling their own roles in the parish ecosystem.

Lay liturgical activists had a special responsibility for speaking in public and in print about the fact that they were not silent in church. In 1951, a layman from a Minnesota congregation attended an experimental Easter vigil liturgy. The celebration was part of a long tradition of small improvements in active participation projects that had helped Catholics throughout the 1940s discover the merits of the liturgical movement and join its cause. An *Orate Fratres* editor solicited the layman’s report as part of a feature. In it, the layman described not only his own active participation but that of his neighbors “since, as I understand it, the continuation of the Holy Saturday Vigil service depends partly upon the favorable reaction of the laity.” He continued,

The most encouraging feature of the ceremony was the active participation in the service for the first time in my life. [The new elements] served to bring one into closer contact with the liturgy and into the real significance of the Resurrection itself.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Carola Mac Murrugh, “With Our Readers,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XV, No. 3 (January 26, 1941): 131.

¹⁴⁰ In 1942, P.F. Anson reported on British churches where “some over-zealous liturgists” had succeeded in convincing congregations to sing plain chant for decades, but not, in Anson’s view, to *really* participate actively. P.F. Anson, “Fads and Fashions,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XVI, No. 10 (September 6, 1942): 457.

¹⁴¹ “A Lay Leadership Course: ‘Restoring the Sunday,’” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXIII, No. 12 (November 6, 1949): 561. Unsigned articles such as this one were published occasionally. But many, if not most, were attributed.

¹⁴² Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B., “The Easter-Eve Celebration,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXV, No. 6 (May, 1951): 284.

Laypeople were frequent recipients of *Orate Fratres* authors' prodding to participate. Lay contributors were a minority, both among the journal's authors and, as they lamented, in their own parishes. Wilfrid Rooke Ley wrote in 1944 that "The layman is sometimes a very lonely person."

There must be few whose spirituality has been formed from childhood in the spirit of the liturgy. If he comes upon it late in life it may mean a reorientation of the spiritual outlook as violent almost as a conversion to the faith.¹⁴³

Ley dreamt of the day his parish, and the Catholic Church, would be filled by like-minded lay people in whose company he could find a true liturgical community.

Lay persons were joined in the pages of *Orate Fratres* by clerical partners with their own perspective on the dynamics of a parish liturgy. The relationship between a priest and his parishioners was scripted in the Mass itself. But not every parish used the script. *Orate Fratres* contributor Paschal Botz, O.S.B., mourned this deficiency in 1946. Congregations that failed to respond to their priests hindered the interactive purpose of the Mass and threatened the parish as a social system. Botz explained that the *dominus vobiscum* ("God be with you") was a prayer reserved to deacons, priests and bishops. Laypeople prayed *et cum Spiritu tuo* ("And with your Spirit") in response, at least in theory.¹⁴⁴ Using comparisons to other social interactions, he argued,

If in our daily round of contacts with people we were to greet them and habitually receive no answer, we should soon draw the necessary consequences. Yet in the Mass, and in the liturgy generally, we salute our brethren in Christ with *Dominus vobiscum* and seem content if they merely stare at us in return.¹⁴⁵

The parish was held together by a bond, articulated in the exchange of prayed greetings, prior to and formative of every other kind of social exchange. Botz explained that the spiritual bond

¹⁴³ Wilfrid Rooke Ley, "A Layman Looks to the future," *Orate Fratres* Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (February 20, 1944): 174. The article was reprinted from the Vol. XII, No. 4 issue of *Music and Liturgy* and had been read at the Oxford Liturgical School before the essay was printed in *Orate Fratres*.

¹⁴⁴ Paschal Botz, O.S.B., "Dominus Vobiscum," *Orate Fratres* Vol. XX, No. 9 (July 28, 1946): 399. The response referenced the Spirit of holy orders and was "a hierarchical prayer and acclamation that is filled with blessing."

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 398.

between Catholics and God was mirrored in the social bond between priest and parishioner, which in turn modeled Catholic relationships to each other and to the world. All of these exchanges depended on the Mass for their orientation, and the Mass fundamentally depended on the dialogic nature of its prayers. Until congregations could “draw the consequences” of the sacred reality experienced in the Mass, Botz insisted there would be “no sense but sentimentality in waxing eloquent over the liturgy . . . or, for all that, over social justice and the rights of minorities.”¹⁴⁶ Improper praying of the Mass could enervate all of Catholic social life.

Several *Orate Fratres* contributors used non-liturgical relationships to illustrate gaps in liturgical behaviors and call attention to the close ties between the Mass and every other aspect of Catholic life. Above, Botz compares the liturgical greeting to the type of greetings into which friends were drawn when they passed one another on the street. The irascible German-born *Orate Fratres* columnist and Eastern Washington pastor Fr. H.A. Reinhold made his case for increasing active lay participation in the Mass by comparing it to expectations for active participation in worldly concerns.¹⁴⁷ “If we expect . . . from [our laity] sound, Catholic judgment in the field of politics, of business morals, of social intercourse, of the arts of stage, screen and literature,” he asked, “why do we assume that they prefer to be spiritual infants and illiterate primitives in their devotional lives?”¹⁴⁸ Familial relationships were another popular choice for priest/parishioner model. Fr. Martin Hellriegel, frequent *Orate Fratres* contributor and pastor of a Missouri parish, compared the congregational relationship to that between husband and wife, or family and

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 402.

¹⁴⁷ A 1958 reviewer recommends Reinhold’s writing to readers who admittedly “may be bothered by the frequent lack of logical coherence and by the occasionally caustic polemic, [but who] cannot remain unmoved by the challenge thrust at him in this analysis of the needs of the Church in America.” Joseph G. Murray, “The American Parish and the Roman Liturgy. By H. A. Reinhold, Book Review.” *Theological Studies* 19, January 1, 1958. Reinhold was also involved in the early stages of the Vernacular Society and responsible for its newsletter. Gerald Ellard, S.J. “Current Theology: Recent Work in Liturgy,” *Theological Studies* 10, January 1, 1949.

¹⁴⁸ H.A.R., “Committee on Un-Liturgical Activities,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXII, No. 2 (December 28, 1947): 79.

children.¹⁴⁹ Both spousal and parental ties bound the parishioner to their parish, to their priest, and to their God in “a debt which may not be taken lightly.”¹⁵⁰

Renowned Austrian pastor Pius Parsch made the same point.¹⁵¹ “The liturgy places the individual in his proper relation to the community,” he wrote in 1947.¹⁵² Thus he was particularly concerned by the layman’s lack of interest in the liturgy. It was a “commonplace,” he wrote

that one is interested in something in proportion as he has an active share in it. Why do the men-folk in particular often avoid church? Simply because the services bore them. Active participation quickly transforms a yawning congregation into a wide-awake one.¹⁵³

Active participation of these men-folk could work “a marvelous transformation” and usher “in a new epoch.” Parsch did not attribute the same potential for world transformation to a correction of women’s participation that he did to improvements in men’s worship.¹⁵⁴ Other voices took a strong stand against a putative feminization of the liturgy.¹⁵⁵ But women’s participation was not so much a problem for Parsch as it was simply beside the pastor’s point. The undeveloped liturgical work of men was a potentially valuable force for social change.

Priests were inherently suited to and responsible for securing the active participation of their congregation. Parsch enthused that “never is the pastor . . . greater than when, surrounded by his actively participating congregation, he breaks for them the twofold bread – the bread of instruction and the Bread of Thanksgiving.”¹⁵⁶ In another article, Parsch was adamant about the

¹⁴⁹ Martin B. Hellriegel, “Church and Parish,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXV, No. 11-12 (October-November 1951): 492

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 493.

¹⁵¹ For a discussion of Parsch’s role in the liturgical movement, see Pecklers, *Unread Vision*, 17.

¹⁵² Pius Parsch, “Liturgy and Pastoral Work,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXI, No. 8 (June 15, 1947): 339.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 338.

¹⁵⁴ There is an obvious panic in the perception that men are less involved than women, and this panic comes across as both practical professional development (men who are not invested in the liturgy as boys will not feel compelled to join a life of priestly liturgical celebration) and ideological fragility (a liturgy that appeals to women but not to men must not be good enough to suit the refined tastes and opportunities of the latter). See Orsi, *Thank You, St. Jude* and Harmon, *There Were Also Many Women There* for further discussion of gender and Catholicism in this era.

¹⁵⁵ See for example H.A.R., “Committee on Un-Liturgical Activities,” 77. A similar attitude inflected the San Miguelito experimental parish in Panama in 1962 discussed in Chapter Three.

¹⁵⁶ Pius Parsch, “Liturgy and Pastoral Work,” 342.

need for an active clerical role. “The priest of today,” he argued, “will make it his ambition to get his parish to participate in the Mass in that full manner summed up in the expression: ‘No Mass without Communion.’”¹⁵⁷ H.A. Reinhold often reflected on the drawbacks of this responsibility in his *Orate Fratres* column “Timely Tracts,” which he took over from its previous author Virgil Michel after Michel’s death.¹⁵⁸ In one 1947 column, Reinhold vented his irritation with attacks that accused priests “of disturbing the ecclesiastical peace of the neighborhood [and making] an attack on popular devotions” by introducing a *missa cantata*.¹⁵⁹ He wrote,

When you have tried in three different countries to win the people for active participation, to overcome their reluctance, their apathy, their ignorance and their sentimentalism, you know how difficult it is. Few of our educators seem to be able to provide the ordinary Catholic with an idea of his role in the Mystical Body of Christ.¹⁶⁰

Both priests and laypeople encountered resistance to their calls for active participation precisely because those calls criticized others (often though not exclusively the laity) for performing the liturgical roles that had always been expected of them. Active participation promised to bring the Catholic community together under a shared burden of liturgical responsibilities.

II B. Standardization and regulation: “that it shall ultimately be a normal thing”

Nearly every author discussed in this chapter stressed the intersubjective aspects of relations between a priest and his parishioners. Many debated the extent to which the roles of each should be standardized and the degree of freedom that local adaptation required. Both Albert Hammenstede, O.S.B. and Clifford J. Howell, S.J shared a conviction that priests should work

¹⁵⁷ Pius Parsch, “No Mass Without Communion,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXIV, No. 11 (October 1950): 501; 502.

¹⁵⁸ For discussions of Reinhold’s combativeness, see Pecklers, *Unread Vision*, 61, and Wilfred P. Schoenberg, S.J., *A History of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest: 1743-1983* (Washington DC: The Pastoral Press, 1987), 660.

¹⁵⁹ H.A.R., “Committee on Un-Liturgical Activities,” 76.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 77.

towards achievable liturgical practices even when these did not suit their own aesthetics. Where Hammenstede emphasized a pastoral permissiveness, however, Howell urged his fellow priests to push their congregations towards specific liturgical targets.

Writing in 1947, Hammenstede proposed that certain fundamentals of liturgical reform, for example preventing parishioners from “losing contact” with the actions of the priest at the altar and slipping into private devotions, should be standard. But he maintained that liturgical expression should “correspond” to individual characteristics. Hammenstede argued that the “wish to do justice to one’s own individuality is not the same as individualism,” and that the former had its place in the Mass.¹⁶¹ He was keen to prevent “discouragement among those faithful who cannot walk on the highest paths of liturgical piety.”¹⁶² Tolerant priests could “more readily gain hearts for the liturgical cause than will the burning zeal of an extreme reformer.” Hammenstede argued that “since we all agree pretty well about the correct principles, we should avoid becoming pedantic in applying those principles in every and all circumstances.” Aesthetic preferences should not be dismissed as superficiality, the “respectful distance [of professional men]” should not necessarily be understood as indifference on their part, and the “very strong and unusual manifestations of interior emotions, especially on the part of good pious women must not *a priori* be dismissed as ‘sentimentality.’” These qualities were fertile areas for liturgical development, not erasure, and pastors would serve their congregations better if they could adapt liturgical principles to the Catholics in front of them.

¹⁶¹ Albert Hammenstede, OSB., “Assisting at Mass Liturgically,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXI, No.8 (June 15, 1947): 386.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 385.

Clifford Howell, S.J., was an English Jesuit who made frequent visits to the U.S.¹⁶³

Reporting in January 1949 on the recently published encyclical *Mediator Dei*, he reflected on its call for “external participation by the laity in the Mass.”¹⁶⁴ The encyclical enumerated several forms of valid participation, and Howell accepted that relatively minimal participation was still legitimate participation. But priests should only lower their liturgical expectations “for the weighty reason of incompetence in following the liturgy. [Incompetent Catholics] should receive commiseration and help to improve their understanding of the liturgy, not encouragement to remain as they are.”¹⁶⁵ Sympathetic understanding of “incompetence” was a reasonable response. But, urged Howell, we shouldn’t let that be the end of things. Still, collective efforts required standards which everyone could meet. In April 1949 Howell lamented that neither England nor the U.S. had a “truly communal sung mass” as a “usual” thing at “every” parish. Howell hoped to ensure

that it shall ultimately be a normal thing in every parish that on Sunday mornings there shall be a truly communal sung Mass at which all the people sing the responses and the Common to a plain-song setting, and the choir sings the Proper.¹⁶⁶

It was not enough to foster active participants who each responded to the liturgy fully but idiosyncratically. The Mass must be a ritual in the formal Church sense of the term, not as

¹⁶³ Howell contributed to other U.S. journals as well (see for example his book reviews for *Theological Studies* (“Action in the Liturgy: Essential and Unessential. By Walter Lowrie,” Book Review. *Theological Studies* 14, Jan 1, 1953, 498-500; “L’Eglise En Prière: Introduction à la Liturgie. Edited by A. G. Martimort,” Book Review. *Theological Studies* 23, Sept 1, 1962, 483-4). He was also involved in the beginning of the U.S. Vernacular Society, which distributed the Vernacular Mission Services he had developed for English Catholics (Gerald Ellard, S.J. “Current Theology: Recent Work in Liturgy,” *Theological Studies* 10, January 1, 1949.

¹⁶⁴ Clifford Howell, SJ, “‘Mediator Dei’ and External Participation,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXIII, No. 3 (January 23, 1949): 128. *Mediator Dei* urged continued liturgical progress but cautioned against excesses and experiments.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 129.

¹⁶⁶ Clifford Howell, S.J., “Let Us Be Practical! Some Thoughts on Chant Problems,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXIII, No. 6 (April 17, 1949): 268. An editorial footnote reveals Howell had previously “complained about the translation of *iustitia* as “justice.” It is unclear what relevance this had for Howell’s treatise on parish singing. It suggests, however, that Latin translation permeated liturgical discourse even when vernacular in the liturgy was not the subject of discussion.

sociologist Emile Durkheim sought it in the origins of religion as a mass enthusiasm.¹⁶⁷ Liturgical activists should foster active participation understood as a collective effort, Howell insists, before collective effervescence.

Howell urged his fellow liturgical activists to pursue simpler musical settings for the sake of encouraging more lay participation. He cautioned colleagues that “difficult choirs” made up of men whose professional pride overwhelmed their commitment to the liturgy as a community sacrifice would resist. But these men were “not spiritually worthy to be entrusted with the task – of its nature so intimately associated with the holy Sacrifice – of leading the people in prayerful song, and of rendering . . . their own part.”¹⁶⁸ Howell’s acceptance of mediocrity here is slightly grudging, allowing that “professional pride” could yield greater aesthetic feats. Yet he urged a reorientation away from artistry and towards simplicity as the most effective strategy for mobilizing Catholics. Musical expertise might be a spiritual balm for some, but securing the active participation of all was the higher calling.

While Hammenstede was less critical of the average Catholic than Howell, lay contributors to *Orate Fratres* tended to be even more critical of their fellow laity. These authors shared the physical space of the pew with their less liturgically developed companions, forcing them into close proximity with the behavior they critiqued. They also shared the lay category with these Catholics and may have felt that the poor behavior of one member might reflect on all the others. Wilfrid Rooke Ley, discussed above, had little hope for laypeople left to themselves.¹⁶⁹ Chicagoan Mary Iren Caplice, reporting back to *Orate Fratres* readers on a 1946 Mass she attended in France

¹⁶⁷ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Carol Cosman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁶⁸ Howell, “Let Us Be Practical! Some Thoughts on Chant Problems,” 271.

¹⁶⁹ Ley, “A Layman Looks to the future,” 174.

concluded that for “those of us who are used to large city congregations who sit through mass, Sunday after Sunday, looking bored and uninterested, this [Mass] was indeed proof of the fact that *active participation* is natural and necessary.”¹⁷⁰ Her readers might have been similarly disappointed in the parishioners they saw every week in their own churches, or very pleased to know that *their* parish was superior to the one Caplice described with such scorn. Active participation may have been natural and necessary. But it was not *normal*, at least in the “large city congregations” to which so many U.S. Catholics belonged.

Lay authors criticized their fellow laity for impoverished and incomplete liturgical experiences, but they also blamed their priests. They used the journal as a vehicle to plead with clergy generally, suggesting that adjustments in pastoral practice would assist the active participation of Catholic parishes. An *Orate Fratres* reader addressed the publication’s Editor in a 1945 letter urging that all clerical readers begin announcing the day’s Mass beforehand, thereby allowing parishioners to find it in their missal and follow along. Priests who did announce might do so inaudibly, the letter further explained, preventing even those who knew the relevant Latin from understanding the direction. This was, the reader complained, “frequently the case; and it is certainly provoking to have come to Mass and to be evidently left out of it for want of a little considerate coaching.”¹⁷¹ Consideration and coaching of the laity, this layperson argued, was a necessary part of the Mass ecology.

Clerical contributors indicted their fellow parish priests for similar failings. The liturgical standards they practiced themselves, and which they then proposed for wider usage, demonstrated

¹⁷⁰ Mary Irene Caplice, “The Jiciste Congress in Paris,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XX, No. 11 (October 6, 1946): 521. The Mass in question was celebrated for a dedicated Catholic Action group of upper middle class young women in France.

¹⁷¹ A Religious, IL, “Help Wanted Before Mass,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XIX, No. 5 (March 25, 1945): 189.

their liturgically insufficient colleagues' pastorally inadequate relationships.¹⁷² That priests judged one another's performance is not unique to the liturgical movement. But noting how this pattern structured the pursuit of active participation in the liturgy illustrates how that phrase operated at various stages of liturgical reform. The first step in teaching priests how to cultivate liturgical participation in their parishes, argued one clerical author, was by reforming the ways they approached the Mass themselves. While the Mass was theirs to celebrate by virtue of holy orders, it was even more so by virtue of their responsibility to the parish for and with which they celebrated.¹⁷³ The author distinguished between colleagues who were too "passive" in their pastoral efforts, and those (like himself) who lived up to the potential of their office. The latter priests were continually active in the Mass and continually transformed by it. They used liturgical books to advance their own piety, not simply as a script. For them the altar missal was a meditation guide before and a sacred responsibility during Mass, at which "it is our first duty to lead our people to an active, external and, above all, internal participation."¹⁷⁴ The fulfillment of their roles as parish priests depended on both their own participation and that of the laity they served.

II C. Education and effectiveness: "properly instructed (as they should be!)"

Responsibilities to and for the liturgy meant that Catholics should be educated about how to meet them. Martin B. Hellriegel was born in south-western Germany in 1891, emigrated to the U.S. before the first World War, and was ordained to serve the largely German-speaking

¹⁷² Scholars of U.S. Catholicism have contributed to a robust analysis of priests and their social orders. For insight into the fraught conditions of clerical collaboration and competition with each other and their parishioners, see Andrew Greeley, *The Catholic Priest in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Catholic Conference, 1972), Orsi, *Thank You, St. Jude* and Tentler, *Seasons of Grace*.

¹⁷³ Martin B. Hellriegel, "To My Fellow Priests," *Orate Fratres* Vol. XVI, No. 4 (February 22, 1942): 148.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 151.

parishioners outside St. Louis, Missouri in December of 1914. Hellriegel was a prominent liturgical figure whose many columns for *Orate Fratres* demonstrated his keen interest in promoting the liturgical life of a parish and the high regard in which the liturgical movement held his insights. That he cared deeply for his parishioners was obvious. Also obvious was the way in which he saw active participation not simply as a means of revealing and liberating the laity's liturgical gifts, but a means of revealing to them their religious duties.¹⁷⁵ He held the laity to high liturgical standards even when they were slow to see the point of, for example, the high Mass. Hellriegel summarized his pastoral approach in 1951. Speaking about the reluctance of some Catholics to adopt liturgical movement principles, he wrote,

Is the worship of God to be determined by the likes of people? But they do care if they are properly instructed (as they should be!) and are given an opportunity to take part in it. . . . The three men who sit down to play cards will remain with great interest at their game for two or more hours. But the fourth, the onlooker, how long will he stay? Also from two and three hours? No. But let him take part in the game, and see what will happen.¹⁷⁶

Priests, argued Hellriegel, must instruct their parishes properly. They must make sure that proper instruction allowed the laity to sit down to the game. "And if so many of our people today are more proficient in snoring than in soaring, it is, no doubt, due to a lack of instruction, appreciation, and participation," he concluded. If only more Catholics knew about proper liturgical behaviors, he pleaded, good liturgy would permeate the U.S. and gladden Catholic communities there.¹⁷⁷

Catholics might learn about their tradition from parochial schools or secular newspapers. But making parishioners ready for their parish Mass was primarily accomplished within the parish itself. Here, pastoral expertise allowed priests to cultivate participation most effectively. Still, their work was aided by a Catholic publishing system where books from all over the world could

¹⁷⁵ This religious duty was 'duty understood and structured religiously,' not 'duty to religion.'

¹⁷⁶ Martin B. Hellriegel, "Church and Parish," *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXV, No. 11-12 (October-November 1951): 494.

¹⁷⁷ See also Martin B. Hellriegel, "Holy Week: Some Reflections and Pastoral Suggestions," *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXIV, No.5 (April 1950): 219, 217.

be translated for and distributed to U.S. audiences. A review of Maurice Zundel's *The Splendour of the Liturgy* (available in 1939 from Sheed and Ward publishing for \$3.00) noted with pleasure how useful the book would be to the U.S. liturgical movement. Reading it, the reviewer rejoiced, was an exercise in the attention and discipline that the laity should learn to bring to participation in the Mass. The book was not "for lazy or routine readers, for the precise reason that it presents a dynamic view of the liturgical life which demands an eager and active participation in the Mass."¹⁷⁸ The reviewer admitted that this might limit its audience. Some might be discouraged by the "highly rhetorical style."¹⁷⁹ He suggested that the translator shared some blame for this, and that "attention in general to the English idiom would have improved the reading" in several places. A not dissimilar critique would be applied to translations of the Mass within thirty years.

Other Mass guides, with more idiomatic expressions of liturgical piety, were available for those who found Zundel's style antagonizing. As leaders of discussion groups, as teachers, as members of choirs or simply as interested members of the congregation, the laity were also responsible for reforming lay participation in the Mass. They might turn to one of the many popular Mass guides to do so. Ley's 1944 story of a Catholic laymen's liturgical awakening, discussed above, closed with a description of the great need for liturgical formation and how books contributed significantly to this cause:

It means a return to fundamentals. He is like a man going to school again: and he must get his schooling this time, not from teachers, who are not easily available, but from books, picking it up as best he can from the shelves of such libraries as he has access to.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ DWT, "Book Review of *The Splendour of the Liturgy* by Maurice Zundel," *Orate Fratres* Vol. XIV, No. 1 (November 26, 1939): 47.

¹⁷⁹ The reviewer does not suggest that liturgical language plays any part in Zundel's argument; but he does take it as self-explanatory that "idiomatic" language, language adapted to its audience, is useful for making an argument.

¹⁸⁰ Ley, "A Layman Looks to the future," 174.

Securing active participation was frequently linked to published materials that could be used during the liturgy itself – to booklets created for use during novenas or processions, such as those available for \$4.00 per hundred from Pax Press in O’Fallon, Missouri.¹⁸¹ Some popular liturgical books were suitable for use by discussion clubs as well, like Dr. Pius Parsch’s *The Liturgy of the Mass*, which included questions at the end of each chapter.¹⁸²

Liturgically oriented priests might utilize a variety of strategies to prepare parishioners for active participation, including elements of devotional culture. Michael A. Mathis described the tremendous pastoral work undertaken at St. Mary’s parish in London, Ontario, in a 1950 article honoring its recently deceased pastor, Fr. Maloney. Maloney first organized his congregation to pray the rosary every day at home. He then built on that success to encourage them to come to Church every day for Mass. This demonstrated “how a greater stress on worship, and on community worship, through the rosary in the home, can serve as a sound preparation for the liturgical movement.”¹⁸³ Columnist H.A. Reinhold was significantly less willing to countenance clerical efforts on behalf of anything outside the Mass itself, however. Only the Mass contained the core elements of Catholic society, including the rules of its organization. Reinhold argued in 1947 that the “liturgy is preeminently hierarchical: it stands for sacred *ordo* and gives everybody his definite place. It increases a deep, reasonable, religious respect for the priesthood and replaces in this spiritual way that childish and purely natural fear of the priest so common in the bourgeois world.”¹⁸⁴ Priests must cultivate active lay participation in the Mass, not allow themselves to be

¹⁸¹ Martin B. Hellriegel, “Merely Suggesting,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XV, No. 8 (June 15, 1941): 347.

¹⁸² “Liturgical Briefs,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XV, No. 2 (December 29, 1940): 85. At 118 pages, in large pamphlet size, the Press made *Study the Mass* available for 25 cents each, with discounts for buying in bulk. Parsch’s original was republished a few months later, advertised to priests and teachers as a source for the instruction they would be called on to provide. “Liturgical Briefs,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XV, No. 5 (March 23, 1941): 233.

¹⁸³ Michael A. Mathis, CSC, “Father Maloney’s Crusade,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXIV, No. 4 (March, 1950): 184.

¹⁸⁴ H.A.R., “Committee on Un-Liturgical Activities,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXII, No. 2 (December 28, 1947): 79. Reinhold described his choice of title for this column as “not subtle or witty,” but rather an attempt to counter liturgical

influenced by merely popular taste. The choices priests made about how to educate their parish had tremendous impact on the quality of active participation.

Clerical education in the liturgy was both a status issue and a question of being adequately prepared for a promising liturgical future. According to the *Orate Fratres* consensus, responsible clergyman who used their office wisely were a minority. This was due in part to the inadequate liturgical training given to priests in seminary. Priests representing sixteen U.S. seminaries met at the 1947 Liturgical Week conference, the national meeting of Catholics interested in the liturgical movement.¹⁸⁵ Those in attendance discussed the importance of their own role in the liturgical movement, and agreed that “we must not allow the Sisters and numbers of the laity to outdistance our seminarians and future priests in the field of the liturgical revival.”¹⁸⁶ In that future, priests would hold the ultimate responsibility for promoting the active participation of their parish, and yet “lay students in our colleges who have studied Father Ellard’s *Christian Life and Worship* [might] have a better grasp of [the Mass] than have seminarians . . . who in their seminary course find the various subjects presented without logical sequence and adequate correlation and cohesion.”¹⁸⁷

In addition to lacking good preparation in the seminary, U.S. priests emerged from their studies without a commitment to staying abreast of liturgical developments through liturgical

versions of “Mr. Vishinsky” who “accuse the [liturgical] movement of things it never dreamt of, and manage to create suspicions higher up to a degree which would worry and put on guard any shepherd. They succeed in creating the impression that a small army of crackpots who have gone mad over a point nobody else can see are attacking sacred traditions of the Church for the sheer fun of it,” (76). The “Mr. Vishinsky” may have been Andrey Vyshinsky, a state prosecutor in Stalin’s Soviet Union.

¹⁸⁵ The first Liturgical Week conference was held in Chicago in 1940.

¹⁸⁶ William Busch, “Liturgy in Our Seminaries,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXII, No. 7 (May 16, 1948): 292. Sisters were heavily involved in the liturgical movement, especially in their responsibility for Catholic education (see Harmon, *There Were Also Many Women There*, 108). The Sisters of the Most Precious Blood in O’Fallon MS were especially important contributors to liturgical movement projects (see Woods, *Cultivating Soil and Soul*, 138), but they were by no means alone. By many measures, Sisters significantly ‘outdistanced’ other categories of clerical or lay Catholics. Many scholars suggest that the laity were a close second.

¹⁸⁷ Busch, “Liturgy in Our Seminaries,” 295.

publications. “ORATE FRATRES has never had, and has not now, the number of readers that it deserves,” wrote William Busch in 1948. “This is true especially in regard to the clergy – and is a curious fact in their case, since liturgy, properly understood, is the central function in their calling.”¹⁸⁸ Busch felt strongly that the general clergy should embrace the righteousness of the liturgical cause. This had not yet happened. But he predicted that the tide would turn as more priests became aware of the 1947 encyclical *Mediator Dei* which further publicized liturgical movement principles. “Gone definitely, we hope since this encyclical, is that attitude which has prevailed in our seminaries and persisted among our clergy, which has understood by the word liturgy only rubrics and ceremonies.”¹⁸⁹ Busch was overjoyed at the idea that the encyclical would lead more of his fellow priests to discover the liturgical movement and subscribe to *Orate Fratres*.

In the pages of *Orate Fratres* priests might learn from the efforts of acknowledged experts like Fr. Hellriegel. Much of Hellriegel’s liturgical approach was illustrated by his 1950 description of a Good Friday service celebrated earlier that year. The service itself was complex, involving active participation by parishioners, choir, several lectors, and multiple priests in addition to the celebrant. This liturgy ran for three hours and interspersed four instructional sections between the prayers in order to ensure that laity were adequately prepared for active participation.¹⁹⁰ The

¹⁸⁸ William Busch, “Past, Present and Future,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXV, No. 11-12 (October-November 1950): 485.

¹⁸⁹ William Busch, “About the Encyclical *Mediator Dei*,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXII, No. 4 (February 22, 1948): 156.

¹⁹⁰ Hellriegel’s church for much of his career was Holy Cross, in a largely German part of North St. Louis. He also served as chaplain for the Motherhouse Convent for Sisters of the Most Precious Blood in O’Fallon, MO. The Good Friday service was part of the Holy Week Liturgy, which underwent several liturgical reforms prior to the Second Vatican Council – first in 1951, then in 1955, and finally in 1969 as part of the final set of liturgical reforms inspired by the Council. The practice of bilingual rituals, where the scripture was read first in Latin and then in the vernacular, were first used in Holy Week liturgies (McGuire, “The Reform of Holy Week,” 37). The particular length of readings during these liturgies “made the duplicate pronouncements difficult,” and, McGuire argues, provided liturgical activists with the opportunity to make a case for “direct proclamation in the vernacular [as] the best and truest reform for scripture reading.”

congregation also used an accompanying text from local publisher Pax Press. Hellriegel attributed the success of the Good Friday in his parish to providing sufficient instruction to his congregation.

Perhaps we priests deserve blame for the absence of our people [from Holy Week services up to now]. Naturally, if we fail to stress the importance of these paschal rites; if we do not explain them and their tremendously transforming power on our spiritual life; or, if we go so far as to perform them in a mechanical and hasty fashion, what can we expect from our people?¹⁹¹

Hellriegel's question was a criticism of all those priests who did not know of *Orate Fratres*, who knew and did not read it, or who read it and still did not follow its advice. The priest's role was to direct the liturgy, the laity's to follow that direction towards the goal of active liturgical participation. Priest and laity participated in their own ways in the massive apparatus of the Catholic liturgy. It spanned the calendar and the ages, reached into souls and homes and civic programming, and it depended on everyone playing their proper role and relationship. To do that, they needed effective liturgical education.

II D. Catholic Action: “Liturgy and democracy suffer from the same ailment”

Active participation in the liturgy was a thing apart, a sacrament, a holy communion between creator and creation. But, as participation in the supernatural order, it was also fundamental to human prospering. The liturgy was therefore connected to every natural aspect of human society, including forms of government. Rev. Joseph P. Kane of Vancouver, British Columbia wrote to the editors of *Orate Fratres* to emphasize and explain low lay investment in the liturgy. His letter, printed in the April 1941 issue, suggested that the grand size and complexity of churches had discouraged common people from getting involved. Altar societies turned over their responsibility to sisters and parish choirs deferred to the musical expertise of nearby college

¹⁹¹ Hellriegel, “Holy Week: Some Reflections and Pastoral Suggestions,” 220.

and seminary choirs. Common people eschewed actual, active participation because these experts were better able to produce the kind of liturgy that congregations admired and expected. Here, ‘active participation’ included, though might not be limited to, working to create the physical movements, objects, sights, scents, and sounds from which a Mass took shape. Then Kane continued,

Liturgy and democracy both suffer from the same ailment – the tendency to let professionals do the work. In both cases the professionals have made the work so complicated that now only professionals can do it. We have left political work to the politicians and we have left religious work to the Religious, and now we wonder how we can get the laymen to take an active interest in either of them. It would have been better to endure the crude efforts of the layman in both cases.¹⁹²

The underlying cause was expertise. Liturgical expertise had, whatever its other benefits, led to the over-professionalization of the liturgy instead of to a wider dissemination of active participation in it. But the lay community had erred as well in simply handing over their responsibilities. Instead they should fight to regain the “contact with the holy Sacrifice” which they had lost, and which ought to inspire their most heroic efforts.

The liturgical movement championed the activity of Catholic laypeople. Some liturgical activists understood resistance to their projects as grounded in a resistance to lay growth. “Perhaps if some of these people would analyze their opposition sufficiently, they might find a subtle clericalism which fears that the laity may seize something that belongs to the clergy,” Reinhold wrote in 1947.¹⁹³ While Reinhold’s language did not indicate that “some people” were necessarily or exclusively priests, it suggested that the protection of clerical privilege was at least one element of the coalition. This was an untenable hindrance to both liturgical progress and Catholic Action.

¹⁹² Rev. Joseph P. Kane, “Liturgy: Work of the People,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XV, No. 6 (April 20, 1941): 283.

¹⁹³ For an expansion of this argument through the era of liturgical reforms that followed the Second Vatican Council, see William D. Dinges, “Ritual Conflict as Social Conflict: Liturgical Reform in the Roman Catholic Church,” *Sociological Analysis* 48, no. 2 (Summer, 1987).

Both depended on lay energies, though guided by hierarchical principles. Liturgical reformers like Reinhold were frustrated by their opponents because of the political consequences of lay passivity.

He wrote,

There will never be Catholic Action without mature Christians. A laity babied and left to passive assistance in the liturgy cannot be expected to share the apostolic burden of the hierarchy. Those meek and silent sheep behind you, the only brains in the herd, will expect from you everything for letting you have their wool.¹⁹⁴

The liturgical movement, argued Reinhold, was committed to active adult Catholicism. These Catholics would be an aid to apostolic projects and to their own parish priests, in addition to being able to conduct worship in the way that their souls and their God demanded. An inactive Catholic was a freeloader in the parish and in the world.

Kane was not alone in linking liturgy with democracy, or at least with ‘the affairs of today,’ which for the early 1940s included a world-wide military conflict and, in the later years, mounting tensions between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Catholics in the 20th century took on an increasing role in world events, and did so as part of Catholic Action, a set of public Catholic initiatives that explicitly linked piety with political activity.¹⁹⁵ According to the transitive property of active participation, the Catholic layman who was active during public worship was active also in public service. The Austrian Parsch’s 1950 conflation of Catholic activity in the world with Catholic liturgical participation is not out of place in the U.S. context. He remarked that

Years ago, when communal parish life was still flourishing, often the pillars of the parish were seldom seen at the Communion rail. The regular communicants had little to say and seemed of

¹⁹⁴ H.A.R., “Committee on Un-Liturgical Activities,” 78.

¹⁹⁵ Pius X wrote of Catholic Action in his 1905 encyclical *Il Fermo Proposito* (On Catholic Action in Italy) that “The field of Catholic Action is extremely vast . . . one can plainly see how necessary it is for everyone to cooperate in such an important work, not only for the sanctification of his own soul, but also for the extension and increase of the Kingdom of God in individuals, families, and society.” Pius X, *Il Fermo Proposito*, Paragraph 3, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_11061905_il-fermo-proposito.html.

Catholic Action projects varied widely and in the U.S., much of the more politically engaged work was done by organizations like the Catholic Worker or the Christian Family Movement. But it was a conceptual resource for all Catholics who wished to incorporate their religious life into social activism and a stick with which to beat those who did not.

little value. But times have changed. Those who take a leading role in affairs today gather about the altar. Receiving Communion qualifies one for the Catholic apostolate.¹⁹⁶

Liturgical life was intimately tied to public life, and the Catholic layman was a potent force for good there.

Laymen also discussed the important ties between liturgy and Catholic participation in world affairs in the pages of *Orate Fratres*. Wilfrid Rooke Ley proclaimed in 1944 that Catholic Action drew on “‘active participation in the sacred mysteries.’ Those words . . . are the charter of our liberties. . . . social activities and the liturgical spirit must be fused into one.”¹⁹⁷ With the advent of a parish full of active participants, the Church could have an energetic and coordinated resistance to the forces of communism, materialism, and other social evils. The Scottish convert P.F. Anson celebrated the successful collaborations already in place in the English-speaking world by 1942. “As may be seen from the Reports of the Liturgical Weeks . . . American priests and layfolk . . . realize that without vigorous liturgical action there can be no real Catholic Action.”¹⁹⁸

Liturgical activists and other Church officials were especially invested in encouraging the formation of Catholic men for this purpose. Men were the obvious choice for public political work. But the liturgy could improve their domestic activities as well. In 1949, a papal address in Rome endeavored to help pastors use “the Mass for men as the chief element in their preparation of the faithful for the Holy Year.” As suggested by its name, the Mass for men had a particular agenda in explaining “the substance and meaning” of the liturgy to “the men of the parish”:

The first fruit of such a practice is to make them take part, intelligently and personally, in the divine Sacrifice of the Altar. But this participation should have an echo, a carry-over into daily life: and therefore these zealous pastors teach them to unite their own personal sacrifices with the Sacrifice of Christ – the profession of their faith and a Christian manner of life throughout the week gives them ample occasion for doing so.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Pius Parsch, “No Mass Without Communion,” 502

¹⁹⁷ Ley, “A Layman Looks to the future,” 178.

¹⁹⁸ P.F. Anson, “Fads and Fashions,” 456.

¹⁹⁹ “The Mass for Men: A Papal Directive,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXIII, No. 8 (June 12, 1949): 368.

The Mass for men was designed to influence each man's performance of his familial duties as well as the duties to his conscience and his immortal soul. But his duties were also, on occasion, to influence national politics on behalf of the Kingdom of God as interpreted by the Holy See, which was the explicit goal of Catholic Action programs. Liturgy and democracy both had, as Joseph Kane had argued nearly a decade before, the same tonic: active participation.

III: The Ideal Liturgical Language for Active Participation

A small number of *Orate Fratres* articles during the 1940s debated whether vernacular languages would encourage active lay participation in the Mass.²⁰⁰ These debates grappled with a gap in the education of U.S. Catholics. Priests generally received more Latin language training at seminary than the laity received in parochial school or other programs. Liturgical movement rhetoric promoted interdependent relationships between priest and parishioner according to role. It also established a divide between the (lay or clerical) liturgically expert and the (lay or clerical) liturgically uninformed or unenthusiastic. Arguments about the proper language for the Mass drew on these dynamics while introducing new situations for their further development.

Authors who debated the vernacular question established a shared vocabulary of arguments suitable for a lengthy discussion. Their audience was not large. One *Orate Fratres* contributor complained that while every priest of his acquaintance subscribed to *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review* and *The Priest*, only one in six took *Orate Fratres*.²⁰¹ Still, that one in six was the audience

²⁰⁰ Two articles examined here do not use the phrase 'active' participation' but are included because, in the case of a 1943 reprint from a British publication, the article was an important reference point for future conversations, and in that of a 1945 contribution to a regular column, it was the second half of an exchange which did include the phrase.

²⁰¹ Leo J. Trese (St. Patrick Rectory, Carleton Mich.), "What Can Be Done? A Pastor Proposes," (418-424), *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXII No. 9 July 25, 1948: 424.

for liturgical movement projects and they were most engaged with its rhetoric. These readers followed along as passionate supporters of Latin denounced the rude Vernacularists, who abandoned tradition for the sake of insufficiently pious Catholics.²⁰² Some moderates saw the value of active participation and thought vernacular liturgy would increase it, yet maintained that other methods would increase it just as thoroughly if not more so. But passionate supporters of the vernacular accused Latinists of a stodgy elitism that neglected the real necessity of vernacular liturgy for Catholic congregations.²⁰³

Both Latinists and Vernacularists (terms used but by no means ubiquitous in the period under discussion) identified as defenders of opposing subsets of the Catholic laity that, each fumed, their opponent would see neglected by if not excluded from communal worship. I am not concerned with the logical or evidentiary superiority of these arguments but on the discursive limits they established around liturgical language as a topic of discussion. Both arguments existed in the 1940s, occupied comparable space in the pre-eminent U.S. Catholic liturgical magazine of that era, and drew attention to parallels between liturgical and political participation. Both arguments emphasized not the qualities of the respective languages themselves but the qualities that they would lend to relationships among priest, parishioner, sacrament, and world.

²⁰² Dom Alphege Shebbeare seems to have coined the term ‘Vernacularists,’ and H.A. Reinhold attributed its creation to an intent to be insulting. It is, however, a convenient and efficient term when paired with ‘Latinist,’ and given the eventual triumph of vernacular and Reinhold’s rhetorical style I feel sure that he could reclaim the term

²⁰³ Jeffrey Kemper argues that “the Roman Church in English-speaking regions had no recent experience in providing vernacular texts for proclamation during the rites [in 1963], with the exception of a few texts from the Roman Ritual that were made during the 1950s. All other translations were for study texts or for private prayer by the faithful during the liturgy.” Jeffrey Michael Kemper, "Behind the Text: A Study of the Principles and Procedures of Translation, Adaptation, and Composition of Original Texts by the International Commission on English in the Liturgy" (PhD Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1992), 15. But this entirely dismisses the many English dialogue Masses and other liturgical reforms that I discuss in Chapter Two of this dissertation and imposes a radical break between the Church and the many extra-ecclesial organizations with which it cooperated. The Roman Church may not have had any legibly institutional expertise in these areas, but translations used during public worship were hardly unknown.

Throughout the 1940s, *Orate Fratres* contributors became increasingly interested in how language, either vernacular or Latin, could encourage active participation. The word ‘vernacular’ was used approximately sixteen times a year between the journal’s founding in 1926 and 1939, suggesting that the issue was considered relevant but not overwhelmingly so. But the yearly average tripled to nearly fifty times per year during the 1940s.²⁰⁴ In contrast, usage of the phrase “active participation” and related terms (“actively participate,” or “participate actively”) decreased during that same time period, from an average of twenty-three instances per year to eight.²⁰⁵

Agitation for and against English in the liturgy was a significant presence in *Orate Fratres*. But it hardly exhausted the energies of contributors who engaged in broader conversations about the fundamentals of liturgy and its future. In *Orate Fratres* Volume 19, covering December 1944 through November 1945, authors used the phrase “active participation” twelve times, “intelligent participation” three times, and the combination “active and intelligent participation” once. That same year “vernacular liturgy” was used five times and “vernacular in the liturgy” nine. In comparison, the phrase “liturgical movement” was used forty-six times, “Catholic Action” sixteen times, “public worship” eight times and “people of God” four. Catholic Action was a slightly more pressing issue than vernacular liturgy, but the two were roughly comparable.

The prospect of vernacular in the liturgy offered several *Orate Fratres* authors an opportunity to expand on both the definition of and the strategies for achieving active participation. Nine articles published in the 1940s made arguments about the benefits of vernacular liturgy for

²⁰⁴ Occurrences and averages were calculated by creating digital, word-searchable copies of *Orate Fratres* from published volumes. Due to potential human and digitization errors these numbers should not be treated as absolute, proven values; but they suggest the relative frequency of term occurrences during these two periods.

²⁰⁵ Comparison of single terms to phrases is somewhat misleading. Individual words can be used in irrelevant contexts much more easily than more complicated phrases. These numbers are useful mainly for marking trends from year to year and identifying articles which may pertain to the analysis.

active participation, especially of the laity. More than half were written by authors on the staff of the journal: two by *Orate Fratres* editors and three by regular columnist H. A. Reinhold. Three clergymen with less intimate ties to the publication contributed the other relevant articles: a U.S. Benedictine priest who contributed two 1944 articles, a French Jesuit priest who submitted to the regular “From Other Lands” section in 1947, and an Italian-born priest who wrote one article in 1947 during his extensive tenure in the U.S. diocese of Pittsburgh.²⁰⁶ These latter three authors were not major figures in the liturgical movement. But they were participants in its conversations whose articles made up half of the discussion about vernacular liturgy encountered by readers of *Orate Fratres* during the 1940s. The journal also printed several letters from readers responding to the articles and to their own experiences with Latin or vernacular liturgy. The journal’s contributors clarified the stakes of advocating for or against vernacular in the Liturgy. Doing so embroiled an author in debates about democratization, the logistics of finding parish resources for any liturgical reforms, and a heightened process of simultaneously criticizing one’s opponents for denigrating Catholic laity and Catholic laity for their liturgical failures.

* * *

Orate Fratres was primarily concerned with U.S. Catholic liturgical developments, but it was also part of a wider liturgical conversation occurring throughout the Catholic world. Vernacular liturgies were part of many different national Catholic conversations, and the journal included reports on these discussions in several issues as part of a recurring column called “From

²⁰⁶ See Stephen Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar Paris, 1919-1933* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 104; Mark and Louise Zwick, *The Catholic Worker Movement: Intellectual and Spiritual Origins* (New York: Paulis Press, 2005), 55; Edward Schaefer, *Catholic Music Through the Ages: Balancing the Needs of a Worshipping Church* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2008), 126. The Liturgical Movement, in both its international and U.S. forms, was dominated by Benedictines. But other orders participated as well, and several of the leaders of the movement were Jesuit priests.

Other Lands.” Some of the authors discussed here were foreign-born but had served in U.S. parishes for long periods, like Pittsburgh’s Rev. Carlo Rossini or H.A. Reinhold himself. Others, like French Jesuit Paul Doncoeur or English Benedictine Dom Alphege Shebbeare, joined the international liturgical conversation from distinct national positions. Still others were native to the United States, like Benedictine monk Rembert Sorg. On two occasions *Orate Fratres* editors reprinted documents originally published abroad in order to provide their contents to readers of the American journal. The first, a 1943 group effort by English vernacular enthusiasts, is the earliest article I examine here; the second, a 1949 text by French Archbishop Suhard shortly before his death, is the latest. The two international documents frame the discussion by illustrating two institutionally-minded strategies for incorporating vernacular into Catholic liturgy.

The 1943 document was a call for English liturgy in England reprinted from the *Herald*. One of its authors was Donald Attwater, a founding associate editor of and occasional contributor to *Orate Fratres* as well as a frequent speaker at liturgical events in the U.S. and across his own country.²⁰⁷ Despite distinct national and religious histories, England and the United States shared certain Catholic experiences and norms and their respective interests in the vernacular could be mapped onto one another to show related configurations of problems and solutions. The English document, signed by seven priests and eight laymen, solicited membership for a society pursuing increased use of vernacular liturgy by English Catholics. This call for vernacular in the liturgy

²⁰⁷ See for example Donald Attwater, “Sanctity in America,” *St. Joseph Magazine*, August 1951. Attwater, along with Howell, was invited to meet with the Vernacular Society during the 1949 Liturgical Week in St. Louis. Vernacular Society Bulletin, Folder 1, Box 3, Vernacular Society Record, University of Notre Dame Archives), Notre Dame IN (Hereafter VSR). Attwater introduced himself to Virgil Michel, claiming to be alone in England in his interest in popular liturgical writing in the 1920s.

was met with encouragement by *Orate Fratres* editors who reprinted the letter with a footnote indicating that a similar U.S. group was in development.²⁰⁸

The English petition declared that their “sole object is the instruction and edification of ourselves and those committed to our charge, through a greater use of our mother tongue to a deeper knowledge of, and a more intelligent participation in, the sacred mysteries.”²⁰⁹ The authors sought incorporation of vernacular into various rites and blessings whose “special individual-personal significance,” called out for the language of everyday speech.²¹⁰ The Mass’s significance was more delicate, as it “obviously stands in a category by itself,” but the petitioners viewed the Church as open to anything that would increase the benefit of the liturgy to the faithful, “as shown by the movement for the Dialogue Mass and the reintroduction of the office of ‘lectors.’” The article carefully avoided precise definitions of the authors’ vernacular project. Rather, it attempted to gain members and momentum, a strategy that would also have suited the U.S. context.

Orate Fratres readers quickly weighed in on the proposal and on the magazine’s action in publicizing it. Canadian priest J.L. Bradley from Victoria, British Columbia wrote to the magazine with a hope that editors would not lend their considerable authority to its cause. He cautioned,

I know from experience that everything can be accomplished, with the language of the liturgy just as it is, where there is good will and a certain amount of intelligence and real interest. Without these conditions nothing can be done, even with the “vulgar tongue.” I am convinced that the hurry and carelessness with which so many priests say Mass is a much greater hindrance . . . than anything else.²¹¹

²⁰⁸ The U.S. Vernacular Society, originally called the St. Jerome Society, was organized in Chicago in 1948 Gerald Ellard, S.J. “Current Theology: Recent Work in Liturgy,” *Theological Studies* 10, January 1, 1949, 251-292. Members were certainly aware of Attwater and his colleagues, but it is unclear whether this article had them in mind.

²⁰⁹ H.F. Davis et al., “A Definite Plan About the Vernacular,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XVII, No. 7 (May 16, 1943): 310.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 311.

²¹¹ J.L. Bradley, Victoria BC, “Questionable Agitation” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XVII, No. 8 (June 27, 1943): 382. Bradley indicates that he had been raised in the Church of England. He described a paper given at the most recent National Liturgical Week, indicating that he joined U.S. liturgical conversations. Bradley wrote to *Orate* again in July 1944, reiterating his disinclination to pursue vernacular liturgy (Bradley, “The Vernacular in the Liturgy,” 430).

Bradley's Victoria parish was only about three hundred miles and a national border from where H.A. Reinhold, who would soon take the opposite position in this debate, said Mass with his own congregation. Bradley's letter suggests that some *Orate Fratres* readers understood the periodical not to have chosen a side in the vernacular debate by the mid-1940s.²¹² But it was certainly a periodical whose endorsement would be taken seriously by those readers. Bradley urged the journal not to encourage a "questionable agitation for the introduction of the vernacular into the liturgy," and insisted that it was not the laity's struggle with Latin but the "hurry and carelessness" of priests that hindered intelligent lay participation. An endorsement of vernacular in the liturgy would represent a misdiagnosis of the problem and a misdirection of resources to address it.

The *Herald* article was discussed, along with the "tremendous interest in England in the question of introducing more of the vernacular into the Liturgy" and a growing U.S. interest in the same project, in an April 30, 1943 *Commonweal* editorial.²¹³ The editors acknowledged several issues with the English proposal. Vernacular liturgies might be especially problematic in "certain parts of Europe where nationalistic feelings run high." Additionally, missal use had grown considerably in the past decade, making the Mass 'available' already in national languages. But the authors concluded that "it does not take much observation to realize how few American Catholics actually 'pray the Mass' with the priest on Sunday," and supported a push for discussions and, potentially, a formal petition of ecclesiastical authorities for vernacular in the U.S. liturgy.

²¹² Keith Pecklers traces the journal's advocacy for vernacular back to the 1935 turn towards "the social dimension" of the liturgy, but either that position was unclear or Bradley was not a very sophisticated reader. See Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 162.

²¹³ "Inner Forum: Vernacular in the Liturgy," *Commonweal*, April 30, 1943, 57.

In May, Andrew McGee wrote to oppose *Commonweal's* endorsement of vernacular.²¹⁴

He urged U.S. Catholics not to abandon their efforts to secure active Latin participation, and described one parish in New York City as an example of the “notable success [that could be] achieved” if clergy made an effort. McGee argued that the “vital matter” was to encourage laity to “pay better attention and follow [the Mass] with their missals,” not to obsess over getting people to “take a vocal part.” McGee also added that translation of the Latin into a vernacular liturgy introduced a new problem. More than “mere faithfulness to the meaning of the original text,” this translation would require an incarnation of sacred meaning into a new linguistic body.

The second international argument about vernacular liturgy to be reprinted by *Orate Fratres*, six years after the Attwater letter, was Paris Archbishop Emmanuel Célestin Suhard's posthumous 1949 essay on liturgical experimentation.²¹⁵ The 1947 papal encyclical *Mediator Dei* had condemned vernacular ‘experiments’ undertaken by French priests. In his essay, Suhard expressed sympathy for the censured priests, emphasizing the “obligation in conscience” of every pastor to secure the participation of his congregation, an obligation that could not be fulfilled simply by observing liturgical rubrics.²¹⁶ But the archbishop explained that experimenting with or even reforming the rubrics would not constitute satisfaction of the pastoral responsibility either. Suhard emphasized the spiritual cost of “[infringing] upon the sense of unity within the Church” either by celebrating liturgy in a way that alienated parishioners from their Catholic community or

²¹⁴ Andrew McGee Letter to the Editors, “Liturgy in the Vernacular” *Commonweal*, May 21, 1943, 122-3. McGee, writing in the middle of U.S. military involvement in World War II, comments on the utility of the Mass for Catholic public relations when he closes with a hopeful “What an edification for non-Catholics who go [to St. Patrick's Cathedral] in large numbers during these days of war to hear a chorus of ‘*Et cum spiritu tuo's*’ swelling from the pews! That this is likely to occur in the immediate future I am not quite naive enough to believe. It is a specimen of wishful thinking.”

²¹⁵ Suhard served as Archbishop of Paris from 1940 until his death in 1949, during which period *Orate Fratres* editors praised his liturgical innovations several times.

²¹⁶ “Cardinal Suhard, R.I.P.,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXIII, No. 8 (June 12, 1949): 371.

by disobeying hierarchical instructions. Both infringements posed threats at least equal to the one they attempted to solve through liturgical experimentation in areas such as use of the vernacular.

After reminding his priests that only popes could permit the use of national languages in the liturgy, the archbishop articulated a model for vernacular explanation accompanying the Latin ritual. Suhard urged that the explanation not interrupt the liturgy, which should be conducted in a low voice separate from the instruction and in keeping with its sacrality. Keeping the vernacular instruction separate from the Latin liturgy was crucial to Suhard's approach. At Mass,

whenever it is at all possible, a priest other than the celebrant [should] welcome the faithful to church, give them helpful explanations, and tactfully aid them to unite their prayer with that of the celebrant. Let priests see to it that some of the faithful are trained as Readers, so that all may get to hear the texts of the liturgy.²¹⁷

Suhard's 1949 proposition maintained the liturgy as it was, but incorporated a parallel explanatory layer and urged paraliturgical instructions as preparation outside the rite itself, supplements that coincidentally offered laypeople new opportunities for Catholic leadership. The extra effort Suhard demanded from his priests and people grew out of their respective obligations to the Catholic community. This was a model of active participation in both parish and society.²¹⁸ It was not unique to Suhard any more than Attwater and his colleague's project was unique to them, but these two articles represented important inflection points in the *Orate Fratres* conversation about vernacular in the liturgy. Attwater's popular agitation for more vernacular and Suhard's institutionalized incorporation of what was already licit provide two framing logics.

* * *

Orate Fratres columnist Hans Ansgar Reinhold (H.A.R.), a vehement agitator for the vernacular, was not at all persuaded by Bradley's argument that "everything could be

²¹⁷ Ibid., 372.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 371.

accomplished, with the language just as it is.” Reinhold was born in northern Germany in 1897 and served as a priest there until fleeing the Nazi government in 1935. He eventually made his way to the United States and a parish in the eastern half of Washington State in 1944. In his July 1944 *Orate Fratres* column, Reinhold described attending a Mass at which liturgy and instruction were pronounced in parallel. But instead of identifying its advantages as Archbishop Suhard would do, Reinhold registered his dissatisfaction. He regarded the interplay of roles as competitive individualism instead of cooperative communality, and as cold pageantry:

There are times now when celebrant and subdeacon and celebrant and choir seem only bent on outdoing each other. Or again, the gospel has been “proclaimed” from the altar by the celebrant, and then the deacon has to sing it with candles and incense. These duplications . . . make the whole thing look a bit more petrified and ritualistic than it really is.²¹⁹

Reinhold privileged liturgical efficiency over what another liturgical activist might have seen as a tapestry-like richness of interdependent meanings.

Reinhold concluded that maintaining simultaneous Latin and English elements of the liturgy was ultimately inadequate. He could not foresee

wholehearted participation . . . so long as the faithful are between the two horns of a dilemma: either just to sing and listen without knowing what they sing and listen to, or to have a textbook with a translation and to “parallel” by reading what is performed by the ministers, the choir and the assistants.²²⁰

While a few liturgically advanced persons might make good use of a missal just “as a few connoisseurs take a score along to Carnegie Hall,” he insisted that the strategy would never benefit “the mass of our faithful.”²²¹ The only solution was to make appropriate sections of the liturgy exclusively vernacular. Despite the critiques of national language from pastors like Bradley, Reinhold aligned himself with the party who “pray for the vernacular in the liturgy where it seems

²¹⁹ H.A.R., “The Vernacular in the Liturgy,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XVIII, No. 9 (July 23, 1944): 422.

²²⁰ H.A.R., “The Vernacular in the Liturgy,” 419. Reinhold’s designation of the clerical roles as ‘performance’ here suggests that a range of verbs might be applied to the liturgy, and his choice here was not uncommon.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

to belong.”²²² He had no desire to circumvent papal authority with a “home brew” liturgy. There would be no experiments in Reinhold’s Sunnyside parish. But he suggested that vernacular “seems to belong” in the Mass, and might bear liturgical fruit. He suspected that experimentation would yield some other conclusion than the one at which Archbishop Suhard arrived in 1949.

American monk Rembert Sorg, O.S.B., contributed two articles on liturgical language to *Orate Fratres* in the 1940s.²²³ Sorg’s articles matched Reinhold’s arguments about vernacular liturgy at several points, and occasionally the two authors responded to one another directly. In December of 1944, Sorg presented an argument about the opportunity for meditative richness presented by studying the original language of scriptural passages. This need not be Latin (in fact, for the earliest Christian scripture, was rarely Latin). Yet investigating the Latin of liturgical prayers had the same capacity to push Catholics into important spiritual discoveries. It provided them with an opportunity to devote themselves to spiritual work while offering them a wider universe of meaning than the one confined by daily speech.²²⁴ Sorg urged laypeople who did not know Latin to use their missals at Mass. But he also encouraged them to spend time before the Mass each week to “memorize the substance” of the variable prayers which were not explained in the Mass itself but to which they were ritually required to give an intelligent *amen*. Sorg insisted that the sincere layman would accept this “asceticism” as a religious duty. It would be

necessary for active participation in face of the Latin impediment to meditate a little before Mass. If we are realistic we shall ever expect only from such who have enough charity and mortification to spend those few minutes of time and effort, any satisfactory degree of intelligent participation, even if the modern agitation for vernacular liturgy should gain its rather superficial point.²²⁵

²²² Ibid., 420.

²²³ Sorg was a U.S. monk from St. Procopius Abbey, perhaps best known for a book published first by the Illinois abbey and then by Missouri’s Pio Decimo press. Rembert Sorg, O.S.B., *Holy Week: Towards a Benedictine Theology of Manual Labor* (St. Louis: Pio Decimo Press, 1952).

²²⁴ Rembert Sorg, O.S.B., “On Meditating Like A Dove,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XIX, No. 1 (December 3, 1944): 13.

²²⁵ Ibid., 16.

The laywoman who already meditated, who already memorized Latin from a missal, was the same laywoman who would devote herself in a vernacular Mass. She who would not learn Latin under current circumstances would not pray intelligently in English if those circumstances were altered, Sorg argued. While admitting Latin's "impediment," Sorg saw the average layperson as lacking "charity" instead of bewildered, as Reinhold did.

Two months later, Sorg returned to his defense of Latin with a more systematic response to its detractors. He remarked that "the current agitation in favor of the vernacular liturgy . . . seems to be based entirely upon the point of promoting active participation."²²⁶ Sorg framed this article as "a presentation and some elaboration" of existing liturgy manuals and special studies published in the last fifty years.²²⁷ He paraphrased the international assortment of liturgical manuals as agreeing with the 'agitators' that introducing vernacular could promote active participation. But, he argued, they still favored preserving the Latin liturgy. Sorg drew on them to argue that, "Certainly *active participation*, as the liturgical movement strives to promote it, does not mean *more* participation than is due the status and role of the laity."²²⁸ It meant more of what was appropriate, not more as a general and inexhaustible principle. For Sorg, participation was role-dependent and squarely within the rhetorical norms of *Orate Fratres* contributors at the time.

Sorg condensed centuries of Latin apologetics from his sources to provide several arguments for Latin in the Mass.²²⁹ Priests, he began, underwent rigorous training to prepare for their role as interpreters of the scriptures which they transmitted, transcending the mere meaning

²²⁶ Rembert Sorg, O.S.B., "In Defense of Latin," *Orate Fratres* Vol. XIX, No. 3 (January 28, 1945): 113.

²²⁷ Sorg cites Ludwig Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, I (Freiburg I.B.: 1932), C. Callewaert, *Liturgicae Institutiones*, I (Bruges: 1925), R. Stapper-D. Baier, *Catholic Liturgics* (Paterson, N.J.: 1938), O. Casel, *Die Liturgie als Mysterienfeier* (Freiburg, I.B.: 1923) and Franz Bole, *Die heilige Messe und das Breviergebet* (Brixen: 1895). Sorg admitted that this was a "limited scope," but hoped it was still a useful one.

²²⁸ Sorg, "In Defense of Latin," 119.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 115. Sorg also offered the laity a sense of participation in Christ by aligning their subordination of a natural language to a divine one with Christ's complete submission of his human nature in obedience to God's will.

of individual words, to their parish. Paraphrasing his sources, Sorg explained that it was “an advantage of Latin that it makes interpretation a necessary condition for active participation, and guards against that wrong doctrine of private interpretation which spoils the objectivity of our faith and worship.”²³⁰ Interpretation allowed priests to balance responsibly between timeless truths and timely applications. He praised a truly catholic universality to Latin, which, he claimed, “since the beginning of Christianity has never been a nationalistic language.” In the aftermath of World War II “when a mad nationalism is dividing peoples,” this quality made Latin “most wholesome.”²³¹ Finally, Sorg emphasized Latin’s role in the governance and instruction of the Church, calling this “a more important aspect of unity than the sentimental satisfaction of finding the Mass in Poland the same as it is at home.”²³² As the costs of substituting a national language for Latin were so significant, and the meaning of the Mass was expanded exponentially by the various associations included in the latter, Sorg argued that the use of vernacular in the liturgy was an unnecessary distraction from liturgical movement goals.

Later in the same issue Reinhold re-entered the conversation, urged by a U.S. serviceman’s letter to include pro-Latin arguments in his column. Reinhold admitted that the magazine had up to that point carried “mostly pleas in favor of the vernacular in the liturgy – many of them by myself.”²³³ For balance, Reinhold discussed two pro-Latin arguments he had encountered recently. The first was a speech given by Sorg, whose article “In Defense of Latin” in the same issue

²³⁰ Ibid., 114.

²³¹ Ibid., 116. Sorg also notes that Latin, as used liturgically, was changeless, “which is a treasured consolation for those who grow weary of the change and fickleness of men.” Sorg, 117. See also Paul Doncoeur, SJ, “The Problem of Community Worship,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXI, No. 5 (March 23, 1947): 223, for ways that liturgy was being thought of as an alternative or solution to war in the mid-1940s even by those who favored greater use of the vernacular.

²³² Sorg, “In Defense of Latin,” 117.

²³³ H.A.R., “Answering Some Answers,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XIX, No. 3 (January 28, 1945): 119.

Reinhold had not yet read.²³⁴ The other was by Dom Alphege Shebbeare.²³⁵ While the former earned Reinhold's respect, the latter found himself at the quill-end of Reinhold's unsympathetic pen for "the well-known technique, heard over radios at election time of imputing ulterior motives and intentions to others while they are only his own hasty conclusions."²³⁶ Shebbeare had falsely concluded, Reinhold insisted, that vernacularists were opposed to good order.

Despite Shebbeare's accusations of revolutionary fervor, Reinhold maintained that none of the "Vernacularists" of his acquaintance fit this description. None regarded incorporating national languages into the liturgy "as a process of 'democratization,' which, in [Shebbeare's] mind, implies all sorts of sinister heretical intentions and seems to upset dogmatic facts concerning the relations of clergy and laity. Where has such an atrocity ever been implied in the faintest form?" Reinhold, born in Germany, had fled the Nazi regime in 1936 and received U.S. citizenship in April of 1944.²³⁷ The English Shebbeare had lived through a German military threat to his home. Both priests participated in democratic societies, and both had personal experiences of the Second World War which allied forces had won against an enemy portrayed as uniquely undemocratic.²³⁸

²³⁴ A footnote explains that H.A.R. had not seen Sorg's contribution before submitting his column. The Sorg argument referenced by Reinhold had been given as a paper at the previous autumn's St. Meinrad's Abbey meeting, and had been reprinted in the *Bulletin* of the Liturgical Week.

²³⁵ Shebbeare was a convert, liturgical music specialist, and Benedictine monk of Downside Abbey in the U.K. <http://archive.thetablet.co.uk/article/25th-january-1936/20/obituary>. Shebbeare did not contribute regularly to *Orate Fratres*, in the 1940s though he did provide the magazine with a translation in the June 1946 issue. The argument to which Reinhold refers was printed in the October issue of the *Dublin Review*, and was a response to Attwater's "eloquent plea of last April in the same review (reprinted in the September O.F.)." That 'plea' was also a submission to regular *Orate Fratres* column 'From Other Lands' and bore the title "In the Beginning Was the Word: A Plea for English Words." Because Attwater uses the phrase 'corporate participation' (which was not a common phrase in U.S. Liturgical conversations) instead of 'active participation' I do not analyze it here.

²³⁶ H.A.R., "Answering Some Answers," 120.

²³⁷ Julia A. Upton, *Worship in Spirit and Truth: The Life and Legacy of H.A. Reinhold* (Collegeville: Pueblo Books, 2010), 26.

²³⁸ Reinhold experienced political persecution in both Germany and the United States. The latter nation had prided itself on universal suffrage since 1787, then since 1863, and then 1920, and then 1971 as various demographic characteristics were newly enfranchised over the years. England had a similar history of gradually expanding voting rights. It passed a number of Reform Acts between the early 19th and early 20th century, expanding voting rights to Catholics (1829), the working class (1868), women (1918/1928), and anyone over the age of 18 (1969).

Yet neither author valorized ‘democratization’ of the liturgy.²³⁹ Reinhold’s reference to ‘radios at election time’ certainly hints that, in his mind, political allusions helped him to articulate his point, yet he never seized the opportunity to build on this parallel in any systematic way.

The greater fear was nationalism. Ostentatiously exasperated, Reinhold argued in the immediate aftermath of World War II that a “national language in the liturgy has never in history created nationalism, nor has the common Latin ever prevented Western Catholics from waging bloody wars against each other or from suppressing minorities of different races.”²⁴⁰ Liturgical language was political, but it did not determine the emergence of nation states. It might be said, Reinhold continued, that liturgical language somehow pertained to a Roman state power. If the liturgy were a sort of “state action” of Rome then Latin celebrations would be fitting in all places at all times. But Reinhold maintained that he and many other sincere Catholics differentiated between affairs of the Roman state and of the Church.²⁴¹

It was not revolutionary political impulses but practical liturgical ones that motivated Vernacularists, Reinhold explained. He condemned Shebbeare’s lack of appreciation for the various difficulties the existing liturgy presented for parish life. Accusing the Benedictine monk of lacking a pastor’s sense of the “problems of a parish” and its school, Reinhold emphasized the logistical difficulty of administering a “new educational system, new teachers, new methods, . . . and [putting] a missal in everybody’s hands to boot.” He countered that a liturgy that the laity could learn “simply by hearing, seeing and singing” would be far simpler way for them to “exercise

²³⁹ Both authors almost wholly neglected the political valence of “democracy,” though if they had perhaps they would have distinguished between more and less important qualities of democratic governance, as the Boston Catholic paper *The Pilot* did for its readers in early 1950. “Questions and . . .,” *The Pilot*, September 12, 1950, 4.

²⁴⁰ H.A.R., “Answering Some Answers,” 125.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 127.

what seems to me the normal way of participation.”²⁴² Practical and normal, vernacular in the Mass would properly orient priest and parishioner within the existing ecclesiological order, not disrupt it.²⁴³ Parishioners would still need instruction, but their education and preparation could be done much more efficiently if the liturgy were translated.

Who suggested that we throw these texts in a big-lump fashion at the bewildered minds of our people? There will, as a matter of fact, be so much explaining to be done that we can hardly afford to weigh ourselves down with the additional task of translating first! Why should we give up hope before we have tried?²⁴⁴

Casting his own argument as the clear pastoral choice, Reinhold argued that Latinists like Shebbeare stubbornly ignored the needs of contemporary Catholic congregations.

Drawing on his experience with Pittsburgh congregations, Carlo Rossini disagreed.²⁴⁵ Rossini began his 1947 article by explaining the distinction between language barriers and liturgical impediments. Rossini’s approach echoed several points Rembert Sorg had made earlier but grounded them in his own pastoral experience. He pointed out that countries with a vernacular language much closer to Latin had no greater participation than did the United States.²⁴⁶ He also noted that contemporary vernacular Christian practices, such as those of Protestants, elicited similarly mediocre responses from those congregations.²⁴⁷ Instead of comprehension, Rossini once again located the problem in the

²⁴² Ibid., 122.

²⁴³ Reinhold is staging an argument and may simply be deploying this rhetoric here to win the argument. He might *really* wish for the kind of democratization that Alphege accuses Vernacularists of fomenting, and for which post-Vatican II Catholic historians will applaud them. I think, though, that at most Reinhold holds both ideas – the love of order and the love of leveling it. As he is fairly lucidly defending the former in this article, I have chosen to believe that it is his primary motivation at this moment.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 123.

²⁴⁵ Rossini, born and educated in Italy, was invited by the Archbishop of Pittsburgh to assist with archdiocesan music there. He did so for several decades before returning to Rome. Rossini cited thirty years of experience as a parish organist and ten years before that in the choir.

²⁴⁶ Carlo Rossini, “The Case for Latin,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXI, No. 4 (February 23, 1947): 176. See also H.A.R.’s indictment of Italy’s “strange custom” of saying the Our Father and Hail Mary in Latin, in “H.A.R., “Answering Some Answers,” 127.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 176.

failure of various members of the parish community to fulfill their roles. He faulted the laity for lacking appreciation, and priests and lay leaders for lacking the artistry or the professionalism to adequately prepare for their liturgical work.²⁴⁸

Laity responded poorly to the “pageantry” of the Mass, Rossini claimed, because they did not understand the reason behind it. In fifty years of Sunday High Mass services, Rossini had never once heard the priest explain the liturgy during a sermon.²⁴⁹ But his ultimate point was an exoneration of the laity, not their indictment. “Let’s therefore, put the blame where it belongs: not along the pews, but at both ends of the church – the sanctuary and the choir-loft.”²⁵⁰ Liturgies, he continued,

have become so sloppy, frivolous, and undignified in the ordinary parish church (and cathedrals!) as to lose any power of attraction and edification. This is the core of the whole trouble, and any other ingenious explanation or ingenious excuse is a very poor *alibi!*²⁵¹

Rossini was sure that any parish could master the Latin ceremonies of the Catholic liturgy.²⁵² But they would have to devote some effort to it, particularly priests and lay leaders, and it was precisely this effort which really constituted their liturgical responsibility.

Rossini resisted the “exclusive or almost exclusive use of the vernacular in public worship,” because this change would necessitate numerous additional changes, including turning the altar so that the priest’s English might be made audible. And, he emphasized, it would do so without ameliorating other salient difficulties, such as the need for scriptural interpretation.²⁵³ Translators would need to find a vernacular phrasing vulgar enough to be understood but refined

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 177.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 178. He was therefore enthusiastic about the program of the Archdiocese of Trenton to require area priests to do just that.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 179.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 177. Italics original.

²⁵² Ibid., 179.

²⁵³ Ibid., 181.

enough to be inspiring, and to revise constantly as decades passed and the translation that was adequate to one generation fell outside the next generation's field of reference. Finally, Rossini raised the particular difficulty of national languages in a place like Pittsburgh. Liturgical language had consequences for how priests and laity in a multilingual society lived and worked together.

For instance, in the diocese of Pittsburgh there are parishes where one or the other of the following tongues is spoken: Italian (with its various dialects), German, Polish, Hungarian, Slovak, Lithuanian, Croatian, Bohemian, and Magyar. As a matter of everyday experience, priests from larger churches, with a large number of assistants, are called to say or to sing Mass at smaller churches because of extra services (funerals, weddings, etc.). How can any priest be ready to say Mass in any of the above ten languages?²⁵⁴

Vernacular liturgy might lessen the distance between clergy and laity but, Rossini argued, national languages would introduce new gaps into the liturgy of linguistically diverse congregations.

Rossini eerily predicted the problems liturgical commissions faced while implementing the Second Vatican Council's liturgical reforms, problems which I explore in the second half of this dissertation. But their relevance to Rossini's own era is no less important, and should not be swallowed up by anticipation. Rossini's various criticisms of vernacular and defenses of Latin were organized around the idea that an active participation campaigns' ultimate goal was to manage the relationship between priest and parishioner. The aim was not to find the best language for celebrating the Mass, but to find the best language for producing a priest and people who would celebrate the Mass. Language was technological, not ontological.²⁵⁵

Alternatively, French Jesuit priest Paul Doncoeur insisted his experience proved "abundantly that a people, even though secularized, is susceptible to the liturgy if it speaks to them

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 182. Rossini concludes by noting the difficulty that translation poses for composers and singers if new music must be found for the new texts. Solving these "practical inconveniences" would be a significant undertaking, one often ignored by liturgical activists who lacked experience in liturgical music.

²⁵⁵ Heidegger's question to be thereby either damned or vindicated, at your discretion. Martin Heidegger, *The Question Concerning Technology*, trans. William Lovitt (New York: Garland, 1977).

in a language which they can understand.”²⁵⁶ Doncoeur argued that no one in France either pretended that the laity understood Latin nor insisted that they do so.²⁵⁷ Latin necessarily and completely led to passivity, he argued. And “a system of government which would count upon the inactivity or the silence of its people as the guarantee of its tranquility would be liable to extremely serious consequences.” Reinhold had not made this response to Shebbeare’s accusation of “democratization,” but Doncoeur found it useful make an explicit case here for comparing vernacular participation in the liturgy to political participation in government.

Drawing on the relationships inherent to the Mass text itself, Doncoeur’s analysis of Catholic laity differed substantially from Rossini’s.²⁵⁸ He argued that certain prayers

are addressed directly to the people in order to elicit from them a reply expressive of the faith: and other parts have for their direct purpose the instruction of the people. . . . such parts should be addressed to them in such way that they may understand.²⁵⁹

Doncoeur demanded that priests address their congregations in this way because the laity were *obligated* to respond intelligently and actively to their priest.²⁶⁰ They had role-specific responses which they were required to provide in the dialogue of the Mass. This interdependent obligation was fundamental to the operation of the Mass as a sacrament and as public worship, as the wider *Orate Fratres* conversation about ‘active participation’ frequently reminded the journal’s readers. For Doncoeur, any priest who neglected the liturgical participation of his congregation governed in bad faith. He deprived the parish laity of an opportunity to give the response required of them.

Many U.S. liturgical activists who supported vernacular in the Mass did so with some ambivalence. In a 1947 article which is not strictly within my set because of variant word choices,

²⁵⁶ Paul Doncoeur, S.J., “The Problem of Community Worship,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXI, No. 5 (Mar 23, 1947): 226.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 223.

²⁵⁸ This difference may have arisen out of exposure to distinct congregations but the conclusion, in both cases, was framed as constitutive of Catholic laity as a general category.

²⁵⁹ Doncoeur, “The Problem of Community Worship,” 224.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 225.

Reinhold insisted that while he ‘agitated’ for vernacular, he would not require it. It could be separated, he argued, “from a good and thorough liturgical apostolate” if activists were willing to be satisfied with harder work for smaller results.²⁶¹ Here, Reinhold described participation as “popular” and “full.” He may simply have selected alternate terms because “active” had been used so often that it grated on his ears. But the argument emphasized the quantitative aspects of participation over qualitative ones. Vernacular expanded the number of participants, regardless of its impact on the style of that participation. In the same column, Reinhold lauded the Archbishop of Portland, Oregon, for his “profound and active interest in a full participation of his flock in the liturgy.” An “active,” interested hierarchy and “full,” participating flock yielded a Catholic community where the “Dialogue Mass is as common a thing as novenas around New York.”²⁶²

Still, liturgical projects required more than the vernacular. Reinhold urged readers who might be planning to attend the 1947 Liturgical Week, held in Portland later that year, to consider not just what they would learn there in lectures, but how they would participate in its liturgical celebrations. Even this select group of liturgical activists needed to be reminded that liturgy should be neither “a rigid show and state function,” nor marked by “informality and grotesqueness.” He urged attendees to approach their liturgies with the same respect that participants would bring to a

²⁶¹ H.A.R. “Timely Tracts: Two Suggestions,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXI, No. 5 (Mar 23, 1947): 229. He hoped the issue would be “kept in mind,” but it was important to maintain this separation lest “the apostolate itself [be] discredited if, for some reason, a halt were to be called to the vernacular question.”

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 230. Reinhold further lauded Portland, where “Catholic Action is understood and the small Catholic minority is right in the center of all labor-management problems as well as interracial questions.” Reinhold gave a talk to one of these Catholic labor-management organizations about the liturgy at which the Portland group came to the consensus “that ‘labor-management’ is something which clamors for a ‘liturgy’” of its own. See also Gerald Ellard, S.J., *Men at Work at Worship* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1940) for an identical argument. Though Reinhold laments that “all too few liturgists” are concerned with liturgical integration in this way, he was likely aware of Ellard’s book and argument, since both were significant figures in the U.S. Liturgical Movement generally and at *Orate Fratres* specifically. Ellard and Reinhold made only two, though, and could reasonably be considered too few.

wreath-laying ceremony at the tomb of the unknown soldier. This required attention not just to sentiment, but to roles:

The divine office recited without rhythm, dignity and beauty, by an embarrassed mixed crowd perched on a row of office chairs and debris, is about as adequate as the President going to Arlington to deposit a wreath on the tomb of the unknown soldier on November 11 in slippers and housecoat, and the soldiers and guards perched on the railing or squatting on the lawn. . . . God sees the . . . good intentions, but that is neither here nor there!²⁶³

Like celebration style and church architecture, liturgical participation according to role could create “the atmosphere [to] help the understanding of our liturgy and induce the audience to grasp a great deal more than they can now do.”²⁶⁴ Liturgical atmosphere was staged with people, places, things, and ideas. It could be a powerful educational force.

In 1948, a seminary professor wrote to H.A.R. admitting that arguments for vernacularization were often valid, and that even worthy objections did not dispatch “the arguments ‘pro.’” But “*the question is not as simple as it looks,*” he insisted. This was true

especially in mission countries where vernacularization is even more imperative than in Europe or America. Moreover I do not think that vernacularization is going to solve as many problems as some enthusiasts seem to imagine. It is not going to work like magic.²⁶⁵

The professor suggested that priests should agitate for the vernacular and what it could make possible, but also direct their efforts towards instruction on the meaning of the liturgy as it was. In his column, where he both printed the professor’s letter and responded to it, Reinhold agreed with this logic but not its assumptions. He countered that instruction “would certainly be easier, done more willingly, and impress more profoundly, if the subject were in the language of the

²⁶³ H.A.R. “Timely Tracts: Two Suggestions,” 231. Reinhold’s use of political analogy, specifically a ceremony of civil religion such as the one indicated here, suggests that the civil and sacred orders were if not inextricable by nature than at least brought together in the human nature that moved between them.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 232.

²⁶⁵ H.A.R., “Which is the Cart and Which the Horse?” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXII, No. 9 (July 25, 1948): 414. Italics original.

people – because the subject would then largely teach itself.”²⁶⁶ This autodidactic quality of a vernacular liturgy was an organizing principle of Reinhold’s approach.

The professor also warned Reinhold against vernacular liturgy’s overemphasis of local cultures. His argument made a related point to the long-standing criticism that vernacular liturgy produced narrow national chauvinism: “Must not a vernacular liturgy if we are consistent, become a national or tribal liturgy” he asked? Would it not need ‘vernacular’ music (local words, instruments, and melodies) as well, and eventually whole new ceremonies and rubrics evolved to suit local situations?²⁶⁷ This was particularly problematic “In the missions, say in [the professor’s own] diocese, where we have about half a dozen different races and languages.”²⁶⁸ How could any single parish coordinate the practical realities of running itself according to the various languages of a congregation like this? To secure vernacular participation, liturgical activists would need to coordinate, or depend on Rome to coordinate, a global network of bishops and superiors in order to establish liturgical rules and norms for parishes and their priests.²⁶⁹ The liturgical movement would need to appeal to and coordinate the efforts of many different figures, in addition to serving the ‘local situations’ of individual parishes. It would require a substantial bureaucracy.

Reinhold responded that the movement was not quite so hampered by its own logic. He insisted that “oneness in faith and sacraments does not necessarily require complete uniformity in liturgical usage.”²⁷⁰ He did not propose a general solution for mission countries, trusting that “the

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 415.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 416.

²⁶⁸ See Charles Meeus, “China’s New Order,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XVI, No. 5 (March 22, 1942): 231 for an additional example of the importance of missionary work and contexts to the discussion of active participation in this period.

²⁶⁹ See Greeley, *The Catholic Priest in the United States*, 134 for analysis of questionnaires related to the issue of a Bishops’ authority within his see. For a discussion of American Bishops triangulating their position through relationships to the American state, Rome, and the Catholics within their diocese, see D’Agostino, *Rome in America*, 116.

²⁷⁰ H.A.R., “Which is the Cart and Which the Horse?” 417.

Holy Spirit can build Himself a body in India which will make Christianity a genuinely Indian thing.” Mission countries were sites of prime importance for the liturgical movement, but Reinhold had specifically U.S. purposes in mind.²⁷¹ He suggested a limited view of ‘local circumstances. He continued,

Don Sturzo has pointed out that in Italy “vernacular” would mean a different language in every province, nay, town. I think that is taking “vernacular” in too literal a sense. We don’t want the liturgy in Cockney, or Brooklynese, but in English – a language most Americans can at least understand and seminarians can cultivate.²⁷²

This, then, was Reinhold’s point: the United States was neither India nor Italy. Nor was it France, where Cardinal Suhard argued that the people were best served by parallel use of Latin and the vernacular. The U.S. must solve its own problem, and to do so it must design a program geared to the needs of an average, ideal, normal U.S. Catholic. And it certainly, simply, and self-evidently needed English in order to do so.

* * *

Debates about the language appropriate to Catholic liturgy were also debates about how the community that celebrated the liturgy should be organized by that celebration. They specified how, that is, Catholic community should be organized by the Mass. Characterizing the real nature and abilities of Catholics was fundamental to this process. Each side of the language question accused the other of maligning laity, priests, or both. Reinhold, arguing against Shebbeare, explained, “It is the old question of who is really the pessimist . . . I may seem to despair of [the average Catholic layman’s] capacity for Latin, but . . . Alphege despairs of his capacity for

²⁷¹ “This is the age of liturgical reform and it is being discussed in all its phases throughout the Church – particularly in Europe and the missionary countries.” William O’Shea, “The Mass and Liturgical Reform. By John L. Murphy, Book Review” *Theological Studies* 19, January 1, 1958, 631. See also the work of Johannes Hofinger, *Worship: The Life of the Missions* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958) and *Liturgy and the Mission: The Nijmegen Papers* (New York: Kenedy, 1960).

²⁷² H.A.R., “Which is the Cart and Which the Horse?” 417.

understanding anything.”²⁷³ The average Catholic was a common touchstone for liturgical discourse more generally. One *Orate Fratres* author asked what the Church would “be without the ‘people of God,’” the “men and women who are its cells.”

yet, how little are those ordinary men and women listened to; they get plenty of directions, exhortations, controls, tickings-off from a hundred varied authorities (and not always in the most respectful way) whilst at the top of the ladder sit the planners like farmers discontented with the slowness or the thinness or the unmanageableness of the crop.”²⁷⁴

The same author wrote that he “must definitely put it down as my own experience that there is a deep and disquieting lack of depth and coherence in the religious formation of our layfolk.”²⁷⁵

Critiquing the liturgical failures of other Catholics was as universally condemned by the *Orate Fratres* community as it was universally included in their own arguments.

Both sides created a liturgical project aimed at serving their particular construction of Catholic community most effectively. *Orate Fratres* readers could side with the author that celebrated the qualities with which they had more sympathy and condemned the ones they most detested. Reinhold mocked Catholics fulfilled by missals and meditation, implying they were irrelevant elitists, while Sorg insulted those who neglected these practices, suggesting they were insincere and uninterested. If we participate in this debate ourselves we are limited to a choice between the lesser of two insults. Identifying the shared stakes that motivated each party, however, provides a more useful conclusion. Both sides of the argument about vernacular liturgy depended on defining Catholic laity by their most frequent or most achievable characteristic and positioning themselves as a protection of that existence. This was particularly true where the debate included reference to liturgical language.

²⁷³ H.A.R., “Timely Tracts: Forum on Language: Answering Some Answers,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XIX, No. 3 (January 28, 1945): 121-2.

²⁷⁴ Theodore Wesseling, OSB (Farnborough Abbey, England) “Yes, They Also Are People,” *Orate Fratres* Vol XIX, No. 9 (July 29, 1945): 423.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 425.

CONCLUSION: A Shared Vocabulary for Future Projects

Active participation was an important topic in the pages of *Orate Fratres* before, during, and after the 1940s. Contributors posited an ideal U.S. Catholic community either as a necessary precursor to realizing active participation, a direct result of doing so, or both. In each case the personal experience of liturgical piety was supremely important. But that experience was always also conditioned by a range of factors that included the contributions of other people to the rite. Catholics, liturgical activists argued, needed to be aware that their liturgical activity was not only their own but a factor in the experience of others. As both subjects experiencing the Mass themselves and conveyers of the experience to the rest of the congregation, Catholics doubly constituted the fundamental work of public worship.

Liturgical experts diagnosed the U.S. Catholic community with a number of different ailments that would need to be corrected for the health of the whole body. Both laymen and clergymen might be too lazy, too zealous, or misguided about the best means of securing active participation. Individual authors sought to ameliorate those deficiencies through projects and approaches that reconstituted the relationship between priest and parishioner. Reforming the relationships could reform the Mass as an act of public worship, because in the Mass each person depended on her fellows to both experience and create the liturgy. Liturgical activists sought to redirect this dynamic towards a *pursuit of* active participation that would also serve as *training for* it. Though there was variation, there was also a not infrequent preference for standardized and uniform results.

As the vernacular question became more pressing it encountered preexisting interest in active participation and in the various strategies proposed to achieve or encourage it. It also drew on the permeating concern with relationships among and between priests and parishioners. It

evaluated the present norms of lay and clerical behaviors by attending to potential for improvement offered by one liturgical language or the other. Both Latinists and Vernacularists sought balance between the local and the universal. They used arguments grounded in the languages people spoke and how piously they did so to justify their proposed standards. U.S. parishes might be envisioned as multi-lingual or English-speaking; either picture entailed a particular view of how vernacular liturgy would function and whether it should be introduced. These conversations formed a shared vocabulary that the U.S. liturgical movement and diocesan policies would interpret and incorporate into their own projects over the next several decades. In doing so, they expanded two aspects of the active participation discourse which I have not addressed here, but will become more relevant in the second chapter. They were fascinated with metaphors of performance and interested in the way that U.S. dioceses might enact liturgical projects on a grand scale.²⁷⁶

There were particular spots on the liturgical landscape that *Orate Fratres* authors referred to consistently as centers of liturgical interest and progress. One of these was Boston, Massachusetts. In 1948, one year after hosting the National Liturgical Week, Boston initiated a series of Liturgical Day events to foster active participation in the diocese. Layman Richard Fitzpatrick of Somerville submitted a report on one of these events to *Orate Fratres*. He described the “evident zest for active participation” of a woman in front of him at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross where the Liturgical Day was held and the “strangely silent” nuns who also attended. He

²⁷⁶ On the former, see for example Reinhold's meditation on the work of Father Remillieux in H.A.R., “Father Remillieux of Lyons,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXII, No. 3 (January 25, 1948):114. On the latter, see *Orate Fratres* republication of the Archbishop of Trenton's announcements about a 1943 year-long liturgical instruction policy in William A. Griffin, Bishop of Trenton, “An Episcopal Instruction,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXI, No. 1 (December 1, 1946): 32, Michael Ducey's report on Chicago's support for the first U.S. Liturgical Week in 1940 in Michael Ducey, O.S.B., “The Liturgical Week, October 21 – 25, Chicago,” *Orate Fratres* Vol. XIV, No. 8 (June 9, 1940): 369, or brief quotes from Cincinnati Archbishop McNicholas about establishing an Apostolate of the Liturgy in every Cincinnati parish (Most Rev. John T. McNicholas, Archbishop of Cincinnati, *Orate Fratres* Vol. XVII No. 8 (June 27, 1943): 366.)

suggested that the program's emphasis on instruction risked "[frightening or boring] people like me who have wives and children to support, who have little time . . . and whose need is to worship God more meaningfully, more fully, without justifying in detail the need or the method."²⁷⁷ Fitzpatrick was largely excited by the liturgical activities of his diocese, apart from the overemphasis on instruction.

Sister Mary Rachel, S.S.N.D. of the Notre Dame Convent in Malden, Massachusetts responded several months later to defend the "silent" nuns, testifying that "some of us participated actively in the singing though, apparently, we gave the general impression that it was 'the people's' show. It should be noted that nuns are of the 'proletariat,' i.e., members of the laity."²⁷⁸ Thomas Carrol, of the South End church that hosted the Liturgical Day event, also addressed Fitzpatrick's narrative. Carrol noted that the article had

aroused a great deal of comment hereabouts. . . . By no means all of the commentators are agreed with the particular criticisms made in the article. It is, however, a healthy sign that Father Leonard, S.J., who is in charge of the program committee for the Liturgical Days has announced his intention of adding Mr. Fitzpatrick to that committee.²⁷⁹

The exchange suggests a vibrant conversation about active participation in Boston, and an energetic campaign there to find ways of fostering it at the archdiocesan level. It also suggests that this conversation was one in which many different Catholics understood their own efforts to depend on the efforts of other members of the Catholic community. Chapter Two examines how one early 1950s Boston liturgical campaign drew on and developed the rhetoric of active participation, and the stakes of liturgical language, articulated in the pages of "liturgical movement bible" *Orate Fratres* in the decade beforehand.

²⁷⁷ Richard H. Fitzpatrick, "The Laity's Needs," *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXIII, No. 2 (December 26, 1948): 81.

²⁷⁸ Letter to the Editor from Mary Rachel, S.S.N.D., *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXIII, No. 4 (February 20, 1948): 183.

²⁷⁹ Letter to the Editor from Thomas J. Carroll, *Orate Fratres* Vol. XXIII, No. 4 (February 20, 1949): 181. Fr. Leonard had contributed several articles to *Orate Fratres* himself during his WWII service as an army chaplain. See William J. Leonard, S.J., "Liturgy on Foreign Duty," *Orate Fratres*, Vol. XIX, No. 8 (June 17, 1945): 341.

Active Participation in the Latin Mass: *Performance, Piety, and Politics in Boston's Demonstration Mass Campaign*



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INTRODUCTION: English in the Demonstration

Local author Anna Kuhn was excited and curious when she took her seat in the Arlington, Massachusetts Town Hall in early 1951 for a Demonstration Mass. “Catholic and Protestant townspeople were invited! What a unique form of Catholic Action, [she] mused,” just before two clergymen stepped out onto the Town Hall stage, one in full liturgical dress and the other wearing the street clothes of a parish priest.²⁸¹ Soon the priests began to simultaneously present and explain the Roman Catholic Mass, a religious ritual that had been celebrated in a standardized Latin for five hundred years and with which the Catholic Kuhn was deeply familiar. But there was

²⁸⁰ Photos #4 and #6, Folder 5, Box 6, FRM. The figure on the right in each image is the narrator, the figure on the left the celebrant, for a Mass Demonstration like the one attended by Kuhn.

²⁸¹ Anna Kuhn, “Mass by Demonstration,” *St. Joseph Magazine*, August 1951, 4. In addition to articles for national publications, Kuhn was a well-known Boston author of books about saints for young Catholics and pieces for the local Catholic paper, *The Pilot*. See Anna Kuhn, “New England Prior Sets Story for New Movie ‘Come to the Stable,’” *Pilot*, August 13, 1949, 1.

something different about the Mass Kuhn attended that evening: “From the opening words of Mass through to the last gospel, the celebrant spoke in English while his companion explained every motion and act clearly.”²⁸²

When the celebrant reached the consecration, “still facing the audience, he lifted the small white wafer while repeating the actual words which accompany” this action in the liturgy. At his cue, “many heads bowed involuntarily, for this vivid demonstration of the Mass was to truly Catholic hearts so familiar that the repetition of the words brought holy memories of hundreds of Masses in which they had participated.” Two important differences between the actions on stage and those of a Sunday Mass complicate their response. The first is language: the words had been English instead of Latin, and Latin was the language of the Mass.²⁸³ Kuhn moves between Latin and English here with an ease that suggests neither language alone was independently responsible for her Arlington experience. The second is human will: that the heads bowed ‘involuntarily’ is something the *Orate Fratres* authors I discuss in the previous chapter might have found both troubling and promising. An *involuntary* bow meant that the people’s will was *not* actively and intelligently participating in liturgical matters. But this bow revealed a receptive Catholic subject, one whose receptivity could be occupied by just such active and intelligent participation.

The Demonstration Mass cultivated not just activity but the capacity to be actively receptive. Equating participation with activity emphasizes the actions taken by Catholics, lay or clerical, during the Mass. Liturgical activists in Boston of the 1950s were certainly interested in

²⁸² Kuhn, “Mass by Demonstration,” 28.

²⁸³ This was the Church’s position until 1964. Writing in late 1958, Frederick McManus explained the official pre-1964 position on vernacular: “The liturgical language for the Latin Church is Latin, although there are exceptions to this [with regard to several sacraments and sacramentals as well as by custom or Indult]. . . . For direct liturgical participation by the faithful at low Mass, the Latin language only may be used . . . If such texts are recited aloud by the faithful in the vernacular tongue, it may not be considered direct liturgical participation in the sacred rites, unless the Church wills otherwise – by indult or by a change in the liturgical books” (Frederick R. McManus, “Practical Synthesis of Laws on Active Participation,” *Mediator*, Vol. X, No. 2, Advent-Christmas, 1958, 5).

preparing Catholics to take the actions appropriate to their liturgical role. But an emphasis on active reception highlights the disciplinary orientation of those actions, and the ways that orientation prepared (or was designed to prepare) Catholics to receive their God during communion. That is, it regards the laywoman's posture not as her own work but as her work in preparation for and cooperation with God's own presence. Similarly, the priest's celebration was not his own work but his anticipation of and inhabitation by God's Own Word.²⁸⁴ Demonstrations like the one Kuhn attended made both of these points explicitly. Actively receiving was partaking in the sacrificial economy, a human cooperation that found its partner in the commensurate, yet also infinite, responsiveness of God.

This reception was always active, always doing work, during the liturgy. But this work, and the process of *becoming* actively receptive, also had wider implications. The same soul that met God during the Mass also had relationships with the parish, with family and friends, and with the larger community. These relationships required a subjectivity that would be Catholic in every situation, not in the sense of following strict guidelines (though that might also be true) but in the sense of using Catholic experience to respond to new situations. Everywhere a Catholic *subject* went in the world she brought with her a Catholic *subjectivity* able to suffuse it. The cumulative effect was to stretch Catholic subjectivity, of individuals as well as of the community, over an ever-greater surface area on which liturgical projects might go to work.

* * *

²⁸⁴ Similarly, Edward Schillebeeckx argued that "the sense of Christ's presence in the ministry of the word will prevent the minister of the word himself from making foolish attempts to allow his own understanding-or lack of understanding-to prevail instead of allowing God to speak through the word." Edward Schillebeeckx, O.P., *Revelation and Theology*, Volume I, trans. N.D. Smith (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1968), 49. See also his assertion that a sermon "in no way 'interrupts' the celebration of the eucharist, but forms an integral part of the service of the word and as such shares in its saving power," 54.

Halfway through the 20th century the Archdiocese of Boston launched an initiative to improve Catholic liturgical practice in light of the best liturgical movement wisdom at the time. The Demonstration Mass Campaign was developed by several diocesan priests and emerged out of a more general participation campaign. The program was housed in the Sacramental Apostolate, a diocesan office created in 1948 when Archbishop Cushing, who had been archbishop since 1944, was inspired by the Liturgical Week conference held there in the summer of 1948.²⁸⁵ The previous chapter outlined the dynamic 1940s national conversation about active liturgical participation in the flagship journal of the U.S. Liturgical Movement, *Orate Fratres*. In this chapter I examine the Boston Demonstration Mass campaign of the early 1950s in order to contribute to three areas of current scholarship on the U.S. Catholic liturgical movement. First, attending to the campaign expands a narrative usually focused on Midwestern and rural projects to encompass east coast and institutional contexts. Second, the campaign illuminates the many rhetorical projects organized around interventions into the ‘active participation’ of clergy and, to a larger extent, laity. Third, the Demonstration Mass programs show how liturgical experts supplemented liturgical Latin with English in order to encourage active lay participation in the Mass. These programs explored the performative, pious, and political dimensions of the Catholic Mass.

²⁸⁵ Several years before the Liturgical Week conference, Cushing signaled his interest in liturgical work by starting an annual series of free Bible talks. See John E. Steinmueller, “Church has Safeguarded the Bible Through the Ages,” *The Pilot*, January 20, 1950, 1. But the Liturgical Week conference inspired more substantial development. Boston’s Sacramental Apostolate had both lay and clerical members. The name Sacramental Apostolate was part of a cluster of phrases which competed with the term “liturgical movement” in the wake of the 1947 encyclical *Mediator Dei*. Gerald Ellard attributes the sentiment that “liturgical movement” is an old-fashioned term, superseded by the papal expression “liturgical apostolate” since *Mediator Dei*, to Professor Joseph Pascher of Munich in 1948. Gerald Ellard, S.J. “Current Theology: Recent Work in Liturgy,” *Theological Studies* 10, January 1, 1949. Frederick McManus, who worked closely with it throughout his time there, explained the name was chosen in order to be “less threatening than *liturgical commission*, at least in Boston of the nineteen-forties and fifties.” Frederick R. McManus, “Vision: Voices From the Past,” Presented at the 1995 National Meeting of Diocesan Liturgical Commissions, Providence, Rhode Island. Quoted in Jack Shea, *Simply Fred: A Tribute to Frederick R. McManus* (Raleigh: Lulu, 2011).

Boston's campaign drew on national and international liturgical movement ideas and practices. It also built on the energies and expertise of local laypeople and clergymen. And it operated alongside the social, cultural, economic, and political conditions that situated Catholics in post-WWII U.S. history. Scholars of U.S. Catholicism have drawn a rich map of this historical territory. The central story traces U.S. Catholics emergence into parity with and legibility to a majority non-Catholic U.S. society between WWII and the election of President John F. Kennedy in 1960. Historians of the U.S. Catholic Liturgical movement have contributed nuanced examinations of liturgical movement debates about ideal liturgical relationships and languages.²⁸⁶ In the previous chapter I examined both Latinist and Vernacularist activists who grounded their respective advocacies in the effect that liturgical language could have on the numerous relationships out of which a Catholic community was formed. Both sides directed their efforts toward that "return to the very heart of the liturgy, to full and active participation as the source of Christian social consciousness," championed by Historian Keith Pecklers in his work.²⁸⁷

Despite the strongly pro-vernacular arguments that made up at least half of the national liturgical conversation occurring in *Orate Fratres*, many priests and laypeople of 1950s Boston supported a Latin Mass. Recent work by Timothy Kelly and others encourages scholars to understand that choice on its own terms instead of as a function of submission to the policies of prelates. Kelly's excellent study of Pittsburgh Catholicism argues that the Catholic laity anticipated and even initiated conciliar reforms during the 1950s.²⁸⁸ Aspects of the Demonstration Mass

²⁸⁶ See especially Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M., *Living Stones: The History and Structure of Catholic Spiritual Life in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 150, 170, 180; Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 63.

²⁸⁷ Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 281.

²⁸⁸ Kelly, *The Transformation of American Catholicism*, x. As a corollary, Kelly's argument emphasizes the continuity between the 1950s and the 1960s. In his 2016 dissertation Peter Cajka argues that recent reperiodization work by Kelly and other scholars creates continuity between the pre-conciliar period and the era immediately after the Council, but subsequently imposes a rupture between the 1960s and later decades. Cajka's intellectual history of the role of conscience in U.S. Catholicism argues for a continuous tradition at least through the 1970s. Though my argument

campaign and its reception anticipated post-conciliar developments. But they also complicate attempts to organize U.S. Catholic history around the Second Vatican Council, revealing Catholic experiences that were not simply anticipations of post-1964 outcomes. The English liturgy used in the Demonstration Mass campaign allowed Boston Catholics to add a new way of thinking about the Mass to their existing Latin practice. Both linguistic contexts contributed to lay and clerical understanding of the Mass, and each offered unique strategies for forming community through the common act of public worship.

The Boston Demonstration Mass on which I primarily focus here was written and first performed in 1949 by two diocesan priests: Fathers Albert Low and Frederick McManus.²⁸⁹ The audience for the series was largely, but not exclusively, Catholic laypeople. Several things marked Demonstrations as distinct from the daily Masses they explained, though both are part of 21st century Catholic practice. First, the priest's orientation was *versus populum*, or facing the congregation, in contrast to the usual *ad orientem*, facing the altar with back to congregation. Second, the demonstration liturgy was given completely in English translation, in contrast to the Latin prayers of a Mass. Both the Demonstration script itself and articles describing these events noted that these distinctions allowed the audience to better understand the Mass. Priests who provided these Demonstrations and the Catholics who organized and attended them did so not because English was a superior *liturgical* language, but because it was an appropriate *instructional* one with which to improve Boston Catholic worship.

applies different methods to alternative sources, it also attempts to illuminate continuities between pre-conciliar liturgical projects and those of the 1960s and 1970s. Peter S. Cajka, "The Rights of Conscience: The Rise of Tradition in America's Age of Fracture, 1940-1990" (PhD Dissertation, Boston College, 2016).

²⁸⁹ Frederick McManus, Demonstration of Holy Mass: Script and Explanation, Folder 7, Box 6, FRM.

Demonstrations used temporal resources like English, a ‘national language,’ to facilitate sacramental experiences celebrated in Latin, an eternal one. They demonstrated the Mass by slipping back and forth between a translation of the Latin liturgy into English and an English explanation of the Latin Mass. They also adapted several strategies to help these events blur the distinction between going to Mass and preparing for it. A short play by Rev. Francis Moran, *It Is The Mass That Matters!* was occasionally performed in tandem with McManus and Low’s Mass Demonstration. Their *The Mass Presented in English and Explained* was one of several Demonstration Masses circulating at the time. But only that script, edited by McManus for publication by the National Council of Catholic Men (NCCM), was incorporated into *A Program Manual*, a parish society handbook which brought McManus’ Mass Demonstration to a national Catholic audience. These three strands of the Boston Demonstration Mass campaign allow me to explore the performance, piety, and politics of an English Mass in 1950s U.S. Catholicism.

Boston carefully positioned its Demonstration Masses as something other than ‘real’ liturgy. One program announced that, “obviously [this is] in no sense a real Mass or religious exercise.”²⁹⁰ Program sponsors insisted on the boundary between religious things and approximations of them. Yet “because of the reverence fitting to the subject,” they “requested that there be no applause until the end of the entire program.” This could be neither a sacred nor a profane thing if either category required, in theory or practice, the exclusion of the other. The program asked participants to distinguish between the Mass and a Demonstration Mass and then rapidly apply experiences from one category to those from another, creating a religious workspace defined by slippage. In this workspace the Mass was deconstructed. But it was also elevated and affirmed, if not (re)created. Demonstration audiences like the one described by Anna Kuhn above

²⁹⁰ *It Is The Mass that Matters* event program, May 4, 1951. Folder 5, Box 6, (FRM).

reacted “involuntarily” in a way that was grounded in both the fundamental integrity of the Mass in any language and the fundamental disparity between English and Latin.²⁹¹ The demonstrated English Mass was real enough to provoke embodied responses embedded during Latin liturgies, but not real enough to fulfill those bodies’ Mass obligations for the week. Demonstration Masses erected a boundary between worship and activities that merely prepared Catholics for worship in order to indicate what should happen on each side of the boundary. They also blurred the boundary to effect a more thorough preparation.

Catherine Bell’s work examines theories of ritual in the study of religion. She emphasizes not ritual itself so much as *ritualizing*, those acts of identifying ritual that are performed by practitioners, when they separate the time spent at Mass from any other part of their day, as well as scholars, when they choose to locate religion in a religious service instead of a religious idea, as I do here.²⁹² She encourages Religious Studies to move “beyond the customary confines of ritual theory to suggest some of the strategies basic to other forms of practice and the social relationships these practices support.”²⁹³ Doing so allows her to shift the analysis of rituals to “a particular cultural strategy of differentiation linked to particular social effects and rooted in a distinctive interplay of a socialized body and the environment it structures.”²⁹⁴ Twenty-five years after the liturgical reforms launched by the Second Vatican Council, Bell argues that the Catholic Mass can operate as both a formal gathering distinguished from a daily meal and an informal home celebration distinguished from the ‘inauthentic’ formality of the parish rite.²⁹⁵ Her work

²⁹¹ Kuhn’s description suggests a bourdieusian analysis of Catholic liturgy which Chapter Three will develop further.

²⁹² For Bell, scholars engaged in ritual superimpose their own preoccupation with the opposition between belief and practice; they have articulated ritual as that category of action that excludes belief, then proceed to analyze the ritual action as one which resolves various tensions between belief and action.

²⁹³ Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 5.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8. See conclusion for a discussion of Furey’s critique of Bell on this point.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 92. Theorizing religion in the academy and within religious traditions is often artificially separated, but there are many examples of parallel conversations. For example, when John Miller asked his *Theological Studies* readers

illuminates the strategies that constitute particular Masses, but they also help us to identify the strategies by which Demonstration Masses distinguished themselves from either an ‘actual’ Mass or a demonstration of anything else. The three textual strategies I analyze in this chapter each ritualize the Demonstration Mass, differentiating it from performance, from sacrament, and from public action in order to make arguments about Catholic liturgy and lives. At the same time, they ritualized the Mass itself, incorporating performative, pious, and political elements into their explanations in order to show that the Mass was a more perfect performance, piety, and politics than any other human experience.

In the early 1950s, “active participation” was a useful organizing phrase for two aspects of American Catholicism: improving liturgical piety and channeling the demographic and democratic power of U.S. Catholic citizens. Demonstration Masses taught active participation to 1950s Boston Catholics in order to help them adapt American Catholicism to the particularities of their own time and place. Part I of this chapter examines the landscape upon which the Demonstration Mass campaign was conducted. Part II focuses on a short play sometimes performed with the Demonstration Mass in order to examine the slippage between entertainment and education that liturgical activists harnessed in order to achieve their goals. Part II explores the most popular Demonstration Mass of 1950s Boston in order to show how these Demonstrations educated Catholic laity about the nature of the Mass and their own role in it. Part IV investigates a national publication that included the Demonstration script alongside other monthly activities in order to illuminate overlapping concerns about active U.S. Catholic participation in liturgy and politics.

in 1957 to “note that St. Thomas in his treatment of the virtue of religion speaks of [worship] sometimes as the action by which we pay honor to God, sometimes as the habitus which inclines us to do so,” he cites Aquinas, not Marcel Mauss, whose work preceded Pierre Bourdieu’s use of “habitus.” Yet Miller, Mauss, and Bourdieu use the term for inherently related work. John H. Miller, C.S.C., “The Nature and Definition of the Liturgy.” *Theological Studies* 18, January 1, 1957. Citing St. Thomas (Sum. Theol. 2-2, q. 81), 331.

I: The Boston Liturgical Landscape of 1951

Anna Kuhn wrote about a Mass Demonstration for the August 1951 edition of national Catholic monthly, *St. Joseph Magazine*.²⁹⁶ While some Demonstrations took place in church sanctuaries or classrooms, the event she attended was presented in the northeastern town's "brightly lighted colonial [and] well designed municipal building," on February 12, 1951.²⁹⁷ Within the hall a large hanging wooden crucifix, a crimson stage curtain, and a temporary altar flanked by flowers and lit candles formed a "dramatic but thoroughly appropriate" setting, one that "transform[ed] . . . the hall into a Catholic Church 'sanctuary.'"²⁹⁸ Or, into a staged version of a sanctuary. The stage dressing temporarily re-made the space, but it did not consecrate it. The room became something other than a hall, but remained something other than a church.

The "public" of Catholic public worship was both the bounded Church of the Mystical Body of God and the boundless world of missionary promise. Kuhn remarked on the presence of non-Catholics at her Arlington Demonstration Mass, echoing an important emphasis for sponsors. In January of 1951, Boston's weekly Catholic paper *The Pilot* announced a Demonstration at St. Agnes and urged parishioners there "to invite non-Catholic friends . . . since [the Demonstration] has proved to be of great interest to Catholics and non-Catholics alike."²⁹⁹ Tickets, distributed by the church administrator at no charge, would be required for admission. Local publicity for a

²⁹⁶ The *St. Benedict*, Oregon magazine was available for an annual subscription of \$3.00, \$5.00 for two years.

²⁹⁷ Kuhn, "Mass by Demonstration," 4; "Demonstration of Mass in Arlington Town Hall," *Pilot*, January 20, 1951, 3. An accompanying image shows a Demonstration at St. Paul's Church in Cambridge with the Demonstration priest working from the church pulpit and altar.

²⁹⁸ Kuhn, "Mass by Demonstration," 4. The technical meaning of temporary altars within Canon Law became controversial a few decades later with the expanded celebration of Home Masses. Kuhn's use of 'temporary' is more likely simply descriptive here.

²⁹⁹ "Demonstration of Mass in Arlington Town Hall," 3. The CCD of St. Agnes' Parish organized the event.

similar event explained how much Catholics enjoyed Demonstration Masses and benefited from their explanations, then added, “those who are not Catholics have been equally pleased, since the demonstration enables them to appreciate in some measure Catholic Worship.”³⁰⁰

The notice did not explain whether this appreciation would yield conversion to the Catholic faith, greater understanding of its members, or both. Recently, scholars have added nuance to the story of a post-war cooperative consensus of Jewish, Protestant and Catholic Americans. Kevin Schultz argues that consensus was a rhetorical tool religious minorities used to secure particular projects as much as a social reality that included them. John Seitz examines how Catholics in particular were ambivalent about a discourse that obliged them to eschew religious exceptionalism in pursuit of national feeling, and Robert Orsi explores the divergent American experiences produced by Catholic communities in a Protestant or Judeo-Christian society.³⁰¹ Publicity surrounding the Mass Demonstration in Arlington and elsewhere suggests that here Catholics could be interested in both Tri-Faith conversations and triumphant Catholic exceptionalism, that the same event might coordinate both forms of outreach.

Kuhn’s description of her Arlington experience provides a useful opportunity to examine Boston’s Demonstration Mass campaign in more detail. As she took her seat that evening in 1951, a local priest introduced the program. Then Fr. Low, acting as celebrant, and Fr. McManus, who would narrate his colleague’s words and actions for the audience, came to the stage. Kuhn described her breathless excitement at Low’s orientation and her similar response to the language in which he celebrated the Mass rite.³⁰² She was also highly appreciative of McManus’

³⁰⁰ The Mass Presented in English, Folder 4, Box 6, FRM

³⁰¹ Schultz, *Tri-Faith America*, 7. See also Seitz, “The Mass-Clock and the Spy”; Orsi, “U.S. Catholics between Memory and Modernity”.

³⁰² Kuhn, “Mass by Demonstration,” 28.

commentary, which was remarkable enough for Kuhn to apologize for not including “every word of the interpretation” for her *St. Joseph Magazine* readers.³⁰³

The Arlington event was not the first time Kuhn or her companions had encountered calls from their archdiocese for better and deeper liturgical participation. The carefully orchestrated pageant of the Demonstration ensured that it could build on that campaign as well as guarantee even greater pedagogical impact on the audience. This is suggested by a conversation Kuhn narrates for the separate but not unrelated audience of her article. “After the silence [following the Demonstration] which was itself a tribute,” she wrote, “the spectators began to chatter spontaneously, gaily and with bursts of enthusiasm.”³⁰⁴ Kuhn commented to her companion that she was “amazed at the beauty of the English words when spoken aloud.” Her companion agreed, asking, “what would one have to do to have English substituted for Latin in holy Mass?” But before Kuhn could respond, a “Catholic college student who sat near us said with a twinkle in his eye” that it would require a papal decree, at which “all smiled.” Kuhn continued, “but don’t you think that Latin is more appropriate for such a sublime and ancient service? We still respect traditions, don’t we?” The conversation concluded with Kuhn’s point that “we still travel occasionally. I am sure that we would not be too happy if going to Mass in Rome or Paris or Rio we had to listen to a foreign language. We should feel let down, I am sure.” There is something fond and humorous and even sly about the group’s attitude towards hierarchical authority here. Kuhn and her companions are obedient, subjected – but not passive. Rome’s authority provides them something they find useful for preserving an experience of the “sublime” and the “ancient.”

³⁰³ English (as well as other vernacular) translation of the liturgy and accompanying interpretations were available in numerous missals, thousands of which were in use by U.S. Catholics at the time. Kuhn’s apology indicates that she felt missal usage was still not universal (which was accurate) or that the translation and commentary provided by McManus and Low was in some way especially beautiful or educational.

³⁰⁴ Kuhn, “Mass by Demonstration,” 29.

Kuhn's socio-economic position is suggested by her move here to protect the liturgical experience of her future international travels. She would have liked to visit Rome and Paris, both still rebuilding from the Second World War. She would also visit Rio, a bustling cosmopolitan city with a colonial history distinct from that of the United States but certainly in conversation with it. This does not invalidate her response so much as constrain our generalization of it. The College student affirms Kuhn's final point by saying, "That is it! . . . Latin is a universal language, and the Catholic Church is a universal Church." The three new friends agreed "that we had had a rare program in our Town Hall, but in the Catholic Churches throughout Christendom, we still wish to have our Mass in Latin." The universality that ties these three Catholics together exists alongside exclusivities, including American race and gender norms as well as global colonial violence, which will inform my discussion in Chapters Three and Four.

Kuhn wondered at the close of the evening whether "it [was] the unique service, and not the words, which had made such a deep impression on all of us?"³⁰⁵ Demonstration Masses can neither be reduced to language nor can they totally transcend it. We should avoid any impulse to dismiss Kuhn's thought process in this article as a preliminary but failed appreciation of vernacular Mass. This caution allows us to appreciate the work being done here on liturgy, American Catholicism, and the experience of participating in public Catholic worship. Engagement with the question of language allowed Kuhn to expand her own liturgical experience and situate it within her sense of herself as possessing a modern Catholic subjectivity.

* * *

In constant conversation with its sacramental importance, the Mass was part of the machinery of Catholic life. Like any ritual practice, ultimate meaning was constantly and

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 29.

necessarily juxtaposed with incidental logistics. For example, Masses were inextricable from domestic and foreign fundraising campaigns. Readers of archdiocesan paper *The Pilot* were reminded in late 1949 that significant immigration from war-torn Europe had occurred in the past few years, including clergy, and “our refugee priests depend entirely on Mass intentions.” Boston Catholics also sent money abroad. Their generous and faithful contributions to the St. Malo Catholic orphanage in France were rewarded there with a monthly Mass for U.S. benefactors.³⁰⁶ Finally, Masses were a form of census, though not an unproblematic one. Reflecting on the drawbacks of using regular Mass attendance to estimate Catholic populations, the editorial staff of the *Pilot* argued in 1950 that doing so minimized the importance of Catholics to U.S. society. It produced a “gross under-estimation [of] the number of Catholics in the armed forces, and the percentage of Catholic marriages in the national average.”³⁰⁷ The Mass was a holy thing set apart. It set *Catholics* apart. But its expansive association of meanings and material resources also funded orphanages and generated demographic information.

The Mass, both an ideal communion and a practical matter, structured many aspects of Catholic life. The laity experienced this blending of the holy and mundane in church every Sunday. Pressed together in pews or in queue for communion, Catholics could simultaneously offend and inspire one another. This dynamic was expressed in *All Angels Parish* comic panels and the *Questions and Answers* (Q&A) column, both appearing regularly in *The Pilot*. While comics found humor in the various failures to live by Mass etiquette, the *Questions* section provided readers with a forum to seek serious, practical solutions to liturgical dilemmas. As the Archdiocese of Boston

³⁰⁶ “Mass Intentions,” *Pilot*, January 15, 1949; Letter from Mrs. Harry G. Morris, *Pilot*, April 22, 1950, 5.

³⁰⁷ “Among So Many,” *Pilot*, June 3, 1950, 4.

sought to improve the liturgical piety of local Catholics in the early 1950s, many Catholics found clarifications and reassurances in their paper of local Catholic record.³⁰⁸

Pilot readers were invested in achieving greater and deeper understanding of their public worship. *Questions and Answers (Q&A)* provided a number of *Pilot*-approved solutions to contemporary issues. Queries involved the logistics of marriage annulment, the appearance of Mary to children at Fatima, and whether the people's democracies of Eastern Europe could really be described as democracies at all. The column also regularly provided advice on how to apply various liturgical policies to particular cases. The paper printed letters from local Catholics seeking answers about the benefits, merits, and requirements of participating at radio Masses and Masses for the dead, as well as on other elements of the liturgy.³⁰⁹ On at least one occasion a "Christian, non-Roman Catholic reader of *The Pilot*" submitted a question to *Q&A*, but the vast majority of printed column submissions came from local Catholics.³¹⁰ It was very likely a practicing Catholic who asked the paper to "please explain what part the people have in the Mass" in Spring of 1949.³¹¹

Local cartoonist Hugh Devine's single-panel comic *All Angels' Parish* ran regularly in the *Pilot* during this period. Devine began drawing while serving in the U.S. military during the Second World War.³¹² He had drawn for the popular *Lil' Abner* strip before beginning his own strip, which he drew in Boston and distributed to Catholic papers all over the United States. Devine's single-panel comic poked fun at antisocial behaviors and awkward moments in the Mass. Several of his cartoons depicted inconsiderate behaviors, such as a the "otherwise worthy woman

³⁰⁸ Many concerns were about everyday elements of Catholic liturgy and not provoked by liturgical campaigns.

³⁰⁹ "Questions and Answers . . .," *Pilot*, September 10, 1949, 4.

³¹⁰ "Questions and Answers . . .," *Pilot*, May 6, 1950. The non-Catholic letter asked for the *Pilot's* reaction to a recent publication in which the author reflected on her time as a Catholic nun and her decision to leave her order.

³¹¹ "Questions and Answers," *Pilot*, April 2, 1949, 4.

³¹² Obituary of Hugh P. Devine, *Patriot Ledger*, March 18, 2009. (<http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/southofboston-ledger/obituary.aspx?n=hugh-p-devine&pid=125230409>, accessed June 15, 2017).

[who] disturbs the priest and congregation by clanking coins” into the shrine box during services; the two women who chatted unconcernedly, “using their oversize missals for concealment” while their annoyed pew-mates looked on; or the man who fell asleep in the kneeling position and blocked parishioners trying to exit his pew after Mass.³¹³

Other comics addressed the relationship between Church activities and those in the secular world. Through the liturgy Catholics could become better members of their modern Boston and



American community. A comic printed a few weeks before Christmas of 1950 showed two drivers, one shouting over his shoulder at the other, “Look out you Road Hog. . . . If I weren’t just coming from Mass I’d run you down!” The Mass did not prevent road rage. But it might change the way that Catholic subjects responded to it.

The Demonstration Mass was just one component of Boston’s efforts, organized by Archbishop Cushing and the archdiocesan infrastructure, to improve liturgical participation there.

³¹³ All Angels’ Parish, *Pilot*, Saturday June 11, 1949; All Angels’ Parish, *Pilot*, August 6, 1949, 8 (the issue was dealt with more seriously in the December 33, 1950 “Questions and Answers” column, in which a reader asked whether talking during Mass was a sin; All Angels’ Parish, *Pilot*, December 3, 1949, 8.

³¹⁴ All Angels’ Parish, *Pilot*, December 16, 1950, 8.

The archdiocese's primary form of liturgical communication was *Mediator*, a newsletter first published for Easter of 1950. It was a publication of Boston's Sacramental Apostolate, with an editorial staff made up of one priest and three sisters. It offered "to all who share in the Church's office of teaching, in pulpit, classroom, or home . . . help in their task."³¹⁵ Editors especially urged teachers to include the Mass in all their lessons, "not alone because it is the centre of all our worship, but because we know that when we teach it well the Mass itself will continue to be a lifelong teacher." But methods of teaching the Mass had to be adjusted to the needs of the current age. *Mediator* drew readers' attention to the emphasis of recent papal documents on the sacrificial aspect of Mass, but cautioned them not to isolate this from the liturgical whole:

there seems to be a revived emphasis on the Sacrifice, on the worship of the Father through Christ. This is, perhaps, the great need but it must be done with the greatest understanding, so that it will enhance [Christ's reception in Holy Communion and worship in the Blessed Sacrament] rather than diminish them.³¹⁶

Editors also noted a growing emphasis on "the fact that it is the whole Church that worships," and that worship was role-dependent, allocating different responsibilities to the laity and to "the exclusive office of the ordained priest."

During the 1940s *Orate Fratres* authors often emphasized the importance of singing to liturgical participation, agreeing that it was central but often disagreeing on its execution. Boston continued this emphasis into the next decade with an embrace of the more practical aspects achieving musical participation. "Spoken words are adequate for our everyday affairs, but for the nobler moments, the times when a sublime sentiment wells up within us, we need music," the editors of *Mediator* enthused.³¹⁷ Archbishop Cushing began championing the cause of

³¹⁵ "Alleluia!," *Mediator*, Vol. I, No. 1, Easter 1950, 1.

³¹⁶ "A Lifelong Teacher," *Mediator*, Vol. I, No. 1, Easter 1950, 3. This point is discussed at length in Chapter One.

³¹⁷ "Our Song at Easter," *Mediator*, Vol. I, No. 1, Easter 1950, pg2.

congregational singing very early in his Boston career, with a special focus on local youth and on the adults who were responsible for their education.³¹⁸ By 1950, all Boston sisters who taught music in parochial schools attended semi-monthly sessions.³¹⁹ These teachers, in turn, trained their primary and high school students to sing the Mass and provide ‘demonstrations’ of their expertise to the archdiocese.³²⁰ The *Pilot* enthusiastically embraced Pontifical Masses sung by children representing local schools because “these students were taking their proper part, long-neglected, in the offering of the sacred mysteries. They were not singing *at* Mass, they were singing the Mass, to recall the happy phrase of Pope Pius X.”³²¹ Cushing also brought students from the Newton College Music Summer School onto his Sunday Morning Mass broadcast, a High Mass offered over the radio, in September of 1950.³²² Listeners, the *Pilot*, urged would “hear the sacred words sung plainly and clearly, with skill and beauty – not as a ‘performance,’ but as a living part of the worship of Almighty God.” The slippage between performance and prayer was not as obvious as

³¹⁸ “School Children Sing Plain Chant at Special Mass,” *Pilot*, May 13, 1950, 1. In 1950, 20,636 students were enrolled in archdiocesan high schools and 91,726 in elementary schools. (“Enrollment in Schools Now Reaches New Peak,” *Pilot*, September 9, 1950, 1.)

³¹⁹ Sessions were held at Emanuel College, an outgrowth of summer sessions taught by the Pius X School of Music at the Newton College of the Sacred Heart begun in 1946. (“Liturgical Music School in Newton Opens Fifth Session,” *Pilot*, August 12, 1950, 11.) The courses were “intended as part of a long range program to establish Gregorian music in the Archdiocese, and thus enable the faithful to participate more fully in the liturgy.” The Archdiocese financed a bimonthly course in Liturgical Music in the fall of 1949 offered as college level credit, and Sisters (at least two from every elementary school and one from every high school) were encouraged to attend. (“Diocese Sponsors Special Course in Liturgical Music,” *Pilot*, September 24, 1949, 7.) In 1950 the Summer liturgical music courses were expanded further in the hope that “representatives from each teaching religious order of the archdiocese, qualified to teach music, attend.” (“Liturgical Music Courses to Continue Throughout Winter,” *The Pilot*, September 9, 1950, 2).

³²⁰ “Boston’s ‘Liturgical Days,’” *Mediator*, Vol. I, No. 1, Easter 1950, 1. This article was reprinted from the December 1949 issue of *Orate Fratres*.

³²¹ “Offering of the Sacred Mysteries,” *Pilot*, May 27, 1950, 4. Nearly 3,000 children from 171 elementary schools participated, as did an equal number from 80 high schools.

³²² “Our First Concern,” *Pilot*, August 26, 1950, 4. Radio Masses were opportunities for those, including priests, who could not physically attend Mass to fulfill their liturgical obligations from home (“Hundreds Attend Liturgical Day At The Cathedral,” *Pilot*, January 22, 1949, 11.) But this did not exhaust the listening audience. A variety of Catholics listened to the program, which was therefore another opportunity for liturgical preparation by the Sacramental Apostolate. In late November 1950, local Catholics listened to a radio Mass that included both an “explanation of the various parts of the Mass,” and a sermon by the Archbishop (neither of which were part of every program); one listener wrote to *The Pilot* to say that she and her husband had caught a broadcast by accident, but had been so edified they now planned to listen regularly after they returned from their parish Mass (Agnes Eakins Letter to the Archbishop, *Pilot*, December 2, 1950, 5.)

it was during Demonstration Masses. But song could invoke it as well, and the paper was careful to make the distinction.

Boston Catholics were given many opportunities for education about the liturgy, such as the Boston College (BC) Social Worship Program that opened in 1948. Archbishop Cushing, who endorsed the BC program but did not initiate it, hoped that area Catholics who became interested in the liturgy through Archdiocesan programs “will find it possible to avail themselves of the more elaborate courses offered in” the summer school. Courses were developed by Boston Jesuit priest and director of the program William J. Leonard, S.J., who was first introduced in the conclusion of Chapter One. Coursework covered Gregorian Chant and the history of the Mass.³²³ There was a class focused on the encyclical *Mediator Dei*, which Leonard called “the whole foundation of the liturgical movement – it’s our Bill of Rights!”³²⁴ The program advertised undergraduate or graduate credit to area Catholics, including military veterans, nuns, and laywomen interested in education and the arts.³²⁵ A 1951 class of liturgical artists created “a huge mural depicting some of the great militant saints of the Church.” The mural served as backdrop for the altar that Fr. Leonard and the 9th Ordnance Battalion had built for field Masses in New Guinea, highlighting the close relationship between liturgy, arts, and the world in which they operated.

In October 1948, the archdiocese began developing an approach to liturgical formation that blended education and entertainment with enthusiastic worship. That fall Archbishop Cushing began a series of monthly Liturgical Days. Days featured a Mass, preferably one celebrated by the archbishop, as well as congregational singing and a “program of instruction” delivered by local

³²³ “Social Worship Program Opens at Boston College on June 27,” *Pilot*, May 21, 1949, 7.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

sponsors.³²⁶ A similar series began the following October “as part of an overall program designed to interest the faithful in the Liturgy of the Church.”³²⁷ Programs taught active participation as a principle of liturgical experience and enlisted participation both by featuring laity and clergy in songs, pantomimes, and lectures and advising them on performance of liturgical roles. At the first Liturgical Day Mass “four hundred [members of the congregation] sang (a little timidly),” and a panel of speakers revisited the previous year’s Liturgical Week theme to create “a good platform from which to launch further indoctrination.”³²⁸ The third Liturgical Day introduced “a commentary during the Mass [which] made it more intelligible.” Attendance peaked for the March 1949 Day with a congregation of twelve hundred people, at which time “Congregational participation in the singing [had] improved notably.”

Demonstration Mass programs began to evolve over the next year. In January 1949, Leonard presented a dramatization of 8th and 20th century Masses in which a choir chanted its assigned part and the audience took the role of server.³²⁹ As the series continued Archbishop Cushing issued an invitation to “the clergy, religious and laity of the archdiocese together with their non-Catholic friends” to attend.³³⁰ At the May 1950 Liturgical Day, the audience listened to a talk by Fr. Leonard about the relationship between the Mass and the responsibilities of Catholics to the world. They heard him declare that the Mass was “the greatest democracy under Heaven; and that Holy Communion, the fruit of the Sacrifice, is the greatest source of unity and peace

³²⁶ “Boston’s ‘Liturgical Days,’” *Mediator*, Vol. I, No. 1, Easter 1950, 2.

³²⁷ “Liturgical Day at Cathedral to Open New Monthly Series,” *Pilot*, October 15, 1949, 16.

³²⁸ “Boston’s ‘Liturgical Days,’” 1. The second Day yielded the same criticism as the *Orate Fratres* critique discussed at the end of Chapter One: that there had been too much talk.

³²⁹ “Hundreds Attend Liturgical Day At The Cathedral,” *Pilot*, January 22, 1949, 11. See also “Impressive Program Planned For Fifth Liturgical Day,” *Pilot*, February 19, 1949, 1; “Joint Ceremony on Sixth Liturgical Day at Cathedral,” *Pilot*, March 12, 1949, 1.

³³⁰ “Liturgical Day at Cathedral on Saturday, February 18,” *Pilot*, February 11, 1950, 15. Cushing emphasized the former two groups, reiterating his commitment to the liturgical preparation of clergy and religious, not just the laity.

among Christians, having tremendous social effects for the good of the entire human race.”³³¹ Fr. Leonard also staged a communion rite “read in English at an improvised altar, with the ‘celebrant’ facing the congregation.”

In October of 1950, the *Pilot* announced that a related series of liturgical events would be extended to individual parishes over the coming year.³³² This was the beginning of the series of Demonstration Masses that would move across the archdiocese over the next few years. “Priest-members of the Apostolate will present lectures on the Mass in many parish churches, and their teaching will be dramatized by a group of young people drawn from the parish visited, while the audience will be given every possible opportunity to participate actively.”³³³ Fr. Leonard was scheduled to give a series of educational programs beginning October 15th at St. Paul’s Church in Cambridge; Fr. Albert Low and Fr. Frederick McManus were recruited for a similar duty beginning November 5th at Holy Name Church in W. Roxbury. Several parish priests made requests for programs in their churches, which the *Pilot* promised would be scheduled soon.

II: Liturgical Performance in It Is The Mass That Matters!

Demonstration Masses were spectacles as much as they were lectures. They used theatricality to prime their audience for liturgical formation, using aesthetic and interactive techniques to emphasize particular elements. The dramatizations which Leonard, McManus, and

³³¹ Leonard paraphrased in “Final Liturgical Day Draws Worshippers From All Parts,” *Pilot*, May 28, 1949, 1.

³³² Encouraging parishes to take responsibility, and parish priests to undertake the adaptation of diocesan programs to the particular needs of their own laity, was always an operating principle of Boston’s liturgical efforts. In 1958, after the Pastoral Instruction on participation in the Mass had been issued, the liturgical newsletter *Mediator* published an article by Rev. Shawn G. Sheehan calling for parishes “to inaugurate a step-by-step program toward achieving active participation by the people in the Mass, or to continue such a program where it is in progress,” the latter cases presumably having been encouraged if not initiated by campaigns such as the one I describe here. (Rev. Shawn G. Sheehan, “Spiritual Formation Key to Program,” *Mediator*, Vol. X, No. 2, Advent-Christmas, 1958, pg1).

³³³ “Liturgical Days To Be Presented in Local Parishes,” *Pilot*, October 14, 1950, 1.

others incorporated into Liturgical Days “were simple in concept, but costumes and properties were fairly elaborate, and the effect was pleasing to the eye as well as successful in teaching the basic structure of the Mass.”³³⁴ Certain parts of the liturgy were especially amenable to use of this strategy. A late 1950 Demonstration Mass overseen by Leonard included a procession in which a priest brought his chalice, a mother her children, and a doctor his stethoscope up to the altar. The *Pilot* thought that these “parishioners representing their respective self-offerings” vividly demonstrated the offertory of the Mass.³³⁵ “In the simplest words the meaning was unmistakable: we give; we give together; we give under a visible token; we give ourselves.” Demonstrations “ritualized,” as Bell uses the term, the Mass by keeping the distinction between performance and religion fresh in the audience’s mind. They used that contrast to transmute liturgical qualities heightened by performance into their appropriately sacred counterpart through careful explanation.

Demonstration scripts were very careful about the line between demonstration and ritual, but they also made productive use of the inherently unstable nature of this division. One of the ways they addressed this was through attention to the word “performance” itself. The verb “perform” was frequently used to describe the priest’s actions during the Mass.³³⁶ But in a 1958 Introduction to a published version of the script, McManus noted that, “whereas Mass itself is not to be thought of as a play or drama, with actors speaking their lines and an audience looking on,” the present event “enables the priest or teacher to dissect and explain.”³³⁷ William Leonard, the Jesuit priest and a prominent Boston liturgical figure, went even farther with the comment that

³³⁴ “Boston’s ‘Liturgical Days,’” 1.

³³⁵ “You’ve Been Going to Mass for Years – But Do You Understand It?” *Pilot*, December 16, 1950, 13. See also “Demonstration of Mass Draws Crowd,” *Pilot*, October 29, 1950, 16.

³³⁶ See for example the *Orate Fratres* articles discussed in Chapter One, the text of Mediator Dei quoted elsewhere in this chapter, as well as John Miller’s attribution of the usage to St. Thomas. John H. Miller, C.S.C., “The Nature and Definition of the Liturgy,” *Theological Studies* 18, January 1, 1957.

³³⁷ Frederick R. McManus, *A Demonstration of Holy Mass* (Washington D.C: The National Council of Catholic Men, 1958).

the liturgy was “not something to be performed (‘I’m on for ceremonies tomorrow’) but something to be lived (*imitamini quod agitis*).”³³⁸ The Mass was not theater. It was real.

The Demonstration Mass was neither theater nor real sacrament. The commentary so appreciated by Anna Kuhn opened by noting, “this is merely a demonstration but a demonstration which removes some of the obstacles to our understanding and appreciation of the Mass. We can see what goes on at God’s altar, and we can hear in our own language the holy words with which the actions of the Mass are expressed.”³³⁹ The “actual words” of the Mass spoken in English indicated they were part of a script, not a liturgy; the actions of the priest “in view of the audience” created a theatrical staging. A Demonstration Mass script from nearly a decade later, discussed in the next section, also encouraged the audience to think about the difference between what they saw and heard there and the anticipated experience of an authentic liturgy. “This is not a real but only a demonstration Mass. [But] even in a demonstration Mass you sense this solemn moment, a moment full of expectation.”³⁴⁰ Thinking of the event as a performance helped the audience’s sense of the solemnity of the demonstrated moment. They imagined and hopefully thereby developed the much greater solemnity associated with the Mass.

This later Demonstration used the theatrical metaphor even more explicitly to illuminate the cosmic structure of the liturgy. “We do not simply watch a holy drama, a sacred ‘show’. Our Lord communicates with us and we with Him,” its author explained.³⁴¹ Active participation was about appearing on stage with God as unsparing “stage director”:

“And the Liturgy with its participation puts the spotlight squarely on the little me, puts me squarely in the center of the stage. I squirm with embarrassment and uneasiness in this spotlight. I long desperately to rush off stage into the comfortable dark corner behind the

³³⁸ William J. Leonard, S.J., “The Worship of the Church: A Companion to Liturgical Studies. By William J. O’Shea, S.S., Book Review,” *Theological Studies* 19, January 1, 1958.

³³⁹ McManus, *Demonstration of Holy Mass*, 1.

³⁴⁰ Demonstration of Holy Mass by Msgr. A.C. Marthaler, Folder 7, Box 6. (FRM), 24.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

scenes. . . . However, God holds the spotlight and He isn't about to take it off me. God is the stage director and He isn't about to call me off till I have spoken my lines and acted my part. . . all the people in Heaven are fixed on the edge of their seats . . . wondering if you are going to say one AMEN. In a sense, all of heaven is standing on tip-toe, with bated breath, wondering about you, and are you going to submit yourself to the invitation of the infinitely powerful Son of God in an action which brings Him utterly powerless to the altar before you."³⁴²

The audience of a Demonstration Mass was engaged in ways that were not possible in strictly pedagogical or liturgical settings. The performative combination of the two allowed Marthaler to drive home a point that would have been muted in either of the other contexts.

On at least three occasions, McManus and Low's Mass Demonstration was preceded by an explicitly theatrical performance. It depicted the first Mass celebrated by the Apostles after the death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ.³⁴³ An early staging of the play, discussed at the end of this section, occurred during the 14th Diocesan Congress of the Boston League of Catholic Women in spring of 1950.³⁴⁴ A Dialogue Mass celebrated by Rev. McManus, with Rev. Moran directing the laity, opened the Congress. Archbishop Cushing's address urged the more than 1,000 delegates in attendance to practice their faith for the benefit of their parishes and the Archdiocese more broadly. Another speaker urged their vigilance against the "secularists and the unscholarly fringe of Protestantism" who "persuade our fellow citizens . . . that Catholics can not be good American citizens."³⁴⁵ And that evening in the main ballroom of the Hotel Statler, as a first act before McManus and Moran presented a Demonstration Mass, the Boston College Dramatic Society performed a short play, called *It is the Mass that Matters*.³⁴⁶

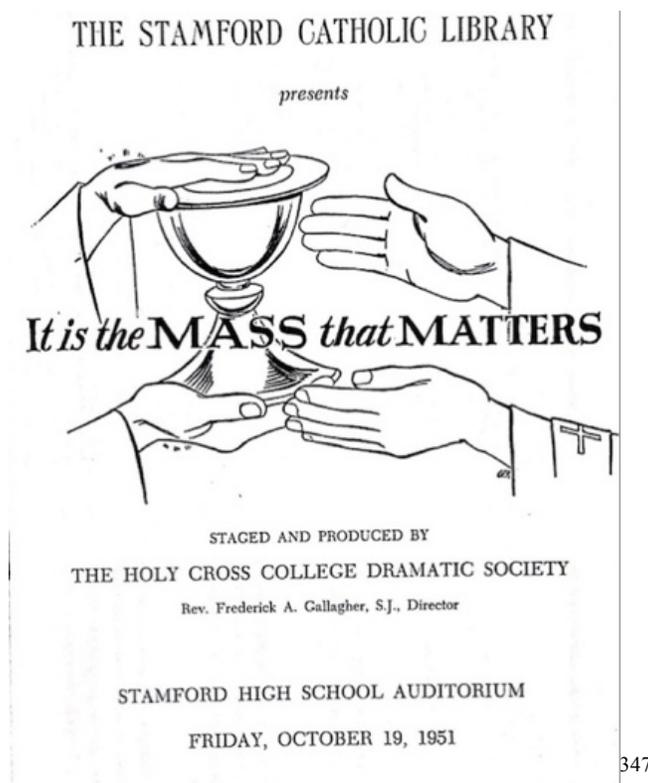
³⁴² Ibid., 8.

³⁴³ The Holy Cross College Dramatic Society of Stamford High School conducted a performance at the Stamford Catholic Library on Friday, October 19, 1951. The Stamford Catholic Library presents *It is the Mass that Matters*, October 19, 1951, Folder 5, Box 6 (FRM).

³⁴⁴ "Sessions of League Congress Open at Statler on Tuesday," *Pilot*, May 6, 1950. The League made regular use of the Demonstration Mass, during large Area Day events and before small local groups. A Further Report . . . , Folder 4, Box 6, FRM

³⁴⁵ "Prelate Urges Women to Give Personal Service," *Pilot*, May 13, 1950, 7.

³⁴⁶ "Thespians Depict Mass At Annual Convention," *The Heights*, May 5, 1950, 1.



The elements of the Congress demonstrate the inextricability of the three arguments that organize this chapter. First, the speakers' admonitions point to the simultaneous campaigns to encourage liturgical and political action, which I discuss in section IV this chapter. Second, McManus's Demonstration Mass offered the audience an opportunity to cultivate a new understanding of and orientation towards the liturgy, which I explore in section III of this chapter. Third, Moran's play drew productively on the slippage between education, entertainment, and enlightenment in order to prepare the audience for the related if not identical strategies of McManus and Low's Demonstration. In Chapter Four I argue that several different stories of the Vatican II liturgical reforms emerged by the late 1960s, each of which narrated Catholic history to a particular audience. The Demonstration Mass and its accompanying play narrated that history

³⁴⁷ The Stamford Catholic Library presents *It is the Mass that Matters*.

for a post-war Catholic public in order to interpret both the liturgy and the contemporary community that celebrated it.

The same program was also offered the following spring, in May of 1951, for the League of Catholic Women in the newly formed Diocese of Worcester. The League sponsored the double bill of play and Demonstration for the Friday evening of their First Annual Congress. Before taking up his new position as Bishop of the new diocese, John Wright had served as auxiliary bishop of Boston and chaplain for Boston's League of Catholic Women. This suggests familiarity with the program of the May 1950 Boston League of Catholic Women event, and perhaps some role in bringing it to the Worcester League he organized after arriving there.³⁴⁸

According to historian David J. O'Brien, the League of Catholic Women's first Worcester congress "was one of those mass events which marked Catholicism in the 1950's, . . . with thousands of women, including nuns, listening to national speakers, praying and worshipping together, and leaving with an agenda for action during the coming year."³⁴⁹ A Demonstration Mass, held in the Municipal Auditorium on the first day of the congress, helped event organizers to advocate for that agenda. Rev. McManus played the celebrant, Rev. Francis P. Moran, S.T.L., was narrator, and a Holy Cross student from the class of 1953 played the server.³⁵⁰ Moran frequently contributed his theatrical talents to Boston's liturgical campaigns.³⁵¹ Recent work on

³⁴⁸ David J. O'Brien, "When It All Came Together: Bishop John T. Wright and the Diocese of Worcester," *The Catholic Historical Review* 85, no. 2 (1999): 189. Wright penned several of Archbishop Cushing's speeches about peacemaking in the latter days of WWII. Wright became Archbishop of Pittsburgh in 1959 and played a significant role in liturgical developments there. See Kelly, *The Transformation of American Catholicism*.

³⁴⁹ O'Brien, "When It All Came Together," 190.

³⁵⁰ *It Is The Mass that Matters* event program, May 4, 1951. Other roles listed under 'Dramatis Personae' included ten apostles and seven economic 'roles': Laborer, Student, Soldier, Physician, Seminarian, Old Man, and Manager. All roles were played by young Holy Cross men.

³⁵¹ Moran had prepared the theatrical Lenten liturgy program for the February 1950 Liturgical Day in conjunction with Fr. Leonard and students from local Catholic institution. "Pontifical Mass to Open February Liturgical Day," *Pilot*, February 18, 3.. He was also active in liturgical education, giving a series of lectures on the Mass to the Boston College Institute of Adult Education in 1950. "B.C. Institute to conduct Fall Lecture Series," *Pilot*, October 21, 1950.

Rev. Moran's wartime activities reveals that in addition to writing and directing several plays for area youth, the educator and *Pilot* Editor actively supported the interests of Germany's Nazi government through 1941. Moran's *Pilot* readers and drama students may not have been aware of the ways in which his Catholic actions opposed both Church and U.S. political commitments.³⁵²

Fr. Moran's play *It Is The Mass That Matters!* was performed on the opening night of the Worcester convention, as it had been at the Boston event a year earlier. In each case it was followed by a short intermission and the Demonstration Mass. The play illuminates how Demonstrations navigated the tension between pedagogy, performance, and piety. It began with the narrator exclaiming, "It is the Mass that matters! Your sacrifice and mine, dear brethren, is the most glorious of Christian mysteries."³⁵³ The narrator then quickly introduced the Last Supper, where the action of the play took place: "Before the celebration of the first Mass, we go back in pious imagination to an evening late in April in the year of Our Lord 33."³⁵⁴ Curtains then opened on a stage set with a cloth-covered table (designed so as to easily serve as altar in the Demonstration that followed), and occupied by the Apostles Andrew and Thomas, "who is called the Doubter."³⁵⁵

Once the narrator had finished speaking, the two Apostles began to discuss the new movement's worship needs. They imagined how "the Church" would continue its worship in the future.³⁵⁶ The Mass, they concluded, would naturally change as it passed through the hands of the

³⁵² Moran spied for and led the New England branch of the Nazi-funded Christian Front through 1941, according to ongoing research by Father Charles R. Gallagher, SJ at Boston College. Addie Diradoorian, "BC priests connected to Nazi and British espionage during WWII" *The Tab*, September 30 2015, <http://thetab.com/us/bc/2015/09/30/bc-priests-connected-to-nazi-and-british-espionage-during-wwii-485>, accessed June 15 2017.) The Roman Catholic Church signed a 1933 treaty with the Nazi government and the U.S. avoided declaring war on the country until 1941. There was significant Catholic and American opposition to the Nazis, but Moran's sympathies, and his anti-Semitism, would not have been entirely unfamiliar in either community.

³⁵³ Stamford *It Is The Mass that Matters* script, Folder 5, Box 6, FRM, 1.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*,

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*,

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

Christian generations that would follow. But these Apostles expressed a decided preference for ‘simplicity’ and lack of decoration. They sniffed at ‘solemn ritual.’ But they did not condemn it, and expressed approval for at least one modern innovation. Andrew predicted that, “under strange conditions, on battle-fields, for instance, priests will offer Mass with what they will probably call the “simplicity of the Apostles,” and you and I will look down and see . . . our Mass!” In this way the play staged both the eternal universality of the Mass and the idea of the earliest Christians observing, and being overjoyed at, modern Masses. The play’s performance delivered this historical collision more elegantly than even McManus’s expert Demonstration Mass narration could provide.

The play framed lay liturgical interest in the most colloquial way possible. As Peter, the original papal figure, arrived on stage he was greeted by Thomas with deference and by Andrew “in the matter of fact way of noting the arrival of one’s brother.”³⁵⁷ Peter then prepared to celebrate the First Mass himself. Before doing so, he directed the other apostles to take the Mass out into the world after they had celebrated it with him. In the midst of sending his fellow Apostles off to their preaching missions, Peter said, “though we separate at a Mass; in spirit, we shall always meet again at a Mass.”³⁵⁸ The other Apostles then began discussing the vibrant sacrificial economy of Catholic public worship with which their audience would soon, after a brief intermission, become better acquainted: how to offer oneself along with Christ, along with the priest, along with the whole Church. After Peter had anticipated the way that Masses would bring the Apostles together again, they responded

Andrew: Christ – and ourselves – and all who come after us!

James: We have everything!

Peter: Yes, but we were made not only to have, but to give.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 4.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 5. Underline original to document.

James: To give to whom?

Peter: To God.

John: What can anyone give to God? What is worthy of Him?

Peter: That is the precise point.

Andrew: Under the Old Law we had our gifts – certain tokens, worthy of God because He selected them.

James: They represented the giving of ourselves.

Andrew: repeats Yes, they were tokens.

Peter: But see What now represents us! We have God with us, Emmanuel to offer unto God.

Thomas: Indeed, He is a member of our human race and makes the offering with us.³⁵⁹

One of the central themes of the Demonstration Mass was that the Mass was a sacrifice, and active participation in the Mass was offering the sacrifice with the priest. Here the theme was picked out in fundamentally familiar phrases.

The narrator then interrupted the action to note that the Apostles “were ‘practical’, hard-headed men who had to be ‘convinced’ to leave everything to follow the Master.”³⁶⁰ The action of the play then returned to the Apostles as they began to offer Mass for the first time. Peter seemed to stumble naturally upon something very like the Confiteor prayer and his fellows responded to him with similarly conversational phrases, establishing the origins of the Mass in a pious dialogue. In this way the play cast the development of the liturgy as wholly organic, rooted in the prayers most natural to those who founded the Christian Church.³⁶¹ The audience watched them arrive at language similar to the liturgical translation they would hear after intermission, but here in its most casual form: not simply English, but *plain* English.

The curtain fell on the Apostles singing the Gregorian Kyrie from the *Missa de Angelis*. The play script then directed the narrator to become the commentator for a demonstration of the Mass that would follow after a short intermission. In the second act the same audience watched as

³⁵⁹ Ibid. Underline original to document.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 9.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 11.

a “priest goes through modern Mass ceremonies, reciting everything in English.”³⁶² The actors who had played the Apostles in the first act would for the second “surround altar in casual, but reverent positions. They are dressed as Laboring man (dungarees and lunch box); Physician (white pants and Jacket, stethoscope, etc.); collegian (initialed sweater); sophisticate (evening clothes a la Lucius Beebe, etc.); seminarian, old man, etc. etc.” During the Demonstration these players would “kneel when the bell rings, otherwise stand,” acting as a stage version of the congregation. The addition of these actors added an extra layer of performance to the Demonstration Mass – it was now both less a Mass, in that something more obviously understood as theater was also present on the stage, and more so, in that now theater was directing its gaze at a reality it had only foreshadowed.

III: Liturgical Piety in The Mass Presented in English and Explained

Mass Demonstrations spread beyond Cushing’s Liturgical Days during the early 1950s to become a common archdiocesan strategy for cultivating active participation in public worship. Both *The Pilot* and *Mediator* kept readers informed of Demonstration Masses sponsored by various parishes, as well as the liturgical advancements that resulted from this work. Dialogue Masses and Missals remained important techniques for interesting the laity in liturgy and educating them for it.³⁶³ But these older methods did not exhaust the energies or the interests of liturgical activists, who continued to create new ways to orient U.S. Catholics properly to the Mass.³⁶⁴

³⁶² Ibid., 12.

³⁶³ Dialogue Masses had a particular utility for converting rural populations to the Catholic Church. “Retreats for Rural Areas Hailed at Eastern Meeting,” *Pilot*, September 10, 1949. One letter author wondered why the Missal was so bulky and argued that a smaller version would be more useful, “particularly [to] those who attend on their way to work or on their lunch hours.” “F.C. Letter to The Editor of the Pilot,” *Pilot*, March 12, 1949.

³⁶⁴ Draft article on demonstration-lectures, Folder 4, Box 6. FRM. Missals were certainly not dismissed by Demonstration proponents, who stressed that they had “perhaps been the most significant and practical factor in spreading the knowledge and understanding of the Sacred Liturgy.”

In the spring of 1952, the *Mediator* called the McManus/Low Mass-Demonstration campaign “one of the most successful endeavors of the Sacramental Apostolate,” and pointed out that more than 35,000 people had attended in the past several years.³⁶⁵ Additional Demonstrations, including the “more complete and dramatic” four-part Demonstration organized by Fr. Leonard, also received praise. These Demonstration were advertised as the solution to a serious problem:

Since the Mass is the heart and center of Catholic worship, knowledge of it is essential to every Catholic. The Catholic Church worships God by the Mass – and this demonstration lecture explains Holy Mass. There are two obstacles to understanding the Mass – the use of the Latin language and the fact that the Celebrant of Mass stands with his back to the congregation. In ‘The Mass Presented’ both these difficulties are overcome.³⁶⁶

Publicity articles for Demonstration Mass programs emphasized how Latin obstructed lay efforts to participate in the Mass. But the Demonstration itself was not interested in denigrating Latin or removing it from the liturgy. Demonstration Masses removed Latin as an obstacle to understanding the Mass without removing it from the Mass itself.

Demonstrations flagged occlusions of the liturgy by language and orientation as problems. But they argued that these problems were not endemic to the language and orientation themselves. The problems arose when these elements, suitable to the Mass but not to modernity, impeded the development of liturgical piety appropriate to the Mass they sustained. The Mass must be suited to the contemporary world, not changed by it. It must be understood in English and celebrated in Latin. On one reading, this was simply a compromise between a desire for vernacular liturgy and

³⁶⁵ “Mass-Demonstrations Proving Valuable,” *Mediator*, Vol. III, No. 4, Easter 1952, 2.

³⁶⁶ The Mass Presented in English and explained, draft article, Folder 4, Box 6, FRM. This insistence that the Mass was heart, center, and essential knowledge targeted all Catholics, including those who were sure to already agree with the statement. They might have found advertiser’s insistence somewhat exaggerated. But re-centering the Mass through publicizing Demonstrations as something Catholics had not yet taken advantage of or responsibility for allowed the archdiocese to plant a seed, whether of curiosity or anxiety, out of which the full flower of improved liturgical piety might grow. To criticize the organizers of the Demonstration Mass campaign for this strategy would be to ignore the ubiquity of this structure in human flourishing, including academic work, as “[Scholars], Priests, and Politicians / Have words to thank for their positions / Words that scream for your submission / And no one’s jamming their transmission” – The Police, “De Do Do Do, De Da Da Da” on *Zenyatta Mondatta*, A&M Records, 1980.)

a fear of Roman discipline. The rhetoric represents an early stage of a conversation that builds naturally and inevitably towards the post-conciliar liturgical reforms. Such an impulse is, I think, well represented in existing studies of the liturgical movement. But these *demonstration* Masses conducted in English were meant not to replace but to supplement a *celebration* of Mass still conducted in Latin. The teleological reading of these scripts is one way of reading them into history. But reading history out from the Demonstrations forces us to include another narrative, one in which Latin provided full American participation in the Catholic liturgy.

* * *

The Demonstration Mass programs that so many Boston Catholics encountered grew out of the Liturgical Day series discussed earlier in this chapter. In October of 1950, Rev. William Leonard, S.J. offered a series of Mass Demonstrations at St. Paul's Church in Cambridge.³⁶⁷ The pastor had invited Leonard to give his four-part series in order "to increase understanding of the Mass" among his parishioners.³⁶⁸ Mary Stack McNiff, a local Catholic librarian and author, wrote a full and glowing review of the St. Paul Demonstrations for the *Pilot* in December 1950.³⁶⁹ McNiff took her readers through the important elements of the Mass, extending the Demonstration's impact to *Pilot* readers who might not, or not yet, have attended one themselves. She suggested that certain local Catholics were excited for the more practical application of Liturgical movement principles. "'Active participation' was coming out of the slogan class into

³⁶⁷ "Demonstration of Mass Draws Crowd," *Pilot*, October 29, 1950, 16.

³⁶⁸ The *Pilot* article noted that other parishes would soon have the opportunity to attend similar programs. In November, the Liturgical Committee selected a parish in Brighton for a four-part "demonstration and explanation of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass" from late November until mid-December. "Demonstration of Mass Planned in Brighton," *Pilot*, November 18, 1950, 3. Fr. Leonard also brought his "dramatization of the Mass" to St. Kevin's Church in Dorchester. "Fr. Leonard to Stage Mass Demonstration at St. Kevin's Church," *Pilot*, April 28, 1951, 13.

³⁶⁹ "You've Been Going to Mass for Years – But Do You Understand It?" *Pilot*, December 16, 1950, 13. McNiff was a librarian for the Brookline Public Library, Harvard, and St. John's Seminary and wrote for several Catholic publications, including the *Pilot* and *Commonweal* as well as the *Boston Globe*. See Negri, Gloria. "Marriage and Profession Bind these Two Librarians." *Boston Globe*, May 6, 1981.

the clear light of thought and significance,” she wrote. “The audience was getting something it really wanted; proof of this was evident in the atmosphere of watchful attentiveness – something preachers and teachers must dream about.” The event was overseen by Leonard, who in this instance was both preacher and teacher, but also neither. Demonstrations were effective because they elevated their subject beyond what either preaching or pedagogy could promise.

McNiff’s article began by summarizing audience response to Leonard’s explanation of “what happens at Mass,” and the newfound clarity about the Catholic liturgy they had found:

“So that’s what it is?” The congregation leaving St. Paul’s Church, Cambridge, after the first of the four Mass demonstrations murmured something like this. Or, as one young woman remarked, “It doesn’t seem possible that you could be doing a thing all your life and know so little about it. And it’s funny, but I’d probably have said that I did know.” A young man muttered, “Why don’t they tell me these things? And his companion replied, “Well, you can’t gripe now. Someone is telling you.”

The responses suggest that something radical had changed in the way these Catholics understood the Mass. It is not necessary to discern the accuracy of their understanding to appreciate that this experience changed their relationship to the Mass and to their fellow Catholics. Demonstrations ritualized the Mass. They set the liturgy apart from everything, especially themselves.

McNiff’s readers, like those who attended the Demonstration, knew that the Mass was “the perfect act of worship,” a shared action of God and humanity. “But it is hard to share activity in anything when [that activity] is not understood.” The Canon of the Mass was particularly difficult to understand, “the part most in need of explaining – nothing to hear, nothing to see but the back of the priest. Active sharing, in this case, would have to depend upon the understanding and intention of the congregation.” Once the audience understood the meaning of the Mass, they recognized how poorly Catholic laity often fulfilled their role during worship. “The realization of the charity underlying [the priest’s] ‘May the Lord be with you’ made it seem a little odd that a

stony silence covers the gracious reply, ‘And with you,’” she continued. Understanding the Mass meant understanding, and taking up, lay responsibility for it.

Frederick McManus and Albert Low developed their Demonstration Mass around the same period. They presented it across the diocese “at study clubs and schools, to Holy Name Societies, to large groups of sisters at Summer School . . . [to] high school groups, college men and women, and adult societies,” sodalities, confraternity discussion clubs, communion breakfast clubs, women’s clubs, and school children.³⁷⁰ The presentation was given at the headquarters of religious orders, at colleges, to released time classes in Boston public schools and at the Norfolk State Prison Colony, as well as the League of Catholic Women Congress discussed in the previous section.³⁷¹ By the end of its first year, *The Mass Presented in English and Explained* had “been presented about 60 times and . . . been seen by more than 16,000 people.”³⁷² A Demonstration at Williams College was “perhaps the most successful program to date,” attended by 1200, sponsored by the College’s Newman Club, advertised from the pulpits of local Protestant churches, and required by the College’s comparative religion professor for students in his course. McManus and Low’s script was simple and brief, though they noted that under many circumstances the script should be used as a jumping off point for local adaptation of the material.

The Demonstration Mass genre to which Leonard, McManus and Low contributed had several other pre-Vatican II U.S. examples.³⁷³ This, along with the later career of McManus’ script which I describe in the final section of this chapter, suggests a robust if not overwhelming U.S.

³⁷⁰ “Priests Give Mass-Demonstration,” *Mediator*, Vol. II, No. 1, Sept. 8, 1950, 1; *The Mass Presented in English and Explained*, draft article, Folder 4, Box 6, FRM. Locations for the Demonstrations ranged from “the sanctuaries of parish churches, [to] classrooms, halls, and private homes” (3).

³⁷¹ “Priests Give Mass-Demonstration.”

³⁷² “Mass Explained to Increasing Numbers,” *Mediator*, Vol. II, No. 4, Passiontide-Easter, 1951.

³⁷³ Claire Huchet Bishop wrote about observing a French demonstration called “Our Mass Taken Apart, Facing the People” for *Commonweal* in 1946, at least suggesting the phenomenon was international (Claire Huchet Bishop, “What I Saw in France: Personal testimony to a great revival,” *Commonweal*, May 24, 1946, 139).

Catholic interest in the Demonstration Mass genre during this period. The Texas diocesan priest A.C. Marthaler, ordained in Texas in 1938 and a pastor there for the duration of his clerical career, wrote a script for a Mass Demonstration around 1960.³⁷⁴ Marthaler's script is much longer than that written by McManus and Low and unlike theirs it does not include the full English text of the liturgy. Marthaler's script attributed the "neatest demonstration mass" in his memory to Martin Hellriegel. A 1954 recording of one of Fr. Hellriegel's presentations shows a Demonstration tailored to local crowds, with regular references to Hellriegel's own pastoral successes in Missouri.³⁷⁵ Hellriegel's Demonstration also did not incorporate a complete English translation of the Mass rite, at least not regularly.

Demonstrations made changes to the way Mass was understood, not celebrated. Liturgical experts addressed their efforts broadly, to correcting choirs who sang inappropriately, priests who gave uninspired homilies if they gave any, and laypeople who brought devotional literature for private prayer during Mass. But the strategy embraced by the Demonstration Mass was simply to inspire Catholics with the magnitude of what the Mass made available to them. Demonstration Masses formed Catholic laity in two ways. First, they taught the audience what they needed to do in order to be active participants in the liturgy. Second, they cultivated lay dispositions to that liturgy in such a way that their active participation would join them to the sacred ritual.

* * *

³⁷⁴ Monsignor Andrew C. Marthaler was born August 25, 1909 in West Union, MN; ordained May 23, 1937, began serving as a priest in Amarillo TX in 1938 and invested as Monsignor September 28, 1960. He died July 19, 1984. The Official Catholic Directory, 1938 (New York: Kenedy & Sons, 1939); Steven M. Wielenberg, "Fr Andrew C. Marthaler," July 22 201. Find a grave. <https://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=73743884>.

³⁷⁵ Hellriegel gave a Demonstration of Holy Mass at the end of the first day of the 1955 National Liturgical Week, held in Worcester. "Liturgical Week in Worcester, August 22 to 25," *Mediator*, Vol. VI, No. 5, Pentecost 1955, 1. A 1954 recording of Hellriegel's Mass Demonstrations shows him to have favored biographical asides about his pastoral work. Demonstration of Mass by Martin Hellriegel 1954,1956. C1907-908 Audio (Reel), VSR.

Before taking her seat for the Arlington Demonstration Mass that begins this chapter, Anna Kuhn was skeptical about whether it could live up to its stated purpose. “But how can a theologian explain Mass in a single lecture?,” she mused.³⁷⁶ It is precisely the opposite of a ‘single lecture,’ though, that McManus’s commentary and Low’s words and actions attempted to provide. “We all need to assist at Mass more often and more fervently, but first there must come knowledge and understanding,” McManus began the Demonstration.³⁷⁷ He continued, “from this explanation of Holy Mass, we can learn and then we can act; we can assist at Mass more often, receive Holy Communion as often as possible and follow the words of Mass which express the holy action of our sacrifice.”³⁷⁸ The priests envisioned not a singular experience, but ever-expanding implications for the Catholic life that would germinate from the seed of new liturgical understanding.

A Demonstration Mass began with explicit statements of the assumption, shared by the vast majority of contemporary voices, that the Mass constituted the center of Catholic life. McManus’ script briefly remarks that “Holy Communion is the common sacrament, the chief sacrament of the Church by which all the members of Holy Church are joined to Christ and to each other by bonds stronger than flesh and blood.”³⁷⁹ Marthaler’s more dramatic Demonstration asked his audiences to recognize that “From this Consecration [of the host which marks the climax of the Mass] comes the fire which makes fearful men into martyrs, or weak men into apostolic leaders. The Mass can make us witnesses, too.”³⁸⁰ He continued that Jesus

wants not only our minds, hearts, wills, emotions, bodies. He wants also the actions and the life that flow from these vital centers. And He wants them every minute, every hour, every year. He wants our family life, our home life, our farm life, our recreational life, our business life, our professional life.³⁸¹

³⁷⁶ Kuhn, “Mass by Demonstration,” 4.

³⁷⁷ McManus, *Demonstration of Holy Mass*, 1.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 28.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

³⁸⁰ *Demonstration of Holy Mass by Msgr. A.C. Marthaler*, 23.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

For home life, this might include letting the Mass prayers into one's devotions. For example, "when something wonderful happens to the family, say [the last lines of the *Gloria* prayer] aloud with the children," Marthaler suggested.³⁸² The fruits of participation should also reach beyond the family to "your parish, your community, your nation, your world."³⁸³ The Mass expanded to fill all of human existence.

A local priest serving as chairman for the Arlington event introduced that program "in a deep rich voice."³⁸⁴ The vocal power, and indeed the powerful presence in general, of priests was integral to the Mass Demonstrations, both logistically and emotionally. In a Demonstration Mass, the attention of both Commentator and audience were fixed on the priest acting as celebrant in a room without the distractions of liturgical decoration or the real presence of Christ. The celebrant's success as a demonstrator was ultimately evaluated in terms of his visual, not his sacramental, availability to the audience. In Demonstrations, "nothing is placed on this altar except the bare essentials so the audience may have an unobstructed view of every action."³⁸⁵ Both the McManus and Marthaler Demonstrations brought the audience closer to the experience of the priest.

Tensions between clergy and laity erupted in a number of domains, and were not simply a claim made or instigated by outsiders. The priest was a figure of multiple categories of concern

³⁸² Ibid., 12.

³⁸³ Ibid., 24. Historian Emmet Larkin wrote of the post-famine Irish Catholic community that the devotional revolution there "provided the Irish with a substitute symbolic language and offered them a new cultural heritage with which they could identify and be identified and through which they could identify with one another." Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75," *The American Historical Review* 77, no. 3 (Jun. 1972); 649. In the Demonstration Mass campaigns as well, a religious campaign to reform religious practice provided a "religious" identity exceeding any idea of religion as distinct from a secular realm. This is not to argue that Marthaler here treats the Mass as a devotion, or that liturgical and devotional practices together make up a peculiarly Catholic form of religiosity, or even that religious traditions alone provide this substitute language.

³⁸⁴ Kuhn repeatedly marks the way powerful and resonant audio conveys authority. McManus "had perfect audience contact from the first word; his voice grew more vibrant as he warmed to his subject," while Low had "clear, rhythmic cadences (which moved like a great sweeping epic poem)."

³⁸⁵ "In the past six months a demonstration lecture . . .," Folder 4, Box 6, FRM.

for 20th century U.S. Catholics. But Demonstrations unanimously celebrated them, as did Boston's Catholic press. In her 1950 review of the Demonstration Mass performed by Fr. Leonard, McNiff ended by praising the efforts of the priests, who were "so often taken for granted." The *Pilot* published numerous articles arguing that many criticisms of the Catholic Church mischaracterized the relationship between laity and priests in order to drive a wedge between them.³⁸⁶ Nationally, Catholics celebrated the pastoral efficiency of their "American priests and bishops."³⁸⁷ Boston Catholics took pride in their own substantial contributions to seminaries and convents.³⁸⁸ Still, U.S. Catholics worried about securing enough vocations to give glory to God and adequate staffing to U.S. parishes and schools.³⁸⁹ A significant part of the need for priests was to attract men who would devote themselves to fostering the liturgical piety of their parishioners. In 1950, Archbishop Cushing initiated an organization for high school boys to "stimulate vocations to the diocesan priesthood" with a gathering at his Brighton residence.³⁹⁰

McManus' script emphasized the priest's office, not his person. Even sermons, whether considered the most personalized aspect of a priest's work or understood as bound tightly by archdiocesan regulation, were not products of individual creativity but of divine guidance. He explained, "The sermon is, by no means, an interruption of the Mass. . . . In the sermon the priest . . . does not speak for himself, but he proclaims . . . the truths revealed to us on God's authority."³⁹¹ The Demonstration insisted that when the priest spoke he did not do so for himself. If he spoke

³⁸⁶ "For the Commonweal," *Pilot*, November 5, 1949, 4.

³⁸⁷ "Encyclical to the Clergy," *Pilot*, September 30, 1950, 4.

³⁸⁸ "Boston Candidates Again Throng Religious Orders," *Pilot*, September 9, 1950, 11.

³⁸⁹ "Crying Need for More Vocations to Religious Life," *Pilot*, July 29, 1950, 14.

³⁹⁰ Walter V. Carty, "Pigskin," *Pilot*, September 23, 1950; "New Guild for High School Boys Attracts Many Members," *Pilot*, September 9, 1950. Boys selected for membership received counseling and instruction on the nature of the priesthood. More than 250 high school boys attended the Brighton kickoff event, where McManus assisted the Archbishop in calling the boys to be the "heroic priests" their diocese, and their nation, needed.

³⁹¹ McManus, *Demonstration of Holy Mass*, 10. The theologian Edward Schillebeeckx made a very similar point in his 1968 book, discussed above.

for himself this would mark a rupture in the fabric of the liturgy, a place where the Mass was something other than a perfect communication between God and people. The mediation offered by the Church, and subsequently by its ordained officer the priest, was one without distinct presence of its own. In the Demonstration parishioners were taught how to watch the space defined by the body of the priest so that in the Mass they might find the God who occupied it.

Marthaler described the priest more vividly. He pointed out that “the gestures and actions of the celebrant have deeper significance and meaning than those of the faithful. He holds the place of Christ. . . . Note this similarity of the priest’s gestures to those of Jesus as we progress thru the actions of the Mass demonstration.”³⁹² Marthaler also attributed a ritual selflessness to the priest, a temporal presence temporarily hollowed out by the liturgical actions through which the priest represented the sacred. He continued, “actually, the priest at the altar has no claim to personal devotion as such. He is a public official of the Mystical Body. His job, his purpose, his action, must be to fulfill that assignment.” At the same time, Marthaler’s Demonstration took a literary interest in the figure of the priest, narrating his interior states, his “soul-stirring sorrow in the Confiteor,” the “great responsibility” he bore to prepare for his sermons.³⁹³ Drawing attention to the actions and words of the celebrant was crucial to, was the very core of, these Demonstrations; but it was only a step towards appreciating the wholly other action of the Mass itself.

Just as the priest played a more pronounced role in Demonstrations, the role of the laity was also highlighted. In Arlington, Kuhn listened as McManus began his commentary and the demonstration: “*The Mass is a sacrifice, an offering to God. On the cross Christ offered Himself to God the Father. At Mass we are offering ourselves with Christ to God.*”³⁹⁴ Kuhn quotes

³⁹² Demonstration of Holy Mass by Msgr. A.C. Marthaler, 4.

³⁹³ Ibid., 10; 14.

³⁹⁴ Kuhn, “Mass by Demonstration,” 4. Italics original to document.

McManus for her readers, emphasizing her new awareness that her primary purpose at Mass was to offer Christ's sacrifice to God along with Christ. To offer with Christ, as both priest and people should do, was active participation in the most important part of Catholic life. Suspecting that most Catholics would be unable to articulate the meaning of Mass in this fashion, Kuhn celebrates McManus' revelation of this "tremendous thought which rarely stirs us because its treasures are so familiar."³⁹⁵ Familiarity led to complacency, a poor source for active participation in the liturgy.

Active participation meant, ultimately, participating actively in the sacrifice of the Mass in the manner appropriate to one's own role. The distinction between priest and people was both collapsed and re-built. "Baptism gave you a share in the priestly power of Christ . . . the power to offer sacrifice in union with the priest at the altar. The priest with Holy Orders can offer the sacrifice without you, but you cannot offer it without him. But you must offer it with him."³⁹⁶ Mass demonstrators explained that the priest ensured the participation of the laity, a participation that both depended on and enabled their own clergy. Laity were dependent because without the priest they would not have the divinely instituted mediation he provided. The laity enabled their priest as well. Even though still technically able to offer the sacrifice without them, the Demonstration argued, offering it in their presence without their cooperation was pastorally unnatural. Without the participating laity, the priest could not play his role. This was not equality so much as ecology.

Liturgical programs such as Demonstration Masses operated alongside developments in mid-20th century U.S. Catholic theology. Theologian Godfrey Mullen argues that the central theological source for the liturgical movement throughout the 1940s and 1950s was found in papal

³⁹⁵Ibid.

³⁹⁶Demonstration of Holy Mass by Msgr. A.C. Marthaler, 19.

encyclicals, primarily *Mystici Corporis* and *Mediator Dei*.³⁹⁷ Bernard Cooke, a central figure in U.S. Catholic sacramental theology since the early 1960s, cites *Mediator Dei* and its “mild stamp of approval” for liturgical studies as part of a new intellectual trajectory in U.S. education.³⁹⁸ By the end of the 1950s, contributors to the U.S. journal *Theological Studies*, founded by Jesuits in 1940, regularly reviewed and discussed liturgical publications. Theological contributors inevitably favored those liturgical arguments which explored fundamental principles instead of detailing “plans or programs for change even when the change is an improvement.”³⁹⁹ But they acknowledged that the fundamental principles behind liturgical questions often remained unresolved. A 1961 article expressed sympathy towards the poor pastor for whom “the almost bewilderingly rich variety of theories about the Mass” produced confusion, “especially as [the pastor] knows that, whatever theory he chooses to enlarge upon . . . there will be a considerable weight of theological opinion against it.”⁴⁰⁰ Demonstration Masses were relatively unconcerned about conflicting theological opinions. They were designed to convince an audience that all Catholics participated in the Mass.

³⁹⁷ Mullen, "Participation in the Liturgy," 249. Mullen's work tracks the conversation about active participation in Liturgical Week Conferences 1940-1962, roughly parallel to the first half of this dissertation. In early years, he argues, Catholic Action was a primary goal of the movement, in the middle period liturgists worked to integrate the liturgy with both personal devotion and with the wider world, and in the years leading up to the Second Vatican Council they championed a liturgy that served the purpose of both evangelization and social justice (161-2).

³⁹⁸ Bernard Cooke with Bruce T. Morrill, *The Essential Writings of Bernard Cooke: A Narrative Theology of Church, Sacrament, and Ministry* (New York: Paulist Press, 2016), viii; 8. Both Cooke and his posthumous editor Bruce Morrill regard Vatican II as a vindication of the intellectual oppression suffered by members of the new theology movement in the decades immediately before it. See Thomas P. Rausch, S.J., *Educating for Faith and Justice: Catholic Higher Education Today* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2010) for a complementary history of shifts in the dominant theological landscapes for Catholic scholarship in mid-20th century U.S. higher education.

³⁹⁹ William O'Shea, "The Mass and Liturgical Reform. By John L. Murphy, Book Review," *Theological Studies* 19, Jan 1, 1958.. O'Shea's review plays with the central liturgical movement phrase, calling for the laity to have “full participation” and the clergy “active leadership” (632).

⁴⁰⁰ Anthony A. Stephenson, S.J., “Two Views of the Mass: Medieval Linguistic Ambiguities,” *Theological Studies* 22, December 1, 1961, 588.

McManus and Marthaler's accent on lay activity in the Mass represented one facet of nuanced mid-century liturgical developments.⁴⁰¹ Pope Pius XII's *Mediator Dei* encouraged active lay participation in 1947, but it also warned against overemphasizing lay involvement. Pius XII proclaimed that the sacrifice was

performed by the priest and by him alone, as the representative of Christ and not as the representative of the faithful . . . the faithful participate in the oblation, . . . in this limited sense, after their own fashion and in a twofold manner, namely, because they not only offer the sacrifice by the hands of the priest but also, to a certain extent, in union with him.⁴⁰²

The document also detailed exaggerations that had gone “so far as to hold that the people must confirm and ratify the sacrifice if it is to have its proper force and value.” Pius XII made it clear that the sacrifice was effective “whether the faithful are present – as we desire and commend them to be in great numbers and with devotion” or not. But he also insisted it was the Church's “earnest desire . . . that no priest should say Mass unless a server is at hand to answer the prayers, as canon 813 prescribes.”⁴⁰³ The presence of a server ensured that the liturgy would be a dialogue, and though this was not a criterion for sacramental efficacy it was the best possible practice.

Liturgical movement lobbyists attempted to emphasize without *overemphasizing*, to demonstrate the importance of a lay “ratification” without claiming that its absence invalidated the Mass. Mullen argues that mid-20th century U.S. Catholic liturgical activists maintained collaborative and hierarchical understandings of the liturgy simultaneously. In their work, “making no connection between the ordained and the faithful was unacceptable, but to go too far in the

⁴⁰¹ Mullen, "Participation in the Liturgy," 253-4. Mullen explores the hesitation some had to this emphasis, including Archbishop Samuel Stritch who served in Chicago until his 1958 replacement by Meyer. Mullen concludes that the theological concept was important enough to generate numerous developments and that, “at the same time,” both “its importance and the requirement to retain the distinction remain.”

⁴⁰² Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, Paragraph 92, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_20111947_mediator-dei.html.

⁴⁰³ Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, paragraphs 95-7.

other direction was unacceptable as well.”⁴⁰⁴ In a 1949 review of recent work in liturgy, Gerald Ellard approvingly cited one interpretation of *Mediator Dei* as providing a new emphasis on “how the laity collaborate in offering the Mass.”⁴⁰⁵ Other authors carefully distinguished between ordained ministers and the laity. Even though laity were “empowered to perform *certain* liturgical acts implied in their participation in the Mass” through baptism, argued John Miller, these acts were ultimately dependent on the priest.⁴⁰⁶ John Reed, S.J. explored exceptions to *Mediator Dei*’s insistence on the presence of the server in order to show how even this relationship was a preferred, not a necessary, liturgical element.⁴⁰⁷ The Demonstration Mass scripts followed Ellard more closely than Reed, insisting on the special office of the priest but placing an additional, incalculable responsibility on the laity as well.

Mass Demonstrations explained the sacrificial economy of the Church’s public liturgy in order to define the relationship between priest and layperson which emerged from it. Active participation embedded Catholics in the sacrificial economy of giving and receiving which generated the Mass like a fractal phenomenon: the same rising and falling, seemingly in sequence but more elementally in interdependence, repeated at every scale (see diagram below): God created humanity from whom he received worship; in the passion God the Son gave Himself so that both God the Father and humanity could receive, though differently, from the same sacred

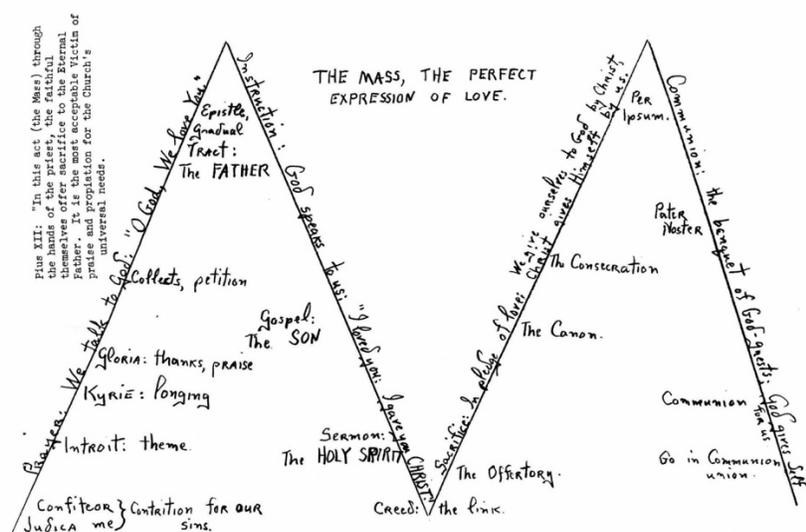
⁴⁰⁴ Mullen, "Participation in the Liturgy," 267

⁴⁰⁵ Gerald Ellard, "Current Theology: Recent Work in Liturgy," *Theological Studies* 10, Jan 1, 1949, 185. In the same article, however, Ellard noted the viewpoint “that *Mediator* neither endorses nor rejects any of the theories being debated by theologians.” This was not an uncommon attitude towards encyclicals. John Courtney Murray stated that encyclicals, “destined as they are for all the faithful . . . deal in basic simplicities; they are done in the prophetic, not the academic, manner.” John Courtney Murray, “Church and Totalitarian Democracy,” *Theological Studies* 13, January 1, 1952, 550. David Bowman was unfazed by Gerald Ellard’s description of the laity as “collaborating agents.” David J. Bowman, S.J. “The Mass in Transition. By Gerald Ellard, S.J., Book Review.” *Theological Studies* 18, Jan 1, 1957.

⁴⁰⁶ John Miller, “The Nature and Definition of the Liturgy.” 349.

⁴⁰⁷ John J. Reed, S.J., “The Mass Server and Canon 29” *Theological Studies* 21, January 1, 1960, 256.

event; in the Mass, priest, parish, and God all engaged in endless repetitions of this original exchange; in the liturgy of the word priest and people offered prayers to God and received his message in return; in the liturgy of the Eucharist the congregation and their clergy made the offering “in pledge of love” and received the communion banquet in return.



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The pattern of exchange also involved a patterned relationship between priest and people during their public worship, sometimes conflating the two roles and other times contrasting them. McManus's *Demonstration* emphasized the common identity of priest and people several times. Certain prayers, though said by the priest alone, were prayers of the whole community. McManus explained that the Collect “is the prayer recited by the priest on behalf of the Christian community.”⁴⁰⁹ In this way, the priest spoke the prayer, and the community communicated it through the priest. Afterwards, he explained, “‘Amen’ is [the laity’s] indication that we truly wish it to be our prayer, as well as [the priest’s].”⁴¹⁰ Even when the priest lapsed into an inaudible

⁴⁰⁸ The Mass, The Perfect Expression of Love, Diagram, Folder 5, Box 6, FRM

⁴⁰⁹ McManus, *Demonstration of Holy Mass*, 7.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*,

“secret” prayer, his words included the whole parish. During the Demonstration, McManus’s commentary paused for the ‘celebrant’ to speak the secret prayer aloud and in English, then reflected on how the audience encountered this moment during Mass, and what it should mean:

“the priest, who has been speaking in a loud, clear voice, would at Mass now recite the words which follow silently, so that only he can hear himself. The prayers now beg that God will accept the Sacrifice, as we pray repeatedly. It is not that God could be displeased with the sacrifice of Christ or with the gift of Christ’s Body and Blood, but this is our sacrifice, too. It is the sacrifice of the Church consisting of all of us together with Christ, so we ask insistently that God will be pleased with our part in the Mass, we who are God’s people, Christ’s family.”⁴¹¹

The priest’s silence is not a violation of his identity with the congregation because in his silent prayer he speaks for them. They can more responsibly assent to his work on their behalf when they acknowledge this. This assent is their liturgical responsibility, fundamental to their work.

Marthaler’s script also conflated priest and lay roles in his comment about one of the Communion prayers spoken by the priest. This prayer was “a plea against unworthy and matter-of-fact reception of Jesus’ Body and Blood, and a request that he not waste the grace of Jesus coming,” which the laity “can all very sincerely make [their] own.”⁴¹² Both McManus and Marthaler felt the need to explain this dynamic in some detail. But this did not mean that any of the demonstrated liturgical practices, like the priest’s silent prayer begging God to accept the Mass sacrifice or his prayer begging that priest and people accept their own part in the sacrifice with due reverence and gratitude, were flawed. It only meant that modern Catholics had fallen out of the habit of praying the Mass along with their priest and had lost the sense of their role. Thorough, locally adapted explanations like a Demonstration Mass gave the laity an opportunity to revisit and repair their relationship with the Mass.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 16.

⁴¹² Demonstration of Holy Mass by Msgr. A.C. Marthaler, 31.

In a sense and at particular times the priest and the people were in unison, as the above comments make clear. But at others they were in dialogue, each providing something to the other that would not be possible without a division of labor. The priest spoke the Preface by himself, but the liturgy constructed his part as, necessarily, a response to another prayer for which the laity were responsible. “The Preface itself is a prayer of thanksgiving, solemnly introduced by a dialogue between the priest and the people,” McManus explained.⁴¹³ The Confiteor was an even more potent example of interdependent prayer for Marthaler’s audience. He vividly described a priest confessing to an abject and sinful nature (the substance of the Confiteor prayer) when, “still bowed low until the people ask God’s pardon for him, he responds with a joyful AMEN.”⁴¹⁴ The priest’s joy at their plea for him emphasized his dependence on them for it, not sacramentally but relationally. Next “the people confess their sins, now the parish father prays to the Heavenly Father for his children,” illuminating the reciprocal structure of the Mass. Marthaler paused to point out that the same liturgical reciprocity patterned other Catholic relationships than the one between pastor and parish. “Wouldn’t the Confiteor be an effective prayer for a family to say at the end of the day – all together,” he asked? Here Marthaler, eager to have laity make greater use of the Mass throughout their lives, emphasized the reciprocal nature of the rite by transposing it into a familial register.

Active participation could mean active receptivity as much as participatory actions.⁴¹⁵ The priest had his particular responsibilities, during the liturgy or more broadly, and “a corresponding responsibility rests on the people to open their hearts and receive and keep the word of God.”⁴¹⁶

⁴¹³ McManus, *Demonstration of Holy Mass*, 15.

⁴¹⁴ *Demonstration of Holy Mass* by Msgr. A.C. Marthaler, 10.

⁴¹⁵ While the phrase ‘active participation’ is common in the Catholic literature of this period, the phrase ‘active receptivity’ is my term and does not, to the best of my knowledge, appear there.

⁴¹⁶ *Demonstration of Holy Mass* by Msgr. A.C. Marthaler, 14.

The Catholic layperson's responsibility was to receive. But this was an active, not a passive, understanding of the verb. Consent and approval were direct actions, as were the words, songs, and gestures allocated to laity and participation in the sacrament of Communion. But the laity were also responsible for acting upon themselves. Marthaler's script outlines this responsibility in some depth:

“What can we bring to the Mass offering? . . . [our voice to recite] “through the instrumentality of the priest . . . “our eyes with which to follow the action of the Mass as it unfolds before us. It means also to follow the words of the Mass prayer in our missal or the words of song. . . . our ears with which to listen to God speaking to us thru the Apostles in the Epistle; thru His Son in the Gospel; thru our parish father in the sermon. . . . our tongue to receive [communion at each Mass] . . . our minds and wills by which we give intelligent service and ardent love to the acts we externally perform.”⁴¹⁷

Apart from the final reference to ‘minds and wills,’ every other offering was articulated in relation to some mediating person or object - the instrumentality of the priest, the action of the Mass, the speech of God, and the body of Christ. Laity were to make themselves receptive to actions that originated in those places, that did not originate in their own mind or will but to which their mind and will must still give loving service. They should bow their heads in fully voluntary, active, and intelligent participation. The Demonstration did more than simply prepare Catholics for the Mass; it was a unique environment within which to condition active receptivity.

The good Catholic left a Mass fortified for good Catholic engagement with the world; the good Catholic left a Mass Demonstration fortified for good Catholic engagement with the Mass as a means to that end. As Low wrapped up the Arlington Demonstration with the words of the last Gospel, the phrase “The Word was made flesh” triggered in Kuhn (and, she assumed, her fellow Catholics,) a memory of Christmas Mass. “A great surge of joy swept over us,” she remembered, “and we determined to begin to appreciate Mass a little more, and we resolved that our minds

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 6. Underlines original to document.

would never wander again at Mass, and that we would participate in this holy and wondrous ceremony with a far deeper understanding.”⁴¹⁸ This resolve grounds, and in the hopes of those who offered Mass Demonstrations guarantees, Kuhn’s future participation and her understanding of what it means to engage her community, her God, and her religion in this way.

* * *

By the mid-1950s, Mass Demonstrations were especially popular as a means of exciting local boys about the prospect of celebrating liturgy, encouraging them to consider a vocation in the priesthood. *Mediator* printed the McManus and Low script, making it available for popular use “as a guide to teachers, or at least a suggestion as to one method of teaching the worship of God.”⁴¹⁹ In 1953 the *Mediator* described the success of a 7th grade teacher who had incorporated a Mass Demonstration “in which every member of the class took an active part,” into religious education.⁴²⁰ The pupils began the project by studying a Missal and analyzing the parts of the Mass in order to “realize what it means to be co-offerers with the priest in the highest liturgical act.” The class then selected a ‘celebrant’ from among their male classmates (girls were not candidates) by vote. Pupils designed and crafted the necessary set dressing: girls made suitable vestments while boys constructed an altar and vessels. During the Demonstration, members of the class served as both celebrant and narrators; others made up the audience, “answering the Mass in English, following the priest’s actions and performing the proper actions at the specified time.”

One student reported on the experience that “now I really know how to follow the priest with my missal.” Another commented, “I got to know the Mass much better and I thought the priests are pretty lucky people to be able to offer the Body and Blood of Christ.” Similar efforts

⁴¹⁸ Kuhn, “Mass by Demonstration,” 29.

⁴¹⁹ *Mediator*, Vo. III, No. 1, Nativity of Our Lady 1951, 5.

⁴²⁰ “To God Who Giveth Joy,” *Mediator*, Vol. V, No. 1, Nativity of Our Lady 1953, 4.

were made at the archdiocesan level to convince young Catholics that the liturgy was worth devoting a life to. In 1955, the Guild of St. Botolph included liturgical demonstrations as part of its program to help local boys discern if they were being called to join the priesthood.⁴²¹ A Catholic camp run by priests and seminarians in Burlington, VT, continued the tradition into April 1961.⁴²² Catholics, especially young men, were still important targets for campaigns to improve liturgical participation through a Demonstration Mass.

IV: Liturgical Politics in A Program Manual

During the post-war period Catholics took a position at the very front of the American mainstream.⁴²³ Boston Catholics in the 1950s shared a proud martial worldview with their non-Catholic neighbors. Nearly everyone agreed that U.S. participation in the second World War had helped to end fascism, and a new conflict in Korea between American democracy and foreign communism showed that the American state was still an important force for freedom. Boston Catholics were regularly reminded of their tradition's contributions to the vigorous nation. In the May 1950 League of Catholic Women meeting that also featured a Demonstration Mass, members were assured of "Catholic participation in the development of our American system of Democracy and civil liberties, Catholic endorsement of which is long and faithful throughout U.S. history."⁴²⁴ That contribution was increasingly, though not universally, acknowledged by mainstream political

⁴²¹ "Club Fosters Vocations," *Mediator*, Vol. V, No. 1, Septuagesima-Lent 1955, 3.

⁴²² "Camp Life Centered in Liturgy," *Mediator*, April 1961, 1.

⁴²³ See O'Toole, *The Faithful*, 157 on Knights of Columbus and the reactions of both hierarchy and laity to Senator McCarthy's anti-communist political efforts (195); See also Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 386 on devotions to Our Lady of Fatima.

⁴²⁴ This particular statement was presented as a summary of an address on "Americans and Catholic Freedom," given by John M. O'Neill at the League Of Catholic Women's 14th annual congress. "Sessions of League Congress Open at Statler on Tuesday," *Pilot*, May 6, 1950, 1.

and cultural forces, as depicted in the 1947 *St. Joseph Magazine* cartoon, “We catch on quickly.”

Long-standing opposition to communism gave Catholic patriotism a new patina.



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The new popularity of Catholic foreign policy did not preclude simultaneous conflict with anti-Catholic forces, largely mobilized by attempts to keep the religion from participating in federal education funding. Catholic organizations monitored these groups and publicized their movements. In 1950, the *Catholic Universe Bulletin* polled “fourteen members of the steering committee of the [new Cleveland branch of] anti-Catholic organization Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State (POAU).”⁴²⁶ The Bulletin published poll

⁴²⁵ “We catch on quickly,” *St. Joseph Magazine*, Vol. 48, No. 4, April 1947.

⁴²⁶ “Anti-Catholic Group Distrusts Aims of Church,” *Pilot*, July 8, 1950. POAU was founded in Chicago in 1947 to lend aid to communities opposing “sectarian domination” in public schools, a platform that was largely directed against any attempt to include parochial education in any public funding scheme. See Holscher, *Religious Lessons* for an extended discussion of POAU and its opposition to Catholic projects.

results showing committee members were convinced the Catholic Church was intent on destroying the Constitution itself, not innocently securing public funds towards health and transportation services for the parochial school system, as it claimed.

Catholic laity were expected to wage battle on two fronts: against foreign organizations like the various emerging Communist states and against domestic organizations like POAU or the Masons, both national organizations known for unfriendly opposition to or competition with Catholic influence. Catholic publications like the *Pilot* encouraged their Catholic readership to stand against forces that impugned the role of Catholic power in U.S. politics. The relationship between Church and State occupied “the center of much of the religious talk that makes up the American non-Catholic religious news,” according to a *Pilot* editorial in May of 1950.⁴²⁷ Editors urged the paper’s reader to counter any anti-Catholic comments they might hear with the argument that many of these Church-State theories, like those motivating a recent court decision against released time for religious instruction of public school students, represented not an inclusionary American tradition but an exclusionary Protestant one. Both Catholic laity and clergy would need to be on guard against attacks by un-American critics. They would need to take their active part in American politics in order to do so.

POAU and similar organizations argued against political activity by priests because lay submission to their authority necessarily conflicted with political independence. The *Pilot* vehemently disagreed with this assessment. Writing admiringly about Archbishop’s Cushing August 1949 speech to the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, editors of the *Pilot* acknowledged that some might be uncomfortable with a religious leader in such a setting but quickly dismissed any concern as self-serving. “To so many minds religion and religious leaders have no place in

⁴²⁷ “Church and State,” *Pilot*, May 13, 1950, 4.

any areas in which their counsels might provide embarrassment to evil doers,” they wrote. “The easiest word to bring up in this connection is ‘politics’ and so in our day politics has taken on an almost universal meaning.”⁴²⁸ The *Pilot* argued that priests had both an equal right to participate in politics and a special one. First, priests were protected by the same laws as laity and it was inherently undemocratic to exclude them from the normal rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Was not a clergyman as much a citizen as a layperson?⁴²⁹ Second, editors accused anti-Catholic forces of limiting their definition of ‘religion’ to religious groups who supported existing policies. Religion only became ‘politics,’ they needed, whenever a political mainstream felt threatened by moral opposition, such as in the person of morally exemplary Catholic priests.

Clergy were models for active participation in politics as well as rebukes to lay Catholics who remained inactive. Fr. Paul Bussard told listeners at Notre Dame University during his 1949 baccalaureate sermon that the laity should found and maintain Catholic daily newspapers instead of relying on priests to keep them informed.⁴³⁰ *Pilot* editors lauded *Commonweal*, one such lay-led daily, for proving that Catholic laypeople were “in actual fact among the most alert observers and critics of the contemporary scene.”⁴³¹ They were not yet adequately translating this capacity into political action, however. George G. Higgins, of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), lamented that the “laity is too timid, too hesitant, about initiating necessary measures of social reforms.”⁴³² The political economy was as dependent upon Catholics knowing and fulfilling their own important roles as was the sacrificial order described in the pages of *Orate Fratres*.

⁴²⁸ “Brother, dat’s Politics,” *Pilot*, August 13, 1949, 4.

⁴²⁹ “Not the People, Just the Hierarchy,” *Pilot*, July 8, 1950, 4.

⁴³⁰ “Laity Must Take Lead in Founding Catholic Dailies,” *Pilot*, June 11, 1949, 11.

⁴³¹ “For the Commonweal,” *Pilot*, November 5, 1949.

⁴³² “Catholic Laity Urged to Initiate Social Reforms: Local Needs Deserve Government Attention,” *Pilot*, December 16, 1950, 1. Higgins wanted every Catholic worker to attend Labor schools and join unions, every Catholic employer to attend an employer’s institute and join their professional associations, and for all Catholics to participate in and lead “community projects for better housing, for interracial justice, and similar objectives.”

A regular *Pilot* columnist devoted his January 1951 column to lamenting the political passivity of laypeople.⁴³³ A reader had written in about his frustration with Catholic passivity in the face of anti-Catholic publications and persecutions. “What is wrong with Catholics?,” the author wanted to know. He then “ran down a list of priests to whom I might write and chose you,” to ask, “what are you going to do and what are you going to teach us to do.” The columnist responded with a general critique of Catholic laypeople who expected their priests (or pope) to fix problems that were actually lay responsibilities. Instead of faulting members of the laity, some of them with substantial resources and power, the letter’s author had asked priests to pick up their slack. “I’m a little weary of being asked to use my lack of influence to influence a very secular world,” the columnist sighed, “when the Catholics with influence shrug their shoulders.” It was not simply powerful Catholics themselves who failed but those less powerful who failed to urge them forward, perhaps out of fear of seeming to stand out. “Did you applaud the occasional Catholic who did hit back,” the priest asked, “or internally wish that he’d not call attention to us Catholics who, above all, want to be left alone in a shabby peace?” Catholic laity were responsible for political engagement in their own ways. “By law and custom we priests have little or no public power. By law and constitution, you the laity have plenty of it,” the column challenged its readers.

Catholics were faced with a dilemma: though their attempts to influence politics triggered anti-Catholic invective, without such influence the U.S. system would exclude both their participation and their interests. This issue spurred the *Pilot* to plead,

our Government [policy] . . . will be the product of the work of all of our citizens thinking and operating in a common effort. If we neglect now to make contributions toward a reasonable discussion of these problems and their solutions we will have only ourselves to blame when

⁴³³ “Father Lord: I’m Indignant Too . . . But . . .,” *Pilot*, January 13, 1951, 4. “Father Lord” may have been local historian Robert H. Lord, Fr. Daniel Lord who published numerous pamphlets and organized many programs for Catholic youth through the Sodality of Our Lady, or someone else entirely.

the final theory is inspired by a philosophy alien to ours. Our voices should be heard on this subject again and again – both as Catholics and as Americans.⁴³⁴

Motivating Catholics to take up and use their public power had been an urgent matter throughout U.S history. But the rising Catholic population and simultaneous elevation in socio-economic influence after World War II meant that Catholic political power was both more potent and subject to narrower scrutiny. Catholic laity needed encouragement to take their proper part.⁴³⁵

In August of 1949, the *Pilot* printed a short editorial on “The Moral Obligation To Vote.”⁴³⁶ Here they urged the people of Massachusetts to do their civic duty with regard to public welfare because the “vote is not a mere privilege to be accepted or ignored. The vote is a civic activity to which all good citizens are bound . . . We owe it to the community in which we live to bring to its problems whatever prudence, whatever wisdom may be ours.” Editors did not mention any candidates or issues, only the importance of participating in the democratic process. A year later, the editors reiterated their argument, this time providing positive recommendations to vote for a 1950 ballot initiative making it more difficult to enact laws by popular petition, and against one establishing a state lottery. “Every part of the community, indeed every individual in it, realizes the consequence to the public good in the proper use of the intelligent vote,” they insisted. “The

⁴³⁴ “Church and State,” *Pilot*, May 13, 1950, 4. Father Gillis, author of a regular column for the *Pilot* called “What’s Right With The World,” also wrote at length about government ‘encroachment’ on the rights of (Catholic) corporations who engaged in anti-Communist propaganda. “We must . . . cry out against too much intrusion of the State in the affairs of the Church,” he urged (“Father Gillis: What’s Right With the World,” *Pilot*, August 19, 1950, 4.

⁴³⁵ Whether that participation would be in line with well-publicized diocesan and papal projects, like campaigns to prevent positive depictions of domestic situations ostensibly opposed to Catholic morality (see Una M. Cadegan, “Guardians of Democracy or Cultural Storm Troopers?: American Catholics and the Control of Popular Media, 1934–1966,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 87, no. 2 (April 1, 2001), to oppose contraception (see Tentler, *Seasons of Grace*) or communism (see McNamara, *A Catholic Cold War*) was not explicit in this article. The issue of political orthodoxy was a tension throughout the texts I discuss here, perhaps to avoid implying that Catholic simply did as instructed.

⁴³⁶ “The Moral Obligation to Vote,” *Pilot*, August 27, 1949, 4. John McGreevy, in *Parish Boundaries*, discusses a 1943 talk by Father John Ryan at historically black Howard University. In it, Ryan seems to have argued against agitation for voting rights, stating that there was a moral right to good government but not to voting for it. The *Pilot* seems not to have followed Ryan’s distinction (70).

Church, for its part, does not enter into politics as such; it occupies itself rather with principles and basic morality, allowing generally the specific applications to the conscience and good judgement of the voters.”⁴³⁷ The informed lay Catholic readers of the *Pilot* would apply their Catholic intelligence to American politics in the voting booth.

Pilot articles which accused the laity of liturgical torpor were printed next to those critiquing political passivity.⁴³⁸ The same intelligent comprehension and active participation required for the liturgy allowed American Catholic to play their proper role in the nation just as they played their role in the Mass. Supporting this point, the *Pilot* quoted prominent theologian John Courtney Murray, who

urged the development among Catholics of “a greater political consciousness,” emphasizing that the day of “obedience to the law as the only Christian duty of the citizen has been replaced by a wider and more demanding political duty which calls for active participation of the Christian [in law, society, institutions, and civic community].”⁴³⁹

Murray was better known for his work on the laity’s political responsibility than on their liturgical action, but he occasionally explored the connection between them. He noted that the Church regarded both public worship and public care of religion as part of “the place of religion in the public life and action of society.”⁴⁴⁰ He appreciated “what may be called (rather misleadingly) a passive function in the life of the Church” which suited Catholics to be “taught, governed, sanctified, and thus to participate increasingly in . . . mystical and sacramental life.” But he insisted

⁴³⁷ Be Sure to Vote . . . Wisely,” *Pilot*, October 28, 1950.

⁴³⁸ Set directly below 1949’s “The Moral Obligation to Vote” was a shorter piece on Archbishop Cushing’s efforts to revive Gregorian Chant in the Archdiocese. “Gregorian Chant,” *Pilot*, August 27, 1949, 4.

⁴³⁹ “Church Promotes Catholic Activity in Political Field,” *Pilot*, March 18, 1950, 10. The *Pilot* reported a similar plea, when Catholic women in Quincy IL at the 34th annual National Catholic Women’s Union were encouraged “to acquaint themselves with world conditions ‘so as to be able to discharge their duties as well-informed citizens.’” “Urge Participation,” *Pilot*, August 26, 1950, 6.

⁴⁴⁰ John Courtney Murray, S.J., “Church and Totalitarian Democracy,” *Theological Studies* 13, January 1, 1952, 560; 563. Murray argued that in a democracy “approval of government by the people . . . and of an active, vocal citizenry necessarily implies approval of those free institutions through which the people may give their judgement on the direction of political affairs.”

that the laity also had “the duty of collaborating actively, under the obedience of the bishops, toward the final end of the Church.”⁴⁴¹ Murray hoped for “a ‘Christian world’ . . . fashioned . . . by a genuine Christian people, whose historical experience has not been of subjection to the power and tutelage by it, but of active participation in the power and control of it.”⁴⁴² The public care of religion required the active participation of Catholics in the power that shaped their world.

Members of the liturgical movement held similar views, but the exact nature of the link between the two incarnations of active participation was unresolved. Chicago priest and NCWC Social Action Department Director George Higgins, quoted in the *Pilot* article above, warned his colleagues in the liturgical movement against too readily accepting that liturgical improvement contributed to political effectiveness. The care with which he made his case, and the pushback he received from members of the Liturgical Week audience, demonstrate the presence of several affiliated but not identical ways liturgical activists thought about the relationship between the political and the liturgical. Higgins was uncomfortable with liturgical activists “assuming that merely by expanding the liturgical movement or merely by training more people to participate actively and intelligently in the sacred mysteries we can more or less automatically bring about a better political order.”⁴⁴³ Unlike Demonstration Masses, which emphasized the Mass as an offering with Christ, for Higgins the Mass was “the primary source of asceticism and penance without which there can be no conversion from human selfishness or sin and no redemption either of

⁴⁴¹ Murray cautioned against too readily conflating Catholic Action campaigns and “the active function of the laity in the Church” more generally. Murray, “Towards a Theology for the Layman: The Problem of its Finality,” 63-4.

⁴⁴² John Courtney Murray, S.J., “Leo XIII: Separation of Church and State,” *Theological Studies* 14, January 1, 1953, 184. More philosophically, Murray’s fellow Jesuit Robert Johann reflected on the “emergence of man from the state of passive insertion in reality to one of active participation” where “the implications of the original condition are now freely assumed and lived.” Robert O. Johann, S.J., “De L’Existence À L’Être: La Philosophie De Gabriel Marcel. By Roger Troisfontaines, S.J., Book Review,” *Theological Studies* 15, Jan 1, 1954, 337-9

⁴⁴³ Higgins points not to contemporary arguments, however, but to arguments linking liturgical excellence with “the so-called golden era of Christian culture and political order which was the Middle Ages.” Higgins, “The Mass and Political Order,” 131; 129.

individuals or the temporal order.”⁴⁴⁴ He found the political power of the Mass not in active participation but in redeemed political agents.

Political participation was still crucial, however. While allowing that Catholic laypeople could “cooperate with [Christ in His] holy work of universal restoration and redemption,” Higgins argued that a “well-trained *schola cantorum* [is no] substitute for a well-trained political caucus. Both, of course, are necessary – the liturgy and political action.”⁴⁴⁵ Higgins distinguished carefully between the two realms. “Other things being equal,” he clarified,

an individual or a congregation . . . steeped in the liturgical life of the Church will be better prepared for political life than one which is not. But the other things have to be equal. The liturgy is not a substitute for the art of politics, which is made up in varying degrees of common sense, practical experience, an intimate knowledge of past and present facts, and at least a working knowledge of the principles of political science and political ethics.⁴⁴⁶

Invoking papal authority, he asked, “who can estimate the importance of a single vote, even in the primaries, at a time when, in the words of Pope Pius XII, ‘the quality of elected representatives is a matter of life and death in a democracy?’”⁴⁴⁷ In the discussion that followed Higgins’ presentation Robert Hovda, a North Dakota priest, countered that the liturgical attitude of the average Catholic, with all its ascetic and penitential promise, remained a problem. This attitude, “while it isn’t a passive one, doesn’t require the same kind of originality, the same kind of activity that a layman who is active in the political order needs.” Hovda lamented that Catholic laypeople transferred this attitude from the Mass to their approach to politics, simply handing these decisions

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., 135. Higgins admits, and in this is joined by another Chicago priest in the audience during the post-talk discussion, that this is an ideal, not a universally realized, case. 142.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., 138

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 132

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 136-7. Democratic citizens were “deeply implicated” in the workings of their state, Higgins argued, citing Pius XII’s words from the July 1954 “Letter to *Semaines Sociales* of France,” (NCWC News Service, 7/19/54), in which Pius XII specifically named failure to vote as responsibility for any failures of the relevant democracy.

over to Catholic authorities such as the diocesan paper.⁴⁴⁸ Higgins agreed. “One of the things that should come out of a sound liturgical revival,” he responded, “is a certain sense of maturity in our lay people which will enable them to be more politically mature . . . without the necessity of trying to rationalize or defend all of their positions in the name of an official religious position.”⁴⁴⁹

Higgins and Hovda agreed that attitudes formed in the liturgy were implicated in lay Catholic democratic activities and that the liturgical movement contained within itself the capacity to improve both.

Both liturgical and political narratives pulled at the shared language of active participation which operated as both civic and sacred command in 1950s Boston Catholicism.⁴⁵⁰ When comparing liturgy to politics, liturgical activists utilized an idea of the political suited to the circumstances of a post-War democratic republic. The German political theologian Carl Schmitt, born within a decade of fellow Catholics and countrymen Martin Hellriegel and H.A. Reinhold, argued that the political is the “[theoretical and practical] ability to distinguish friend and enemy.”⁴⁵¹ There is something of Schmitt’s approach in the way the *Pilot* regarded political

⁴⁴⁸ Higgins, 141. A Rochester, NY layman who did not have “too much time for reading,” asked for help becoming “more informed in politics,” to which both Higgins and another Chicago priest responded with a recommendation of *America*, as well as *Commonweal* – the former published by the Jesuits, the latter by laypeople. (142).

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid, 141-2. A fellow Chicago priest at the presentation approved of Higgins’ idea that the Mass would “produce good citizens” but questioned whether this was a real result of the average Sunday liturgy. Higgins agreed, saying that this was the reason he had spoken on cultivating citizenship through extra-liturgical means.

⁴⁵⁰ Robert Orsi describes the two “expressions of national memory” entwined in the history of U.S. Catholics as “the civic and the sacred.” Orsi argues that these expressions competed for U.S. Catholic attention, resulting in an eclipse of the sacred narrative by the civic in the 1960s and 70s. Orsi, “Between Memory and Modernity,” 16.

⁴⁵¹ Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, trans. George Schwab (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1976), 67; 27. Schmitt was suspicious of attempts to designate religious, cultural, scientific, economic or legal realms as operationally antithetical to the political (23). He regarded these “depoliticizations” as attempts to deprive the political of its differentiating autonomy. Schmitt’s translator, George Schwab, explains that Schmitt was primarily interested in opposing ‘internal’ forces which had begun to embroil the Weimar government, preventing it from acting as a political force, that is, as a state among states (12). Political theorist Timothy Mitchell’s work on “state effects” emerges from his focus on “the detailed political processes through which the uncertain yet powerful distinction between state and society is produced.” Timothy Mitchell, “The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics,” *The American Political Science Review*: 85, no. 1 (Mar. 1991): 78. Schmitt has also been central to 21st century conversations about political theology. See Jürgen Habermas, “Reply to My Critics,” trans. Ciaran Cronin in *Habermas and Religion*, ed. Craig Calhoun, Eduardo Mendieta and Jonathan VanAntwerpen (Malden: Polity, 2013),

activity as an intervention for friends and against enemies of Catholic existence and agendas. Yet Schmitt's abstract precision is designed to ignore many of their points. They were concerned with the political acts of local and national Catholics insofar as they included one or more of the following effective activities: supporting and electing candidates for city, state, and national office; lobbying elected officials to sponsor, support, or oppose legislation; and speaking publicly in ways that might sway neighbors, Catholic or non-Catholic, to support, elect, or lobby. Political participation was active when it resulted in joining a campaign, casting a ballot, writing to a congressman, or rallying the neighborhood.

Mass Demonstrations proposed a correlation between liturgical and political participation in several ways. Marthaler's script used numerous political metaphors to illustrate his liturgical points. "No word is more 'of the people, by the people, and for the people,'" he said, "than the *amen* which concluded the canon of the Mass."⁴⁵² But understanding this democratic principle required work. "I've got to get in vital touch with [the Mass]," he declared. "This means that I must bestir myself and participate in it, reach out and crush it to myself. I must speak and act and do my part if it is to get to me."⁴⁵³ The problem with most Catholic laypeople, he continued, was ignorance of their own importance. "I think that our big problem with moving people [sic] into liturgical participation is that each thinks himself a little man, of no great importance to anyone, not even to God. . . . He is the man with only one voice, so why bother to vote?"⁴⁵⁴ The Mass properly understood erased this misrecognition, Marthaler insisted. It demonstrated the obligation

357; Jean-Luc Nancy, "Church, State, Resistance," in *Political Theologies, Religions in a post-secular world*, ed. Hent de Vries and Lawrence E. Sullivan (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), 105. For more on Reinhold and Hellriegel, see Chapter One.

⁴⁵² Demonstration of Holy Mass by Msgr. A.C. Marthaler, 6.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

of every layperson's voice and vote. Political allusions could also be more anecdotal. Marthaler reflected critically that, "when President Coolidge was once asked what he thought of sin, he replied: 'I'm agin [sic] it.' Its not enuff [sic] merely to be agin [sic] something. We must also be for something. So after God has spoken to us in the Epistle, Gospel and sermon, our reaction is naturally to stand up for what He said, and make a profession of faith."⁴⁵⁵ Political participation shared fundamental structures and natural impulses with liturgical participation.

The conflation of political and liturgical improvement was a feature of McManus' involvement with Mass Demonstrations beyond 1950s Boston as well. In 1958, the National Council of Catholic Men (NCCM) in Washington D.C. produced a paperback edition of *Demonstration of Holy Mass: Script and Explanation* authored by McManus. It included a guide for putting on Demonstrations, a script for the event itself, detailed directions about staging and preparation, and advice for modifications suitable to particular audiences and conditions.⁴⁵⁶ A copy of the 1958 publication made it to the University of San Francisco Lay Institute of Theology, but it is otherwise unclear exactly how popular the manual may have been.⁴⁵⁷ In Chapter Three I argue that implementing English-language vernacular reforms in the 1960s allowed Chicago to intervene directly in the formation of Catholics for their liturgy and life. The NCCM used McManus' script to train Catholic men for just such a political awakening. They did so by constantly establishing and collapsing the distinction between the Mass and Catholic public life, creating new associations with both liturgical and civic duty in the process.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 14.

⁴⁵⁶ McManus, Frederick, A., *A Demonstration of Holy Mass*. It also included a 'Bibliography' listing published works that would provide "sources of popular instruction on the holy sacrifice."

⁴⁵⁷ Mass Demonstration. Folder 38, Box 22. Institute of Lay Theology Records, University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame IN. Hereafter ILT.

Fr. Frederick R. McManus was intimately connected with institutional efforts to bring liturgical movement projects into the mainstream. In the late 1970s a colleague described McManus, then in his mid-50s and with more than a dozen years' experience implementing conciliar reforms in the U.S., as "one of those solid, reliable churchmen that you can turn to in a variety of fields and get sensible, intelligent answers."⁴⁵⁸ McManus was born in Lynn, a city just north of Boston.⁴⁵⁹ He studied at Holy Cross College and at St. John's Seminary, both in Boston, and was ordained there in 1947. Before departing for an academic career at Catholic University of America, he served with the archdiocesan Marriage Tribunal and as the Master of Ceremonies, responsible for planning and executing major liturgical events such as the Liturgical Day programs.⁴⁶⁰ When McManus joined the Canon Law faculty at Catholic University in 1958, the *Mediator* thanked their departing colleague for his work on "demonstrations of the Mass and his many other activities on behalf of the liturgical apostolate" in Boston.⁴⁶¹ It noted his regular contributions to *Worship* (previously *Orate Fratres*), and quoted that publication to highlight McManus' "concern to interpret ritual law in terms of its context: the living worship of the Church."⁴⁶² McManus believed that the body of canon law, itself subject to revision, protected the liturgy and transmitted it through centuries of Catholic practice. During his career McManus taught a variety of canon law courses, including several devoted to liturgical canon law.⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁸ William Ryan, "An American makes liturgical change happen," *Chicago Catholic Weekly*, April 28, 1978.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁰ "Frederick R. McManus: Distinguished priest, scholar, canon lawyer" news clipping, Folder 18, Box 34, FRM. See also "Liturgical Day at Cathedral to Open New Monthly Series," *Pilot*, October 15, 1949, 16.; "April Liturgical Day Opens with Mass for Late Cardinal," *Pilot*, April 22, 1950, 2; Fr. McManus to Give Lenten Talks at St. Clement's," *Pilot*, March 5, 1949.

⁴⁶¹ "Father McManus To Teach at C.U.," *Mediator*, Vol. IX, No. 3, Septuagesima-Lent 1958, 2.

⁴⁶² Quoted in "Father McManus To Teach at C.U.," *Mediator*, Vol. IX, No. 3, Septuagesima-Lent 1958, 2.

⁴⁶³ Ryan, "An American makes liturgical change happen"; "Ex-Lynner recipient of award," news clipping, Folder 18, Box 34 FRM.

McManus' particular expertise was much sought after. Columba Stewart O.S.B., while chair of the Godfrey Diekmann Center in Early Christian and Liturgical Studies at St. John's School of Theology and Seminary in Collegeville, MN, described McManus as the "indefatigable representative and scribe" of the U.S. Liturgical movement.⁴⁶⁴ McManus was president of the Liturgical Conference for the term maximum of three years, stepping down after the Liturgical Week program in Seattle in 1962 just as he was preparing to depart for the opening session of the Second Vatican Council in Rome.⁴⁶⁵ From 1960 to 1962 McManus worked as a consultant to the Commission on the Sacred Liturgy, assigned to prepare liturgical documents for that Council, and he was an expert (*peritus*) on liturgical matters at all four sessions.⁴⁶⁶ After the Council he consulted on the U.S. implementation of the *Constitution on the Liturgy*.⁴⁶⁷ He was the first director of the U.S. bishops' Liturgy Secretariat in 1965, remaining in office for the next ten years.⁴⁶⁸ McManus also sat on the committee that coordinated vernacular efforts in English-speaking countries, a committee that in 1964 evolved into the International Commission for English in the Liturgy (ICEL) on which he continued to serve.⁴⁶⁹ McManus' efforts and opinions were constant threads of the U.S. liturgical movement and liturgical reforms.

In addition to producing a bound edition of *The Mass Presented in English and Explained*, the NCCM also published *A Program Manual* for parish societies, providing suggested conversation topics and activities to organize a full year of meetings. The *Manual* proposed that

⁴⁶⁴ "Frederick R. McManus: Distinguished priest, scholar, canon lawyer" news clipping.

⁴⁶⁵ Julie Emery, "Priest Forecasts Liturgical Changes," *Seattle Times*, August 18, 1962, 2.

⁴⁶⁶ Ryan, "An American makes liturgical change happen."

⁴⁶⁷ "Frederick R. McManus: Distinguished priest, scholar, canon lawyer" news clipping.

⁴⁶⁸ Ryan, "An American makes liturgical change happen."

⁴⁶⁹ "Frederick R. McManus: Distinguished priest, scholar, canon lawyer" news clipping; Ryan, "An American makes liturgical change happen."

societies use their November meeting for a Demonstration Mass and discussion. The guide encouraged Catholic men to try the McManus program:

“That’s the best meeting I’ve been to in my life. I feel as though I’m just beginning to find out what the Catholic Church is all about.” If you’d like to hear comments like these as the men leave your monthly meeting, try this Demonstration Mass. We heard these remarks each time the meeting was run in thirty-five parishes of an eastern diocese during February and March of 1958.⁴⁷⁰

The directions noted that the Demonstration would require little arrangement apart from securing two people to run the meeting – the one who spoke at an altar should be a priest and the other could be another priest or a layman. “Any priest who is willing to put in one practice session and then spend an hour going through the motions of Mass at your meeting can serve as the ‘celebrant’.

You may have more difficulty finding a narrator,” the Manual continued, but noted that “a good script for the Demonstration Mass is available to affiliated societies from the NCCM Program Department,” which might make it easier to get volunteers who would otherwise balk at the pressure.⁴⁷¹ The manual also listed films and audio recording that could be used if necessary, but noted they “definitely will not be as effective as a live demonstration,” preferably one followed by a question and answer period.⁴⁷²

Here again active participation as a liturgical project was conducted alongside efforts to engage in other forms of Catholic participation. The *Manual* included suggestions for a full calendar year of meetings. The meeting in December, just after November’s Demonstration Mass program, was devoted to “Catholics and the Community.” It asked society members to engage one another in a conversation about “the vital need for Catholic participation in community affairs”

⁴⁷⁰ Program manual for parish meetings. National Council of Catholic Men. 1958. Folder 24, Box 7, FRM, 10. The Archdiocese of Newark, NJ references a program of demonstrations in the early 1960s, but does not specify whether they were related to McManus’ manual.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Ibid. This section suggested that either the celebrant or narrator should reply to questions posed by people in the audience.

and the “type of community activities in which Catholics should participate.”⁴⁷³ Discussion leaders were encouraged to describe the “types of community activities in which we should be taking an active part,” including Civil Defense, neighborhood zoning groups, Inter-racial Councils, “Councils for retarded children, the mentally ill, etc.,” School Boards, and “Civic works that have religious and/or moral bases.”

Participation in American politics and participation in the Mass were linked projects in the 1950s. But participation outside of Mass brought particular difficulties. One suggested discussion question for the December meeting asked how, “Catholic groups, as such, [could] take an active part in community affairs without being labeled as a ‘pressure’ group?” Other questions addressed discerning which secular organizations to cooperate with and which to avoid, and how an individual could “keep himself informed of the Church’s thinking with regard to any given community activities in which he may be engaged.”⁴⁷⁴ The *Manual* did not provide those answers; encouraging the groups of parish men who used it to have the conversation amongst themselves was a sufficient, if not even a preferable strategy for encouraging their active participation.

CONCLUSION: Pre- and Post-Conciliar Demonstrations

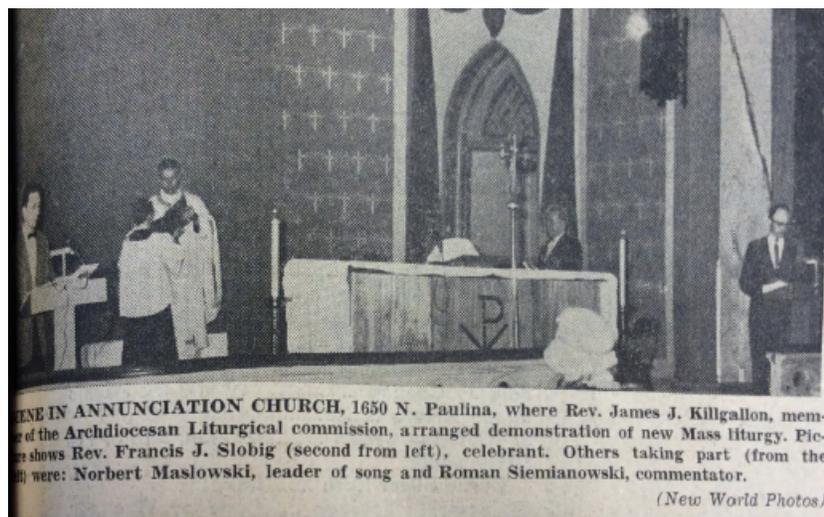
In the pre-conciliar period, a small but significant network of liturgical activists looked to Mass Demonstrations as an interesting and potentially useful strategy for working on liturgical piety, both their own and others. Demonstrations took on a new role after the promulgation of the

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 12. The program leaders were instructed to emphasize the “particular need for more *men* to participate in community affairs,” a realm hitherto dominated by women due to the “failure of men to come forward and give the leadership proper to men.” Italics original to document.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 13. The January meeting suggested topic, “The Needs of the Parish,” noted that keeping informed was a parochial problem as well, beginning with the note that “wherever this meeting has been conducted, pastors and lay leaders alike were surprised at how few men knew what was going on in their own parish. The meeting aims at giving your men a picture of activities within the parish, and its material and SPIRITUAL needs.” Ibid., 15.

Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy in 1964. They became opportunities to explain the coming liturgical reforms in preparation for the era of their implementation.⁴⁷⁵ Demonstrations were held in dioceses all across the U.S. in the mid-1960s to prepare priests and laity, but these demonstrations had a substantially different attitude towards the use of vernacular because the Council had declared for vernacular participation.

In October 1965, *Mediator* advertised a Tape of the Month Club in which “tape recordings of LITURGICAL WEEKS [served] as a modern means to extend” the educational reach of the conference.⁴⁷⁶ Readers would be sent a new tape each month on loan, for them to “listen – discuss – duplicate and return” at no charge. “These tapes bring practical helps and demonstrations on the best liturgical practice suggested by the *Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy*,” the Sacramental Apostolate promised. The demonstrations discussed specific changes as well as how difficult it was to predict what things would look like one, five, or ten years in the future. In March 1965, Chicago’s archdiocesan Liturgical Commission provided a “demonstration of the new Mass



SCENE IN ANNUNCIATION CHURCH, 1650 N. Paulina, where Rev. James J. Killgallon, member of the Archdiocesan Liturgical commission, arranged demonstration of new Mass liturgy. Picture shows Rev. Francis J. Slobig (second from left), celebrant. Others taking part (from the left) were: Norbert Maslowski, leader of song and Roman Siemianowski, commentator.

(New World Photos) 477

⁴⁷⁵ See for example “Demonstration Mass Scheduled for Rosary College,” *New World*, November 13, 1964, 13; “Demonstration Sung Mass Set at Cathedral,” *New World*, February 12, 1965, 1.

⁴⁷⁶ “Tape of the Month,” *Mediator*, October 1965, pg2.

⁴⁷⁷ Image from March 5, 1965 issue of *New World*, 17.

liturgy” for local Catholics to learn more about liturgical changes (see image above).

After the Council, liturgical campaigns adapted existing resources to develop Catholics who could take their part in a gradually changing liturgy. The earlier Demonstrations written by McManus, Marthaler and Hellriegel had entertained, educated, and energized Catholics to become better participants in a liturgy that, authors argued, did not need to change. McManus and the others offered methods and arguments for forming Catholic subjects, not ceremonies. They echoed ideas that had occupied the authors of *Orate Fratres* discussed in the previous chapter: the liturgy offered a unique opportunity to convince both priest and parishioner to adopt better behaviors, as well as for each to understand themselves in relationship to others in the Mass. Each Catholic, that is, had an obligation to perform their role to the best of their ability, because others’ spiritual experience depended on it. But unlike OF authors, Demonstration authors were unified in their preference for Latin in the Mass.

This chapter sketched the vitality of liturgical projects like the Demonstration Mass in a northeastern Catholic diocese. While lay-led efforts often dominate existing histories of the U.S. liturgical movement, the institutional Church could be inspired by the liturgical movement as well. My analysis of the Boston Demonstration Mass campaign suggests that it sought to perfect the piety of lay audiences, but also to use the Mass as a model for extra-liturgical projects such as an engagement with civic affairs. Liturgists leveraged English as a complement to the Latin liturgy at this time but not as a replacement for it. In the chapters that follow I trace the implementation of vernacular liturgy stemming from the reforms of the Second Vatican Council. I also examine the emergence of a narrative about the unsuitability of Latin for modern U.S. Catholicism and the promise of English for forming a laity liberated to enjoy and improve the world in which they lived.

“Both Authorized and Meaningful”

Implementing Liturgical Reform in the Archdiocese of Chicago 1964-67



OVER 2,000 CHICAGO POLICEMEN attended Police Communion Mass Sunday (May 15) sponsored by St. Jude league at St. Peter's church, 110 W. Madison. Bishop Raymond P. Hillinger, Auxiliary of Chicago and pastor of St. Mel-Holy

Ghost parish, celebrated Mass followed by breakfast in Sherman House. Policemen paraded to church from assembly points along Wacker dr. St. Jude league has sponsored annual event for 34 years.

(New World Photo) 478

INTRODUCTION: Policing Language

Lieutenant Edward Mulcrone was a Catholic, a Chicagoan, and an Officer of the Law. In April of 1966 the Commander of Chicago's Area 5 Youth Division wrote to his Archbishop, John Cody, about a matter of public safety and concern. He wrote to Cody and not to Chicago's Mayor, Richard J. Daley, because the issue was a liturgical one.⁴⁷⁹ That is, as a matter of public *worship* it was under religious, not political, jurisdiction. And yet, dividing Mulcrone's letter into 'religious' and 'political' dimensions shifts his aim and his worldview just slightly out of focus. Mulcrone participated in a new round of negotiations over the boundaries these jurisdictions had alternately

⁴⁷⁸ *New World*, May 20, 1966, 24.

⁴⁷⁹ Daley, Chicago's mayor from 1955-1976, was a "wily machine boss who ruled Chicago like a feudal preserve." He drew on an "Irish-Catholic background [that made] him part of the city's politically ascendant ethnic group," according to Adam Cohen and Elizabeth Taylor, *American Pharaoh: Mayor Richard J. Daley – His Battle for Chicago and the Nation* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2000), 3, 6. The same work opines that Daley's parochial education served him well "where success lay in unquestioningly performing the tasks set out by powers above. But it was less helpful as training for a leader who would need to think independently and adapt himself to changing times," (24), an attribution of Catholic political passivity similar to that discussed in Chapter Two.

established and violated in *Orate Fratres*, liturgical campaigns, and diocesan newspapers.

Scriptural passages that describe the Passion are read aloud for the Good Friday service during Holy Week.⁴⁸⁰ In his letter, Officer Mulcrone objected to the particular translation of the Passion, the story of the trial and execution of Christ, used for the 1966 service.⁴⁸¹ The translation posed a special problem because it used “police” to name a character who visits both rhetorical and physical violence on the person of Jesus. Mulcrone urged Cody to “consider whether the narrative of the Passion could be corrected to eliminate any reference to policemen.”⁴⁸² Cody considered, and eventually accepted, Mulcrone’s request.⁴⁸³

Both Cody and Mulcrone saw an inextricable link between public order and public worship, between community inside and outside the special circumstances of the Mass. Politics and worship were inextricable because the physical and social bodies that enacted projects defined as one or the other did not confine themselves to singular projects or insulated realms of existence. Wayne Ashley argues that Good Friday processions allowed a Lower East Side New York parish to distinguish between the “two overlapping narratives” of religious and civic orientation, of

⁴⁸⁰ Until 1959 the official preference was to chant the Passion story in Latin and follow this with a vernacular paraliturgical proclamation of the same text. This would have been excessively time-consuming, according to McGuire, “The Reform of Holy Week.” The problems identified by Mulcrone were possible in these earlier stages as well. McGuire dwells briefly on the difficulties of staging the Passion in an earlier period of U.S liturgical reform, arguing that, “A variety of styles would circumvent the difficulties of assigning the assembly the role of an angry mob and replace that guilt-ridden role with one of bearing witness to the passion and death of Our Lord.”

⁴⁸¹ Mulcrone’s letter does not identify which of the various available lectionaries his parish used. The words “police” and “policeman” occur in the Good Friday service from the 1965 Liturgical Press Lectionary, which drew scriptural translations from the 1964 Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. *Lectionary of the Roman Missal*, Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1965, 183. The 1970 edition drew from the 1966 Revised Standard Version-Catholic for its scriptural translations, which used the term “officer” instead. *Lectionary of the Roman Missal*, Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1970, 78. These texts were in flux throughout the implementation stage, and received new input with the Second Vatican Council’s 1965 Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, which called for new translations rooted in the original texts and suitable to the contemporary situation.

⁴⁸² Mulcrone to Cody, April 12, 1966. EXEC/C0670/32#2, John Cardinal Cody Papers, Archdiocese of Chicago's Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Records Center, Chicago IL (hereafter JCC).

⁴⁸³ See the Conclusion of this Chapter for a discussion of Cody’s reply.

“public prayer and political critique.”⁴⁸⁴ In this chapter I examine how the language of active participation generated a slippage between the two, such that each narrative echoed the other. The grammar of one situation conveyed meaning in the other, particularly during vernacular reforms.⁴⁸⁵

The Holy Week translation that troubled Lt. Mulcrone was part of the liturgical reform campaign galvanized by the Second Vatican Council in 1964. Over a decade, national bishops’ groups translated and authorized new elements of the Mass and other Catholic liturgies.⁴⁸⁶ In *The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, the first constitution to emerge from the Second Vatican Council, the question of vernacular was delegated to bishops. The Council decreed,

It is for the competent territorial ecclesiastical authority . . . to decide whether, and to what extent, the vernacular language is to be used; their decrees are to be approved, that is, confirmed, by the Apostolic See. And, whenever it seems to be called for, this authority is to consult with bishops of neighboring regions which have the same language.⁴⁸⁷

Chicago’s archbishops, first Albert Cardinal Meyer, then John Cody (who was raised to the cardinalate a few years into his tenure in Chicago) were involved in their national group, but they also had a particular responsibility to Catholics in their own archdiocese. Mulcrone contacted Cody in the latter’s capacity as both a special authority for Catholics in Chicago and a figure enmeshed in national and global Catholic authoritative bodies.

Officer Mulcrone included part of the problematic Passion text in his letter to Cody. The enclosed page highlighted four uses of the word ‘police.’ “Of particular concern to me, a police

⁴⁸⁴ Wayne Ashley, “The Stations of the Cross: Christ, Politics, and Processions on New York City’s Lower East Side,” in *Gods of the City*, ed. Robert A. Orsi (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 341-367, 342.

⁴⁸⁵ This pattern was not new. Historian John McGreevy describes a 1920 Chicago incident of a priest being “particularly effective” in holding back a mob of white locals from coming inside to lynch three black men who had entered the church. The priest stopped them when he held “his arms out for attention, since ‘many had seen him make that gesture several times every Sunday during his sermon.’” “Priest Calms Angry Crowd; Saves 3,” *Chicago Defender*, September 25, 1920, 1, quoted in McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 3.

⁴⁸⁶ Similar questions of jurisdiction had arisen in the dissemination of Tridentine liturgical reforms. See John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro, eds., *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century* (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1988).

⁴⁸⁷ “Constitution on the sacred liturgy,” In *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, Vol. II: Trent to Vatican II*, ed. Norman P. Tanner, 820-843. London: Sheed & Ward, 1990.

officer,” wrote Mulcrone, “is the phrase ‘ . . . A policeman who was standing by gave Jesus a slap in the face.’”⁴⁸⁸ Mulcrone was chiefly “concerned with the association of brutality with policemen.”

In law enforcement we are cognizant of the charge of brutality leveled against us whenever offenders seek to exculpate themselves. In our Chicago Police Department we have a unit to investigate such charges. Never before have police officers been more conscious of an individuals’ rights. The current narration is implanting in the minds of those who hear [it] an affinity between cruelty and policemen. Our children’s subliminal consciousness may retain a picture which associates torture with those in authority.⁴⁸⁹

Mulcrone was directly concerned with the suggestible and the juvenile as Catholics particularly susceptible to misuse of the Mass’ power. But it is difficult to read his letter as simply and exclusively directed at the formation of children. Instead, he asks the Church to establish the moral security of policing in 1966 Chicago, or at least not to interfere with the Police Department’s own attempts to do so. Policing, as Mulcrone described it, was inherently social work requiring particular kinds of attitudes from the population, namely, cooperation with police investigations and submission to police authority. Because Catholic subjectivities were formed at Mass on Sundays, those attitudes could be formed, at least in part, by the words Catholics heard there. In order to police the community, Mulcrone sought help from his Church to *create* a community receptive to policing. In addition to being a timeless act of worship, the Catholic Mass was a place where subjects acclimated to modern governance.

Mulcrone expressed his concerns about and through attention to the social implications of language. The slow accumulation of projects orchestrated, negotiated, and observed by the Archdiocese of Chicago’s Liturgical Commission employed a similar attention and assumed a related inextricability of public worship and public order. Initially, this attention was focused on

⁴⁸⁸ Mulcrone to Cody, April 12, 1966.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.

implementing the several stages of vernacular reform. The question of translation was newly relevant in the middle 1960s due to the Council's encouragement of vernacular liturgies across the globe. Vernacular languages are those spoken by ordinary, local people; U.S. dioceses tended to simplify this broad category to 'English' for their practical, parochial, purposes.⁴⁹⁰ Official English translations and authorized publications of the appropriate prayers set the schedule on which Catholic diocese introduced vernacular versions of individual Mass prayers like the Lessons, the Sanctus, the Canon, and eventually a new Order of the Mass entirely. In the U.S., the roll-out of the English Mass stretched from late 1964 through 1969, though it attracted far more energetic efforts prior to 1967.

Chicago Catholicism in the early 1960s was still marked by the institutional confidence and bounded parish communities of its recent past.⁴⁹¹ Lieutenant Mulcrone and Archbishop Cody were both particularly concerned with the power of the English Mass in 1960s Chicago. A power, that is, that linked the English Mass *to* 1960s Chicago, through the individual and social Catholic bodies out of which both liturgy and society emerged. In this chapter I explore how the archdiocese of Chicago administered vernacular liturgical reforms, showing the liturgical actions and experiences of archdiocesan actors from members of the Liturgical Commission to the new lay leaders they cultivated. But I also explore the conditions which enabled archdiocesan liturgical actions and experiences, what Pierre Bourdieu called "the social conditions of possibility, and therefore the limits, [of] the social conditions that must be fulfilled for this lived experience to be

⁴⁹⁰ U.S. Bishops relied on other national groups for those liturgies but were directly involved in the translation, ratification, and publication of official English texts. A 1968 letter from Rev. Zuba to Cody, discussed later in this chapter, suggests that the archdiocese provided little support for vernacular liturgies in Spanish-speaking parishes. The archdiocese was cautious about authorizing other vernaculars, for example when local Polish parishes asked to make use of the ritual prepared by Poland.

⁴⁹¹ See Avella, *This Confident Church*; McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*.

possible.”⁴⁹² In Chapter One I applied the theoretical insight of Constance Furey to liturgical movement discourse in order to show the positive and negative ways that relationships organized the U.S. Catholic Mass and those who engaged with it. Furey critiques “practice theorists” like Bourdieu for pushing the study of religion into a narrow focus on the confrontation between individual bodies and impersonal society. Bourdieu’s approach certainly emphasizes bodies and the society in which they move. But it does not preclude the personal, intentional, and emotional dimensions highlighted by Constance Furey’s argument.⁴⁹³ Bourdieu’s point is not that personal experiences are unreal or unimportant but that they are not the sole determinant of their own existence. He urges analysts not to neglect the social systems within history, the “structured structures predisposed to be structuring structures,” in their attention to discrete experiences.⁴⁹⁴

The social structures enabling and sustaining the implementation of the English Mass in Chicago posed two problems. First, modern languages served practical purposes as well as sacred ones; what made a word effective in one realm could turn it maddeningly imprecise in the other. Second, new linguistic possibilities provided new actors with an opportunity to instrumentalize this slippage for the leverage that sacred settings could provide to secular causes as well as religious. Implementation bound the Archdiocese of Chicago to both problems, but solving them offered it the chance to reform both the liturgy and the Catholics who participated actively in it.

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⁴⁹² Pierre Bourdieu, “Genesis and Structure of the religious field,” *Comparative Social Research* 13 (1991): 16.

⁴⁹³ Bourdieu explicitly includes relationships and experiences in his theoretical universe, but claims an interest in the structures which enable them. He is not, however, committed to “the opposition between the structure and the individual against whom the structure has to be won and endlessly rewon,” which would seem to be the opposition between body and society that Furey argues against most explicitly. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 84. See also 21, 95.

⁴⁹⁴ The pattern of Bourdieu’s argument is much like that of Talal Asad regarding Clifford Geertz several decades later. See Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

Chicago's Catholic laity, clergy, and archdiocesan administration emerged from the implementation history of liturgical reform with both the capacity and the inclination to sustain a post-conciliar U.S. Catholicism. This chapter draws out the enabling conditions of the English Mass, and the archdiocesan apparatus that grew up around training local Catholics for it, as an organizing and ordering force for Chicago Catholics between 1964 and 1967, the early years of reform. I accomplish this, in part, by attending to the explicit statements of archdiocesan actors like members of the Liturgical Commission. Here the archdiocese engaged with the fine lines of interdependence between public order and the order of public worship, though the former was often implicit and the latter often explicitly decentralized.

Though Bourdieu is not primarily a theorist of religion, he articulates "religious" versions of his primary theoretical concepts: field, habitus, and capital. Moreover, the religious versions are fundamental to their more general categories. For Bourdieu, the religious field is a relatively autonomous "separate social universe," organized by its own laws but operating in constant, and particularly moralistic, interrelation with politics.⁴⁹⁵ Religion is a field in which the full range of social activities play out. But it is also a belief system which reinforces and legitimizes social divisions in order to manage groups divided in these ways, that is, to manage them politically.⁴⁹⁶ The religious field is constituted by the religious labor of religious individuals and institutions, by the circulation of religious capital acquired during the course of that work, and the relationship of this labor and capital to social and material circumstances.⁴⁹⁷ Different religious classes acquire religious capital in the course of these labors. The laity acquire their religious capital through

⁴⁹⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, "Field of Power, Literary Field and Habitus," trans. Claud Du Verlie, 1986, in *The Field of Cultural Production* (Columbia University Press, 1993), 162. See also Bourdieu, "Genesis and Structure of the religious field," 5.

⁴⁹⁶ Bourdieu, "Genesis and Structure of the religious field," 3; 20; 14

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

education and religious practice while clergy or other elites accrue capital through mastery of religious material and by overseeing the religious education of the laity. Both groups acquire a “*religious habitus*” in the process.⁴⁹⁸

Bourdieu composed his major theoretical works in the wake of Catholic liturgical reforms, and on at least one occasion he engaged that history explicitly.⁴⁹⁹ Bourdieu’s liturgical considerations emerged from his interest in moments when religions reveal their machinery and thereby loosen their hold on religious populations.⁵⁰⁰ The paradigmatic example for Bourdieu’s analysis of religion was a Tridentine Church that confirmed public worship in a liturgical “language almost unknown to the people.”⁵⁰¹ Both the 16th century Protestant Reformation and the 20th century conciliar reforms, Bourdieu argued, presented laity with the opportunity to recognize the structures in which they moved. When the conditions of the Catholic community were made explicit in vernacular liturgy they no longer sustained institutional authority, and the dissent that followed liturgical reforms signaled the disintegration of a religious field.⁵⁰² In this analysis, abdicating “the symbolic attributes of authority, like . . . Latin,” had made the religious labor of both priests and parishioners into something new, without providing a new religious field for them to inhabit and hold together. Bourdieu argues that “the crisis over language thus points to the crisis

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 10; 22.

⁴⁹⁹ The essay, published in French in 1982 and in English a decade later, includes several pages quoting 1972 French parishioner complaints about liturgical errors. Though Bourdieu devotes several pages to these quotations, he deals with them only minimally in an argument focused on countering J.L. Austin’s 1962 *How To Do Things With Words*.

⁵⁰⁰ Bourdieu, “Genesis and Structure of the religious field,” 17. The religious field exists at particular moments and is defined by the interactions between religious actors that are currently generating it. It also exists across time in abstracted “invariant relations” which coordinate those particular moments without exhausting or entirely determining their contents. Bourdieu, “Genesis and Structure of the religious field,” 23. Generational shifts in particular can lead to field changes. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 78.

⁵⁰¹ Bourdieu, “Genesis and Structure of the religious field,” 26. Bourdieu draws heavily on Weber for his examples.

⁵⁰² Pierre Bourdieu, “Authorized Language: The Social Conditions for the Effectiveness of Ritual Discourse,” in *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 115-116. For priests, this was a crisis of vocation, for laity of dechristianization. See also Bourdieu, “Description and Prescription: The Conditions of Possibility and the Limits of Political Effectiveness” in *Language and Symbolic Power* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1991), 129.

in the mechanisms which ensured the production of legitimate senders and receivers.” This, for Bourdieu, reveals that religion ultimately and fundamentally requires that religious actors not know what they do.⁵⁰³

The field defined by the religious actors, work, and language of the newly English Mass in 1960s Chicago was relatively autonomous. That is, the Liturgy Commission, area pastors, and the local laity – many of them taking on new liturgical roles – formed a web of interactions as they provided, exchanged, and achieved varying levels of control over the religious goods of the vernacular liturgy. In a bourdieusian analysis, however, it would be imperative that everyone remain unaware of this work. If religious practitioners recognized the religion operating in their lives it would destabilize the religious field, “for the most important and indispensable [conditions] are those which produce the disposition towards recognition in the sense of misrecognition and belief.”⁵⁰⁴ Yet the Liturgical Commission’s primary strategy was to enlist the city’s Catholics in the conscious work of forming themselves and their Church. They saw no problem with liturgical recognition; in fact, they instrumentalized it.⁵⁰⁵

I am not interested in an argument that Bourdieu’s theory fails to account for the implementation history of liturgical reform. But the juxtaposition of the following two points both provides insight into the contributions of Catholic liturgical reform, as an example, to theories of religion and offers further development of those theories. First, vernacular Catholic liturgy was fundamental to Bourdieu’s theory of religion. Second, with the exception of ignoring

⁵⁰³ Studying under Althusser may have influenced the degree to which misrecognition structures Bourdieu’s sense of religion’s operation in society. For Althusser, ideology succeeds where its work is unrecognized. Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses Notes towards an Investigation,” in *Lenin and Philosophy And Other Essays* (Monthly Review Press: New York, 1971).

⁵⁰⁴ Bourdieu, “Authorized Language,” 113,

⁵⁰⁵ Chicago’s disinclination to engage the explicit democratizing parallels between its liturgical reforms and the American electoral process may still, however, operate as a misrecognition along the lines described by Bourdieu.

misrecognition, the approach that Chicago's liturgical bureaucracy took to liturgical reform paralleled Bourdieu's theory in several ways. For Bourdieu, liturgical language illustrated the importance of misrecognition to religious fields. For the Liturgical Commission, liturgical language, like any other aspect of religious formation, required active participation.

The years immediately following the Council offered dioceses the opportunity to move liturgical projects from a national group of enthusiasts to a centralized local bureaucracy. The Liturgical Commission of the Archdiocese of Chicago, founded in 1964, was tasked with producing, monitoring, and evaluating the many liturgical projects that arose from conciliar reforms. The Commission also oversaw the practical work of the Liturgy Training Program in the archdiocese. This chapter provides an overview of the work of the Liturgical Commission and its Liturgical Training Program, and examines their engagement with the question of language in the Mass. I then compare that engagement with an experimental parish organized in 1962 in San Miguelito, Panama by several Chicago priests. Exploring these liturgical projects demonstrates that active participation in the liturgy was the larger project to which vernacular reforms contributed.

I. Implementing Participation in the Archdiocese of Chicago 1964-67

The *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* stated that "every Diocese is to have a Commission on the Sacred Liturgy under the direction of the Bishop for the promotion of the Liturgical Apostolate."⁵⁰⁶ Chicago's commission was tasked with realizing "the active, conscious, and pious

⁵⁰⁶ "Constitution on the sacred liturgy."

participation of the laity in liturgical life.”⁵⁰⁷ Emphasizing participation highlighted the experiences of laypeople in the modern Church. It also articulated their responsibility to the Church, one that required preparation and guidance. Active participation guaranteed new opportunities for lay Catholics. Cultivating it allowed the Archdiocese of Chicago to advance new strategies for forming them.

Liturgical transformation during this time certainly contributed to the opening of Catholic institutional culture and parish landscapes across the country, both of which acquired “a degree of diversity and adaptability unknown in the recent past.”⁵⁰⁸ Diversity and adaptability were useful situations for the Liturgical Commission of the Archdiocese of Chicago. They were also useful qualities to cultivate in area Catholics, and liturgical reform provided the opportunity to place them in Catholic bodies. Commissioners now had a duty to scrutinize Chicago Catholics in order to see that they were adapting to the diverse opportunities for active participation. They did so by developing administrative policies and educational programs targeted to the population they came to know in this way, programs administered by the Liturgical Training Program. Bourdieu writes that “nothing seems more ineffable, more incommunicable, more inimitable, and therefore, more precious, than the values given body, *made* body by the transubstantiation achieved by the hidden persuasion of an implicit pedagogy.”⁵⁰⁹ Both the Liturgical Commission and the Liturgical Training Program sought to store the principles of reform, of modern Catholic living, in the body at Mass. In many ways, however, they did so using the most explicit pedagogy imaginable.

The Liturgical Commission of Chicago’s policies and publications and the Liturgy

⁵⁰⁷ Stokes to Meyer, April 30, 1964, EXEC/C0730/6#6. Albert Cardinal Meyer Papers. Archdiocese of Chicago's Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Records Center, Chicago IL (hereafter ACM). See also Karen Koko, “How Chicago Began Liturgical Renewal,” *New World*, August 27, 1965, 8.

⁵⁰⁸ Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 430.

⁵⁰⁹ Bourdieu, *Outline of A Theory of Practice*, 94.

Training Program's workshops offered educational preparation for each wave of reform. I analyze these two organizations primarily through attention to meeting minutes in the former case and program outlines in the latter, while incorporating reactions to their efforts recorded in the archdiocesan paper *New World* and parish bulletins. I focus on organizational sources in order to highlight the community these two entities saw as enabled by liturgical reform, the concerns they had about their liturgical projects, and the practical strategies they adopted to address them. These sources are important additions to the record of Catholic liturgical reform because they provide insight not only into the complex efforts and the resources mobilized to further them, but also into the nuances of care and concern with which liturgical actors in Chicago approached the process.

I A. Liturgical Relations to Post-Conciliar Conditions: The Commission

On March 6, 1964, Archbishop Meyer invited thirteen priests, two nuns, two laymen, and one laywoman to become part of the Liturgical Commission of the Archdiocese of Chicago. The majority were diocesan clergy, but two Jesuit priests and sisters M. Borgia, O.S.F. and M. Carol Frances, B.V.M. also served on the commission. Three laypeople were invited, including Dr. Joseph Evans who had helped found the Vernacular Society, Mr. Robert F. Holloway whose familiarity with the dialogue Mass and liturgical participation originated in his home parish of St. Dorothy's, and Mrs. Floyd Meekin, the director of the Spiritual Development Committee for the archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women.⁵¹⁰ Commissioners worked under Archbishop Meyer

⁵¹⁰ Aloysius Wycislo to Albert Cardinal Meyer, March 5, 1964, EXEC/C0730/4#6, ACM. Three other laywomen were considered for the slot, including Nina Polczyn, discussed in Katherine Harmon's *There Were Also Many Women There*, and past presidents of the archdiocesan and national councils of Catholic Women. Wycislo noted that Mrs. Meekin, "whose educational background we are not familiar with, is a presentable and likeable person, and her advantage is that as an executive of the Council of Catholic Women [she] could be of great help in organizing laywomen activities in the Archdiocese."

for only a year, until his death in June 1965. His replacement was John Patrick Cody, whose reputation for authoritative centralization contrasted with Meyer's more "permissive" style⁵¹¹ The Commission collaborated with their Archbishop, but also with various archdiocesan agencies, communities, and businesses.

During its first few years of work, Chicago's Liturgical Commission evaluated archdiocesan liturgical realities and developed the infrastructure necessary to institute reforms on a large scale. At their first meeting, the members learned that most diocesan commissions elsewhere in the nation were "only paper organizations," and by all accounts Chicago's was the largest in the nation.⁵¹² Members understood that their ongoing work over the next several years would be to recommend archdiocesan policies and education "so that the Liturgical program of the Church may be followed out in a practical and uniform manner throughout the Archdiocese."⁵¹³ In monthly meetings from 1964 until the Commission's reorganization under the Office of Divine Worship in the early 1970s, members made every effort to do so.

One of the most pressing issues was securing the necessary liturgical texts for the first stage of liturgical reform, scheduled for that fall. The initial vernacular text itself was drawn from approved missals, Holy Week booklets, articles in periodicals, and bibles. The International Commission on English in the Liturgy, founded in late 1963 by a group of representatives from English-speaking countries to collaborate on common texts, later developed more official texts.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹¹ Avella, *This Confident Church*, 344.

⁵¹² Stokes to Meyer, April 30, 1964.

⁵¹³ Undated Announcement. EXEC/C0730/6#6, ACM.

⁵¹⁴ The ICEL did not adopt translations from the initial sources, but did consider several of them, including the *People's Mass Book* and *St. Andrew Bible Missal*, when composing their translation of the Canon. Another sample was taken from *Saint Joseph Magazine*, the periodical which carried Anna Kuhn's 1951 article about the Boston Demonstration Mass. Kemper, "Behind the text," 10. See Kemper for an expansive history of both the ICEL and its translation practices, which managed many of the same practical confusions that marked the work of Chicago's Liturgical Commission. See also a history of ICEL compiled by McManus, its first secretary. Frederick McManus, ed., *Thirty Years of Liturgical Renewal: Statements of the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy*, (Washington, D.C.:

As the ritual changed, the Archdiocese would keep priests informed when publications (such as the vernacular Altar Missal) became available, and when the Liturgical Commission completed work on a Directory that would “answer most of the questions that are now in your mind concerning the changes in the liturgy.”⁵¹⁵ In an August 1964 letter, Cardinal Meyer informed area priests that three publishing firms were working on the liturgical manual, the *Collectio Rituum*, which would be available just in time for the September 14 introduction of the vernacular Ritual. Meyer gave his permission “herewith” to use the vernacular text on that date and closed with an acknowledgement that more information would be forthcoming throughout the next several months.

The Liturgical Commission engaged in a wide variety of strategies for addressing questions and keeping priests as well as laity informed.⁵¹⁶ Members discussed strategies for publicizing their work through *New World* articles or the creation of a liturgical newsletter similar to the one published by the Archdiocese of Boston.⁵¹⁷ Commission members organized education programs for area Catholics through the Liturgical Training Program, curated and distributed print and audio-visual material for use in Chicago parishes, and conducted periodic revisions of a Directory of worship for parish priests in the archdiocese.⁵¹⁸ The Commission developed many of its own

United States Catholic Conference, 1987). Texts were not authorized by the commission, however; national conferences of bishops were ultimately responsible for agreeing on texts, which they would then forward to Rome for final approval.

⁵¹⁵ Meyer to pastors, August 21, 1964, EXEC/C0620/4#6, ACM.

⁵¹⁶ Keeping laity informed was also a longstanding tradition of the parish bulletin well before the Second Vatican Council launched its liturgical reforms. See for example the explanation of the celebrant’s (Latin) words and actions before beginning to read the Gospel included in the S.S. Cyril & Methodius parish bulletin of January 13, 1963. The explanation would not have been out of place in the Demonstration Masses given by McManus from Chapter Two.

⁵¹⁷ Stokes to Meyer, April 30, 1964.

⁵¹⁸ See for example the June 7, 1966 Minutes for a discussion of expanding the training programs to Sisters and a more general conception of the laity, and October 8, 1968 Minutes for a discussion of using a similar model for training the religious and the laity for the new Eucharistic Prayers. June 7, 1966 Minutes. ADMNS/M3300/427#1, Charles N. Meter Papers, Archdiocese of Chicago's Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Records Center, Chicago IL (hereafter CNM), October 8, 1968 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#3, CNM. See Minutes of February 4, 1970 for plans

materials for the initial training of laity in 1964, such as practice booklets for laymen who served as lectors and commentators. The archdiocese also distributed items published by other organizations, such as the filmstrips produced by Alba Films.⁵¹⁹ The archdiocese subsidized these publications, but individual parishes were asked to purchase materials, as well as equipment, necessary for the reforms. In November of 1964, S.S. Cyril and Methodius parish announced in their parish bulletin that there would be a six-Sunday collection campaign to earn money “for all the new printing, new books and rituals, and equipment necessary for the new liturgy (the huge changes in the Mass and the Sacraments.)”⁵²⁰

The Liturgical Directory and its several revisions occupied the Commission from the beginning. By Fall of 1964 commissioners had begun collecting liturgical guidelines from a variety of Church sources in a loose-leaf binder “so that additions may be made as the new legislation becomes available.”⁵²¹ This was the earliest form of the Liturgical Directory, designed to give Chicago pastors, and eventually pastors outside Chicago as well, guidance on conducting Mass according to new rubrics, permissions, and policies as these arose. By November 3 it was nearly finished. Each section had gone through multiple drafts, and the most refined versions sent to national experts for their suggestions. National liturgical expert Frederick McManus “had been consulted about the Directory and had sent in his suggestions.”⁵²² The Commission incorporated responses into their own final draft, going line by line through the text as a group in order to finalize

to hold study sessions on new Rites of Infant Baptism and Matrimony. February 4, 1970 Liturgical Commission Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#5, CNM.

⁵¹⁹ They considered expanding use of Mass participation cards (one of the laymen on the commission offered to bring in the cards his own parish used). The commission reviewed a number of potential publications for use during Mass. November 9, 1965 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1; June 7, 1966, Minutes ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁵²⁰ S.S. Cyril & Methodius Parish Bulletin for November 8, 1964.

⁵²¹ October 6, 1964 Minutes ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁵²² November 3, 1964 Minutes ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM. One member suggested that the Commission make use of the same manner of voting used by the Bishops at the Council to do so, indicating the many different ways, including bureaucratic, that the spirit of the Council reached into U.S. Catholic lives.

the document. Some members felt that the urgency of getting something usable to priests as soon as possible made such precision counterproductive. But others felt “that the Directory would not reflect the thinking of the whole Commission unless the painstaking work of going over every sentence and phrase was continued.”⁵²³ Dioceses across the U.S. asked to use or simply consult Chicago’s Directory for their own reform efforts, and by March 1965 they had begun receiving it along with every parish in Chicago.⁵²⁴ The Commission oversaw periodic revisions over the next several years, as liturgical knowledge grew and as new reforms entered the implementation stage.⁵²⁵

Chicago was not alone in devising guidelines or publishing them as a directory. Other dioceses across the U.S. took up the implementation of reforms, providing Chicago with a community of administrative colleagues. In September 1964, the archdiocese of Portland, Oregon released *The Sacred Liturgy*, slightly pre-dating Chicago’s book and serving as one of (if not) the earliest exemplar of the genre. This Directory was designed to allow Oregon, Montana, and Idaho parishes “to avoid the confusion of an uneven implementation or a varied procedure, parish by parish.”⁵²⁶ It was designed for a collection of parishes that did not share the same bishop, and it therefore needed to provide guidelines allowing several different episcopal authorities to maintain jurisdiction over their diocese. Much of the Portland directory was taken up with specific (though

⁵²³ November 4, 1964 Minutes ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM. The Commission included a number of trained theologians as well as many whose religious work gave them practical sacramental expertise which bore on theological practice.

⁵²⁴ March 9, 1965 Minutes ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁵²⁵ Ibid. Every priest in Chicago would be given a free copy of the directory, and copies would be available for purchase by outsiders at \$4 a copy, or less if bought in bulk. Profits would support printing and other commission work.

⁵²⁶ Decree of Promulgation, September 3, 1964. Folder 278, Box 16. General Collection, University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame IN (hereafter NDGC). Suffragan bishops along with members of their diocesan liturgy, music, and arts commissions on February 25, 1964 and consulted with other dioceses and experts throughout that spring and summer. Several sections were adapted from a Montreal Directory (26).

not minutely detailed) choreography for priest, altar server, reader, commentator, choir and congregation.⁵²⁷ In each case it pointed out the language of liturgical prayers, the posture of those involved, and brief explanations of the meaning behind these choices. The Portland guidelines instructed parishes to find “a suitable place” for the vernacular, either in readings and common prayer or at the people’s parts “as local conditions may warrant,” but specified that the decisions of the National Conference of Bishops would be binding. It shared many emphases with Chicago’s Directory and with general norms for active participation in the liturgy.⁵²⁸ This included both internal participation, wherein the laity joined their own “intentions with those of the priest and the whole Church,” and external participation, including postures and vocalizations.⁵²⁹ While both internal and external participation were important, the former was somewhat difficult to catalogue and document. The latter, however, could be taught, surveyed, and documented.⁵³⁰

Though it also attempted to balance uniformity and “local” adaptations, the Chicago Directory was written for a single archdiocese. The 1965 *Chicago Pastoral Directory On The Mass* was distributed as a spiral bound book with pink and white heavy stock cover. Albert Cardinal Meyer described it in his February 2, 1965 Foreword as “our norms for the restoration and promotion of the Sacred Liturgy. These are the means through which we will achieve the participation of the faithful in the liturgy in our Archdiocese so earnestly desired by the Fathers of the Sacred Vatican Council.”⁵³¹ The Directory was “a well-documented and concise compilation of liturgical guidelines for the Archdiocese of Chicago,” the application of which would reflect

⁵²⁷ It described the role of commentators, but left the details up to individual dioceses or to the commentators themselves, only specifying that the style and location of comments should “be adapted to the particular congregation and if possible to the liturgy of the day.” Ibid., 30.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., 12

⁵²⁹ They were also instructed to participate sacramentally – to receive Holy Communion. Ibid.

⁵³⁰ The Directory also noted the Council’s “mention [of] an often overlooked means of liturgical instruction – the popular devotion,” and gave instructions for making devotions a feeder liturgy for public worship. Ibid., 13.

⁵³¹ Pastoral Directory on the Mass. Archdiocese of Chicago, 1965. Folder 277, Box 16, NDGC.

Conciliar wishes, energize the Catholic faithful, and adapt the Church to its modern conditions. Meyer presented this guide to his fellow priests as an aid to their pastoral duty in one of his final communications with Chicago clergy.

Chicago's Directory was devoted to explaining the impact of liturgical reforms on the parish Sunday Mass.⁵³² It was a resource for the parish priest, helping him to understand those changes as well as suggesting ways that he might make the Mass they reconfigured a "pastorally effective" ritual for his own congregation.⁵³³ Like the Portland guide, Chicago's included specific directions for several forms of Mass.⁵³⁴ For the faithful, the work of active participation involved understanding the Mass as it was made available to them through Christ's sacrifice and the Church's service, then making the liturgical prayers "their own and [performing] them with great care and reverence."⁵³⁵ The Directory could help the pastor to understand the revised Mass and to more adequately prepare his congregation for a full liturgical celebration of it. Clergy were expected to ensure both that the laity were capable of their new work and that they completed it.

The Directory was framed as a temporary guide. The 1965 edition reminded its clerical readership that "sometime in the future," the "entire ritual of the Mass will be revised," and that "these revisions can be expected to take place gradually over the next few years."⁵³⁶ A year later, reforms short of an entire ritual revision necessitated a new version of the Directory. Chicago's

⁵³² But it emphasized that its directives and suggestions were addressed to "all institutions where the people assist at Mass, e.g., convents, hospitals, schools," and also for those weekday Masses at which people were present. *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵³³ Post-conciliar roman documents of particular use included the September 16, 1964 *Instruction for the Proper Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* and the January 27, 1965 *Ritus Servandus*. These documents "are concerned chiefly with rubrical prescriptions without ordinarily indicating what is preferable," but the Directory presented rubrical norms "in the light of the liturgical and pastoral principles enunciated in the Constitution and in further guidelines given by the Bishops' Commission on the Liturgical Apostolate and the Post Conciliar Commission." *Pastoral Directory On the Mass, Archdiocese of Chicago*, 1965, 1-2.

⁵³⁴ This included the solemn and semi-solemn forms of Sung Mass with Sacred Minister; the Sung Mass without deacon and subdeacon, also referred to as High Mass; the Recited Mass, or a low Mass attended by a participating laity; and the "Devotional" Mass, at which only a server was present in addition to the celebrant. *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

new Archbishop Cody sent a letter to his parish priests in June of 1966 to accompany the new *Pastoral Directory on the Mass*.⁵³⁷ The letter expressed gratitude for the energized liturgy in Chicago, energy that had been channeled by the Liturgical Commission's several projects, including the previous Directory. However, Cody also cautioned, "as ministers of God's word and dispensers of His mysteries in the sacramental life of the Church, our priestly office does not permit unwarranted innovations and unauthorized experimentations." The Directory was a guide for directed adaptation, not a license for experimentation.⁵³⁸ It explained new rubrics and archdiocesan liturgical policies, but it also established the line between adapting liturgy to local circumstances and prioritizing those circumstances over the official liturgy.

This 1966 version had lost some of its local perspective, in part because it had proved so appealing to dioceses across the country.⁵³⁹ "Because this Directory enjoys so great popularity nationally and internationally, I thought it best to exclude in the new edition liturgical practices that are mandatory for the Archdiocese of Chicago alone." Cody's letter therefore included a set of those directives particular to Chicago, mandatory as of June 9, 1968, which could be inserted into the Directory.⁵⁴⁰ The insert included a direction to celebrate all public Masses using vernacular "to the extent permitted by law," with certain listed exceptions.⁵⁴¹ These and related directions were the subject of Liturgical Training Program workshops, discussed in the following section. Cody closed with the hope that the directory and Chicago-specific directives would allow

⁵³⁷ June 1966 Special Directives on the Liturgy for the Archdiocese of Chicago, ADMNS/P8100/84#10, CNM.

⁵³⁸ Experimentation was an ongoing concern, often regarded positively but just as often approached with caution. See for example the "three conditions for experimentation in matters such as liturgical renewal" explained in "Cautious 'Go-Ahead' Given for Seminary Experiments," *New World*, October 7, 1966, 5.

⁵³⁹ Not just the Directory, but the priests of Chicago earned praise from Cody. In his letter he thanked his priests for their "gratifying" responses to a liturgical practices survey, a copy of which Cody had brought with him to Rome in order to submit them to the Pope and the Post-Conciliar Commission on the Liturgy. Proving compliance with new liturgical moods offered an opportunity to demonstrate Chicago's success as a Catholic institution.

⁵⁴⁰ June 1966 Special Directives on the Liturgy for the Archdiocese of Chicago, 2.

⁵⁴¹ Priests were directed to see the Pastoral Directory #701, footnote 2; #836.

the archdiocese “to strike an even more uniform note for liturgical practices,” a major focus of the Archdiocesan Liturgical Commission in the Directory and in other projects.

I B. Reproducing the Means of Necessary Instruction: The LTP

One of the most pressing items on the Chicago Liturgical Commission’s agenda was the development of a training program to prepare local Catholics for a post-conciliar liturgy. It would train pastors as well as the readers, commentators, and song leaders who made up a new class of lay liturgical leader. These efforts were the first programs organized under the Liturgical Training Program (LTP). Chicago’s LTP was “a program to assist the parishes of the Archdiocese in the training of a group of people from each parish who will assist the priests in implementing active participation at Mass in accordance with the coming liturgical changes.”⁵⁴² Even confining themselves, initially, to this relatively small group required a massive administrative effort. By August 1964, the Archdiocesan LTP had grouped 445 parishes into more than fifty districts and begun planning educational workshops that would reach representatives of the entire Archdiocese.

On August 21, 1964, Archbishop Meyer sent a letter to local pastors announcing that, beginning the week of October 4, the Commission on the Sacred Liturgy and the Music Commission would sponsor a Liturgy Training Program for the Archdiocese.⁵⁴³ Meyer cited the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy’s emphasis on the compelling interests of the Church in securing active participation of the faithful in the liturgy. It was the duty of all Chicago pastors, including the archbishop, to see to it that participation was learned and implemented “by means of

⁵⁴² Liturgy Training Program Info Sheet, HIST/H3300/146#2, CNM.

⁵⁴³ Meyer to pastors, August 21, 1964, EXEC/C0620/4#6 (CNM).

the necessary instruction.”⁵⁴⁴ Workshop “participants will study the structure of the Mass, techniques of commentating, reading, and leading song. In selecting [the parishioners from your church to attend],” Meyer cautioned, “you should choose those who will take their charge seriously and carry it out with due reverence and decorum.” That same day, the *New World* featured a sprawling article about the Program which, “it is hoped [would] trigger a chain reaction to fuller participation and deeper understanding of the Mass,” across the archdiocese.⁵⁴⁵

By September the LTP had planned a training program to prepare parishes for the arrival of liturgical changes, giving the LTP “a unique opportunity” to develop area Catholics for worship:

Responsible and informed laymen will be required if the whole church is to be involved in the renewal of Christian worship. The purpose of this program is to [give lay leaders] the background and training necessary to direct the congregations in the revised liturgy.⁵⁴⁶

The course was designed for “a group of men from each parish who will be trained as commentators and leaders of the congregation” along with their wives, adult members of the parish choir, parish organists, and parish priests.⁵⁴⁷ These new lay liturgical leaders were introduced into parishes gradually over several weeks, nearly a month before the introduction of vernacular into the Mass. The number of readers and commentators from each parish varied according to the requirements and resources of its congregation. Parishes were asked to ensure that every one of

⁵⁴⁴ Meyer’s letter also notes that requests were coming in to both the Liturgical Commission and the Chancery Office requesting permission to say Mass facing the people, a question which the Liturgical Commission was then studying in order to make a recommendation. Meyer declined to give a general permission but did say that requests “should be channeled through the Chancery Office.”

⁵⁴⁵ Mary Etta Talarico, “Program Will Train Laymen in New Liturgy: Six-Week Course to Prepare Parishes for Mass in English,” *New World*, Aug. 21, 1964, 13. Talarico attributed the program’s origin to Dr. Joseph Evans, a Liturgical Commission member. Evans was also a member of the Vernacular Society, which called for a total vernacular liturgy at their meeting during the 1964 Liturgical Week Convention “because it is the right of the people to worship in their mother tongue.” “Society Asks Total Mass in Vernacular,” *New World*, September 4, 1964, 2.

⁵⁴⁶ Proposal for a Training Program for the Laity on the New Liturgy, EXEC/C0730/6#6, CNM.

⁵⁴⁷ Commentators were not a new category of liturgical ministry. McManus described the 1958 role of commentators in pre-conciliar liturgy both “to assist the vocal participation of the people . . . [and as] a kind of interpreter of the Latin texts for the benefit of the faithful.” Frederick R. McManus, “Practical Synthesis of Laws on Active Participation” in *Mediator*, Vol. X, No. 2, Advent-Christmas 1958, 5. In that period, however, commentators were priests “or at least a cleric,” though a layman might serve in emergencies.

their Sunday Masses would be provided with two men trained for liturgical service. While only one priest would be placed in charge of his parish's participation in the workshop, all priests were encouraged to attend because of their direct responsibility for the success of worship. Additional resources were directed towards preparing high schools, television audiences, the clergy, and religious orders.⁵⁴⁸ But preparing parishes for the new Mass was the LTP's first priority.⁵⁴⁹

Parish representatives attended a series of six weekly sessions from October through November 1964. Workshops took place at ten archdiocesan centers, with all parishes in the archdiocese assigned to a center according to geographic proximity. They were sponsored by the Archdiocesan Liturgical and Music Commissions, and conducted by the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD) and Adult Education Centers (AEC) in cooperation with the Council of Catholic Women, Council of Catholic Men, Catholic Family Movement, and CANA. The LTP came into being around these workshops. Its initial proposal announced that staffs at the CCD and AEC "will organize faculty teams for each training center by recruiting qualified personnel from the diocese. Experts on the liturgy will be invited to assist in planning the course content and materials to be used, and in preparing the faculty teams."⁵⁵⁰ Workshop staff, faculty, qualified personnel liturgical experts, and the trainees themselves emerged from this workshop and others like it as both a new kind of Chicago Catholic and a human resource for future LTP projects.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁸ September 8, 1964 Minutes ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM. The Commission distributed liturgical courses on tape for the high schools and arranging two television programs "in color" on NBC for the first two weeks of December. See November 19, 1964 Minutes ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁵⁴⁹ Television was one tool available for that purpose. One parish invited its congregation to watch demonstrations of the new liturgy the week of December 6, 1964. December 6, 1964 bulletin, Ss. Cyril & Methodius Parish, PRSH/PO120/177. Parish Records - Parish Bulletins, Archdiocese of Chicago's Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Records Center, Chicago, IL (hereafter PRPB).

⁵⁵⁰ Proposal for a Training Program for the Laity on the New Liturgy.

⁵⁵¹ This resulted in a tension between pulling individual 'experts' out of their parish, creating new extra-parochial networks, and re-installing them as organizing features of their home parish.



DIRECTORS FOR LITURGY TRAINING PROGRAM center at Immaculate Heart of Mary prepare for first session to be held Oct. 2. Rev. John A. Rolek, assistant at parish and director of center, rehearses music with (from left): Stanley Mitregh, Frank Pressel, Kenneth Schwaner, Ernest Porazinski, Eugene Schell, Leon Britton. Bishop Aloysius J. Wiselso, Auxiliary of Chicago and director of Archdiocesan Liturgy commission, is pastor of Immaculate Heart of Mary, one of 52 centers for six-week program. (New World Photo)



LITURGY TRAINING SESSION at St. Genevieve parish is concluded with Scripture Service. Laymen are shown leading procession before enthronement of Bible. Following them are Rev. Rocco A. Facchini at left, of St. John Bosco parish and Rev. Patrick W. Utz of St. Robert Bellarmine parish. Those attending course at St. Genevieve's are from 10 northside parishes. (New World Photo)

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LTP staff distributed detailed workshop guides to the director of each Training Center. Directors were given outlines for introductory remarks as well as for the brief scripture service with which each session closed. Guidelines asked directors at the first session to explain both the practical aspects of the training and the deeper meaning behind the liturgy and its reform. Preparatory materials pointed out to Training Center directors that this deeper understanding would be aided by the doctrinal study and scriptural services integrated into each workshop. The LTP hoped that directors would point this out to workshop participants in turn.⁵⁵³ Scriptural services took their theme from the liturgical roles emphasized in each session. Week one included a scripture service “on the significance of a meal,” which echoed the parts of the Mass in order to demonstrate it more clearly. At the second service, “On Proclaiming the Word of God,” the director emphasized the “very definite role” played by readers and commentators in the Mass, the former to “proclaim the scriptures” for the preacher, and the latter to “help the people follow the Mass.” The service asked for “God’s strength and inspiration” for the men so that they could “do these

⁵⁵² First image accompanied Mary Claire Gart’s article “Training Program in English Liturgy To Begin at 52 Archdiocesan Centers,” *New World*, October 2, 1964, 15; the second her “History of Mass Helps Prepare Trainees for English Liturgy,” *New World*, October 23, 2.

⁵⁵³ Liturgy Training Sessions Outline, HIST/H3300/146#2, CNM, 4.

tasks well.”⁵⁵⁴ This new liturgical work was a ministry. Laymen who took responsibility for it were not ordained in preparation for it, but their training would transform them, making them the first group of a laity appropriate for the post-conciliar era. The third scripture service was devoted to an examination of song as “the language of total commitment” and “the language of love” with which the people of God celebrated and met their creator.⁵⁵⁵

Sessions were to be as uniform as the liturgy they prepared participants to celebrate; they were also to be as adapted to local circumstances. LTP director and Liturgy Commission member Fr. Stone explained to readers of the *New World* that the instruction for parish leaders was designed to train them in essentials but provide some flexibility.”⁵⁵⁶ At the first session, directors were instructed to open with a song of some kind “rather than a spoken prayer,” followed by a welcome and orientation address.⁵⁵⁷ Participants would then watch part one of a film strip presentation, narrated by three live speakers in dialogue. The film illustrated a “historical presentation on the meaning of the Mass,” and the narration reframed centuries of Catholic history in order to demonstrate the necessity and richness of the coming liturgical changes.⁵⁵⁸ In the second half of the session readers and commentators were taken aside with their wives and priests to be instructed on “Techniques for Reading and Commentating.” Readers took turns reading the epistle for the following Sunday while their wives and priests offered comments on volume, clarity, and speed. Here, the men took the center stage that Msgr. Marthaler so fervently hoped for in his

⁵⁵⁴ At this service, the readers and commentators received a special blessing, reflected on the importance of their liturgical work, and repeated a series of scripted promises to fulfill their duties. Readers were cautioned against mistakes or falsifications, that “that the truth of the Divine Lessons be not through your carelessness lost,” to believe as well as speak, and to “teach your hearers by word and example” outside of Mass. Liturgy Training Sessions Outline, 7.

⁵⁵⁵ Liturgy Training Sessions Outline, 9, 10.

⁵⁵⁶ Mary Etta Talarico, “Program Will Train Laymen in New Liturgy: Six-Week Course to Prepare Parishes for Mass in English,” *New World*, Aug. 21, 1964, 13.

⁵⁵⁷ Liturgy Training Sessions Outline, 1, 13.

⁵⁵⁸ LET US GIVE THANKS – a history of God’s people at Mass. HIST/H3300/146#4, CNM.

Demonstration Mass Script, discussed in the previous chapter. Commentators were instructed to study their commentator Guide, passed out to them in advance by parish liturgy directors, and to practice, both at home where their wives should “listen and make suggestions,” and “before the microphone in their parish church.”⁵⁵⁹ An October 1964 article in the *New World* publicized many of these agenda items for local Catholics who would not be attending a workshop themselves.⁵⁶⁰

After opening remarks, the second week’s session continued the film strip presentation and another group song.⁵⁶¹ Commentators resumed their practice from the week before, focusing on practical issues like use of the microphone and the commentator’s guide. They were also taught to understand themselves as participating, as part of a larger liturgical ecosystem. They were cautioned to “pause sufficiently after [announcing a] change in posture direction and before starting comment,” attending always to their priest, their congregation, and the intricate choreography of the Mass. Part of becoming a liturgical leader was learning to be in the liturgy with other members of the congregation. The director also provided priests with an overview of the materials that commentators would soon use. Priests were given the opportunity to determine “the extent of participation they wish to begin, e.g., short responses, several hymns, etc.” They were also asked to prepare a parish readers schedule.

Participation began in earnest for both lay liturgical leaders and parishioners in general at the next Sunday Mass. Priests performed the role of commentators for the first week of liturgical changes, but laymen read the Epistle and/or Gospel from the beginning.⁵⁶² Every parish received

⁵⁵⁹ Liturgy Training Sessions Outline, 1.

⁵⁶⁰ Mary Claire Gart, “Training Program in English Liturgy To Begin at 52 Archdiocesan Centers,” *New World*, October 2, 1964, 15.

⁵⁶¹ Liturgy Training Sessions Outline, 2.

⁵⁶² Lay commentators began on the fourth Sunday. The commentator’s book, supplied by the archdiocese, explained proper posture and “special comments for the Sunday.” As with the readers several weeks prior, commentators were assigned to each Sunday Mass (with some ‘slight adaptations’ at Sunday High Mass) by the parish priest-director.

commentator guide sheets through LTP training centers, sheets which included “the Vernacular to be used Starting November 29.”⁵⁶³ Additional print aids, such as “cards containing the English for congregational use,” were published by several different publishers.⁵⁶⁴ Some parishes in Chicago already used some form of Dialogue Mass and were at least somewhat familiar with the relevant prayers and responses, though an exact number had not been calculated since Father Ellard’s 1940 census.⁵⁶⁵ Priests at parishes with no common history of Latin participation were instructed to wait until the introduction of English before beginning congregational participation. “The main lesson to teach the congregation prior to November 29 will be to listen in the spirit of Faith. Therefore, they are to hear the lay readers and the comments.” 1964 congregations should also “be taught to respond to the short responses that will continue in Latin after November 29.” This was not the first time Chicago parishes had participated in Mass, but it was the beginning of participation according to archdiocesan program.

At the third LTP session readers and commentators, their wives, and priests continued to advise and evaluate each man’s liturgical performances.⁵⁶⁶ They also reviewed “materials pertaining to possible projects for the parish with a view to determining what can be done to help educate other parishioners.” Trainees were prepared, now, to join their instructors as an educating force for active participation in Chicago Catholic liturgy. The following Sunday, commentators

⁵⁶³ Procedure for Introducing the New Liturgy Into the Parish, HIST/H3300/146#2, CNM, 1.

⁵⁶⁴ Display cards were available for review at training centers so pastors could determine which were best suited to their parish, but would need to be purchased from the publishers directly for liturgical use.

⁵⁶⁵ Prayers included the Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, responses include *et cum spiritu tuo, habemus ad dominum, dignus et justus est*, and amen. See Chapter 1 of this dissertation for discussion of a ‘dialogue mass census.’ For later references to liturgical participation, see also “Holy Name Men Continue Dialog Mass Tradition,” *New World*, July 17, 1964, 6; November 8, 1964 bulletin, Ss. Cyril & Methodius Parish, PRSH/PO120/177, PRPB. The bulletin does not indicate that S.S. Cyril & Methodius parishioners were advanced in this way, but that they were aware of co-religionists who “in our own country and others throughout the world have been having Mass for years **exactly** the way we have been doing it for the past month or so.”

⁵⁶⁶ Liturgy Training Sessions Outline, 3.

would begin to take their own place in the Mass, joining the lectors. Parishioners at all Immaculate Conception (Aberdeen) Masses except the 10 o'clock High Mass met the "Men who have joined the ranks of lectors of the church," when these read the Epistle and Gospel during the Masses of October 25, 1964.⁵⁶⁷ On November 8, 1964 the parish of S.S. Cyril & Methodius thanked their four parish volunteers and pleaded with bulletin readers for six more men.⁵⁶⁸

Lectors and commentators had been trained, they were expected to continue practicing in their homes, and their parish priests were prepared to step in if they were not up to the task. They had the support of a rigorous and systematic educational apparatus, an apparatus they were now prepared to join. At the close of the third session, LTP staff announce that "materials will be provided . . . of suggested programs which participants might put on for the entire parish or for the various parish societies to help create a liturgical awareness throughout the parish and to help educate a greater number of the parishioners."⁵⁶⁹

The sessions continued for three more weeks, consolidating trainees as a new liturgical guild in the archdiocese.⁵⁷⁰ They imagined parish teams as a unified front, competent to transfer what they had learned to the rest of their congregation. S.S. Cyril & Methodius parish was happy to announce how well parishioners there were responding, "once again tak[ing] an **active part in the liturgy**."⁵⁷¹ "From all indications," the parishioners at Immaculate Conception "liked it" as well, though the bulletin hoped to win over some "wary" Catholics gradually.⁵⁷² The liturgical

⁵⁶⁷ Immaculate Conception parish bulletin, October 25, 1964. PRSH/PO120/12, PRPB. The bulletin asked parishioners "to enter fully into these opportunities of offering the Mass. Remember it is your Mass. We are trying to give it back to you. You should offer your gift and not merely watch the priest offer," echoing 1950s Demonstration Masses.

⁵⁶⁸ November 8, 1964 bulletin, Ss. Cyril & Methodius Parish, PRSH/PO120/177, PRPB.

⁵⁶⁹ Liturgy Training Sessions Outline, 3.

⁵⁷⁰ The fourth, fifth, and sixth sessions covered additional prayers and liturgical activities. Laity Training Sessions Outline.

⁵⁷¹ November 8, 1964 bulletin, Ss. Cyril & Methodius Parish, PRSH/PO120/177, PRPB. Bold in original.

⁵⁷² December 6, 1964 bulletin, Ss. Cyril & Methodius Parish, PRSH/PO120/177, PRPB.

reforms that took effect on November 29, 1964 required logistical as well as spiritual adaptation from Chicago Catholics. "Please participate to your fullest extent," the week's bulletin at S.S. Cyril & Methodius read. "If, on future Sundays, booklets or hymn cards are not in your pew, please do not hesitate to ask for one from the next pew. Our Lord doesn't mind. And we petition our ushers to be aware of the needs of the laity in the pews: See to it that everyone has a copy."⁵⁷³

The LTP gathered statistics on its first training from a standard form distributed to centers before the sessions. The program was received favorably at fifty centers and unfavorably at one. Thirty-three center directors rated the cooperation and interest of attendees as enthusiastic, another seventeen as cooperative, and one as indifferent.⁵⁷⁴ Only fourteen Chicago parishes failed to send individuals for training, and only eighteen parishes did not send a priest as part of their team.⁵⁷⁵ The first session had been attended by 10,460 and 11,040 participated in the last. McManus and Low's Boston Demonstration Masses eventually reached more Catholics, but they had certainly not started this strongly. By November 1964, the LTP had trained laymen and clergy from most of its parishes plus an additional twenty-three missions and institutes.⁵⁷⁶

The following year brought a new set of reforms and the LTP was once again involved in preparing Chicago for the changes. The LTP held six clerical Liturgy Study Days in several districts throughout the archdiocese.⁵⁷⁷ These sessions were an opportunity for clergy to learn more about the new reforms, receive practical help for implementing them on March 7, 1965, and

⁵⁷³ November 29, 1964 bulletin, Ss. Cyril & Methodius Parish, PRSH/PO120/177, PRPB.

⁵⁷⁴ The "indifferent" center was composed of only five parishes. There is no explanation as to whether this was the same parish that rated the program unfavorably, though that is certainly a plausible interpretation of the survey data.

⁵⁷⁵ November 20, 1964 Summary of Facts, LTP, HIST/H3300/146#2, CNM; 1964 LTP District Report Template and District Statistics, HIST/H3300/146#4, CNM. Thomas Ferrazzi OSM at Assumption church did not attend or send a parish team. Assumption's 1974 liturgical 'controversy' is discussed in the following chapter.

⁵⁷⁶ Between 427 and 431 Chicago parishes seem to have been trained in the 1964 LTP workshops. 1964 LTP District Report Template and District Statistics; November 20, 1964 Summary of Facts.

⁵⁷⁷ Each center chose a calendar that would enable as many priests as possible to attend. General Format of Liturgy Study Days, HIST/H3300/146#3, CNM.

procure updated materials for use at Mass.⁵⁷⁸ Each Study Day included a liturgical service, lectures on the March 7th changes, and demonstration-lectures explaining those changes in practical detail.⁵⁷⁹ Here Chicago priests were given a crash course in the ways that liturgical experts talked about active participation, making it possible for them to continue the conversation begun in the pages of the liturgical journal *Orate Fratres* discussed in Chapter One. Instead of a conversation between liturgical activists, however, this was a course of study for the entire population of Chicago pastors. Priests were encouraged to discuss the importance of active participation together, articulate how the recent reforms served its aims, and plan out their local adaptations of a universal strategy for cultivating it in their own congregations.

The LTP proposed that the laity needed encouragement to understand their “essential role” and how they could learn “the meaning of their acclamations, song, gestures, postures and so forth.” Program staff directed priests to proclaim these things from the pulpit, as well as continue to explain the specific functions of servers, lectors and commentators. “How can we convince people who insist on saying their own private prayers at Mass (rosary, private devotions, etc.),” the workshop outline directed trainers to ask the priests in attendance, “that the Mass is actually incomplete without their full, conscious participation?” If for no other reason than the previous year’s LTP workshops, the majority of Chicago parishes were familiar with all of those acclamations, postures, and functions. But that work was ongoing.

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⁵⁷⁸ Help included assistance with strategies for teaching what they learned in these sessions to the laity in their parish. Undated Sullivan letter, HIST/H3300/146#5, CNM. Filmstrips, new books of Mass propers and epistles, commentator books, and a celebrant’s Pause Card could be obtained by calling a number provided in Study Days handouts. FOR YOUR INFORMATION, HIST/H3300/146#5, CNM.

⁵⁷⁹ Attendees listened to talks on tape by Benedictine, Jesuit, S.S., and C.S.C. priests on the relationship between scripture and liturgy, the liturgical community, liturgical signs, and the “proper distribution of roles” in the liturgy.

Through new attention to liturgy and liturgical roles, Chicago was well on its way to being reformed according to conciliar principles by the end of 1964. The initial LTP training sessions had covered the history and structure of the Mass and its parts as well as the role and practices associated with it. They had also given participants the opportunity to practice new liturgical duties, and celebrated a “Demonstration of Mass facing the people,” at the final session in order to give them a preview of further liturgical reforms. Finally, the LTP distributed printed materials for individual parishes to use when introducing the new liturgy.⁵⁸⁰ This work did not end in 1964. The LTP continued supporting priests, liturgical leaders, and Catholic congregations each time new liturgical reforms were introduced.

The Liturgical Training Program represented substantial financial, social, and material holdings for the Archdiocese of Chicago. The program had a net worth in 1966 of \$35,226.97. The LTP was responsible for payments to the General Office and Liturgy Commission, for several LTP salaries, and for costs associated with workshops, study days, and the September 1965 Liturgy Week.⁵⁸¹ A financial report for April 30, 1966 listed a program balance of \$2,445, with another \$8,724.57 receivable from outstanding bills. It owned equipment worth \$1,797.07 and an inventory of print and audio-visual materials valued at \$24,156.50.⁵⁸² This made the LTP sizable contributors as well as burdens on archdiocesan economies, as suggested by S.S. Cyril &

⁵⁸⁰ Each parish was given a set of materials at these sessions; parishes had ordered 240,00 of the Hymn and Refrain Cards. November 20, 1964 Summary of Facts.

⁵⁸¹ The archdiocese supplied the LTP with a beginning budget, and additional revenues were generated through registration fees and purchase of printed materials.

⁵⁸² Financial Report, Liturgy Training Program, April 30, 1966, HIST/H3300/146#5, CNM. The LTP’s inventory was a significant part of their worth, both financially and liturgically. On May 1, 1965 they retained Commentator Books, kits, and related materials worth \$16,887.68, Chant records worth \$300, and English Response cards worth \$265. They also had concelebration materials worth \$3,314.50, materials related to communion under both kinds worth \$503, and a Holy Week booklet worth \$2,163. Booklets for the rite of concelebration and Communion Under Both Kinds were distributed to each priest in the archdiocese (2,120), with additional booklets given to St. Mary of the Lake Seminary (150). Complimentary copies of these items, whether given to Chicago parishes or requested by individuals, deducted \$7,000 from the budget.

Methodius' collection request. Liturgical reform had costly material as well as spiritual buy-ins.

Participation was a general category, used to report on and summarize the whole body of liturgical interventions conducted within the archdiocese. By October 1966, the Commission could discuss "the participation plan now in effect for the liturgical districts."⁵⁸³ Commissioners were proud of their work in activating Chicago participation among both laity and clergy. When the Bishops' Liturgical Commission met in Chicago in January of 1967, the Commission enthusiastically agreed to demonstrate "our program in Chicago [and] the materials that have been prepared under our direction for a more meaningful participation in the Sacred Liturgy" to peers from across the country. They were confident that their progress placed them at the forefront of U.S. liturgical reform.⁵⁸⁴

II. In Modernizing Language: Archdiocesan Work on English & Latin

One of the Council's most significant outcomes for U.S. Catholics was the translation of Sunday Mass from Latin into English. The English Mass was both present in the lives of Catholics themselves and symbolized larger shifts in Catholicism after the 1960s - two related but not identical projects. Translation was eventually standardized, work that was largely done by the ICEL for English-speaking countries. But in the first years of vernacular reform much of this work was done on the diocesan ground (and ICEL's refined versions were ultimately subject to episcopal and Roman approval).⁵⁸⁵ References to the English Mass were one of the most common ways that

⁵⁸³ October 4, 1966 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁵⁸⁴ December 6, 1966 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁵⁸⁵ See Kemper, "Behind the Text." The ICEL has engaged in multiple revisions of the Mass liturgy for English-speaking nations. For a discussion of the 1990's revision project, see Peter John Scagnelli, "Creativity Within Continuity: The ICEL Scriptural Collects" (ThD Dissertation, Boston University School of Theology, 2003).

both Catholics and non-Catholics told the story of post-conciliar U.S. Catholicism.⁵⁸⁶ But English was only part of the larger project of implementing participation. While the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy encouraged vernacular liturgy, “active participation” was the core of its work.

English did not make participation inevitable. But where “participation” was intangible, English could be seen in new editions of missals, hymnals, and other liturgical materials, and heard in classrooms and parish churches across the nation. Implementing English offered the Liturgical Commission of the Archdiocese of Chicago opportunities to make active participation a conspicuous part of post-conciliar Catholicism. They undertook to provide Chicago Catholics with those “systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures,” capable of carrying priests and laity through the Mass and into a wholly Catholic life.⁵⁸⁷ English also provided a metric, an opportunity to document the realization of active participation. Once English had been fully incorporated into the liturgy, however, the Commission moved on to other elements of the participation project.

Meyer convened the first meeting of the Chicago Liturgical Commission at 10am on April 7, 1964, in the hiatus between the second and third sessions of the Second Vatican Council. Meyer told the new Commission’s members that parts of the Mass would soon be said in the vernacular. In every case discussed during Commission meetings, “vernacular” was assumed to mean English. “The Commission will be faced with the technical difficulty of extending the English when the time for its use occurs” the minutes of the initial meeting helpfully explained.⁵⁸⁸ The Commission

⁵⁸⁶ Stories usually referred to the celebration of Mass facing the people at the same time. The two aspects of Mass, facing the people and in the people’s language, are obviously and fundamentally tied together. For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I explore the language issue in substantial depth and leave the question of architectural and social space to the side. For more on that topic, see Catherine Osborne’s forthcoming book. Catherine Osborne, *American Catholics and the Church of Tomorrow: Building Churches for the Future, 1925-1975* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

⁵⁸⁷ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 72.

⁵⁸⁸ April 30, 1964, Stokes to Meyer, EXEC/C0730/6#6, ACM.

did briefly discuss parishes who wished to use a non-English vernacular text in October, but seem to have felt that their responsibility lay exclusively with English.⁵⁸⁹

Chicago Catholics would likely begin to hear the Mass in English by next November, Meyer informed the Commission that morning, but the decision wouldn't be widely publicized until after Rome ratified the U.S. Bishops' texts. The ritual text was approved by U.S. bishops in an April conference, and by the Vatican Liturgy Commission a month later. In July, Chicago's Catholic weekly the *New World* printed "the approved text of the Ordinary parts of the Mass pertaining to the people." The accompanying article emphasized that only certain prayers would be said in English while others remained in Latin.⁵⁹⁰ "The Dialogue formulas such as 'The Lord be with you. And with your spirit,' are English when they precede prayers or scriptural readings in English," the article explained. "But in preceding prayers such as the Collect, Preface and Postcommunion, which remain in Latin, they will be in Latin: 'Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.'" Chicago Catholics would soon speak in unison, both English and Latin.

Meyer informed the Commission about the coming English translation in April so that they could prepare for the Advent season change. An English liturgy presented the opportunity to draw Chicago Catholics more deeply into the larger context of public worship. "The idea that might be treated now," commissioners deliberated, "is that, although no English text is [yet] available, it is still possible to extend an interest in worship by promoting a motivation for this worship through a present effort to extend education and spiritual formation."⁵⁹¹ Orientation towards English

⁵⁸⁹ October 6, 1964 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM. They cited Spanish, Polish, and Lithuanian Bishops as resources for liturgies in those vernaculars but the Commission did not engage with those bodies or their texts. Mass in sign language was eventually secured in 1966, but without input from the Commission. May 3, 1966 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁵⁹⁰ "New Usage Expected To Begin on Nov. 29," *New World*, July 24, 1964. An accompanying short article discussed the readiness of missal publishers to provide the necessary missal supplements. These would allow the laity to know their own parts as well as "the prayers which the priest . . . will be saying by himself."

⁵⁹¹ April 30, 1964, Stokes to Meyer, EXEC/C0730/6#6, ACM.

represented an obvious entry point for efforts to increase and improve Catholic piety even where the language was not actually used in the liturgy. This, as much as the administration of the changes themselves, was the Commission's responsibility.

The Commission, in cooperation with the LTP, was responsible for educating all Chicago Catholics. While the laity represented a massive educational project, commissioners devoted significant early attention to preparing priests for the impending liturgical reforms. These educational efforts bore the marks of ongoing discussions, in Chicago and nationally, about the relationship between language and participation. In May 1964, only a month after the Liturgy Commission had formed, Chicago sponsored a Clergy Conference on the Sacred Liturgy. The event incorporated two lectures, the first on *Theology of the Constitution on the Liturgy* by sacramental theologian Bernard J. Cooke, S.J., and the second, *Some Reflections on the Theology Underlying the Constitution on the Liturgy* by scholar of liturgy and education Gerard S. Sloyan.⁵⁹² Both papers were published in a small pamphlet for later distribution. Cooke's essay never mentioned the language of the liturgy, its Latin aspect or its vernacular future, but his argument brought the Commission's concern with tensions between universal norms and individualized participation to the wider audience of Chicago priests.⁵⁹³

Sloyan's essay was primarily interested in the theology of the Constitution, but he investigated how language contributed to its thesis. The Council and its constitutions marked not just a theological pivot, he argued, but a pivot in methods of expressing universal truths in local

⁵⁹² Cooke had inaugurated the first U.S. graduate program in theology for laypeople at Marquette University the previous year. Sloyan was a Professor of Religious Education at Catholic University of America in Washington, DC and nearing the end of his two-year Liturgical Conference presidency. Clergy Conferences on the Sacred Liturgy, Archdiocese of Chicago, May 1964, EXEC/C0730/6#6, CNM.

⁵⁹³ Clergy Conferences on the Sacred Liturgy, 18.

idioms.⁵⁹⁴ He described the difficulties posed by translation of Latin or Italian into English for U.S. Catholic readers, contrasting the clarity and simplicity of the Constitution with other Catholic pronouncements.⁵⁹⁵ For Sloyan, the Constitution was very definitely written to be translated from the original “gummy curial style” Latin into vernacular, from narrow Western tradition to diverse local cultures.⁵⁹⁶ Its themes provided a crucial correction to contemporary liturgical practice. He asked clergy to think about the meaning of each week’s liturgy, to let conscious, reflective celebration be an immersion program for themselves as well as the laity. He encouraged his fellow priests to read liturgical movement materials, specifically the journal *Worship* and books published by the Liturgical Conference.⁵⁹⁷ While Sloyan acknowledged that American priests had little time for re-immersion in the theology of Catholic liturgy, he urged them to follow the Council’s lead in promoting the local liturgical experience of their parishioners.⁵⁹⁸

The Commission’s first step was to engage with the complexities of implementing vernacular liturgical reform. The role of the Commission was to understand the appropriate place of English in the larger liturgical plan for reform “of the spirit.” Fundamental to this propriety was an understanding of liturgical roles. Priest and people collaborated on the Mass, but they engaged with it in essentially distinct ways. Commissioners debated the danger of an approach that

⁵⁹⁴ Much of that was due to the contributions of Bishops with significant missionary experience. Reverend Gerard S. Sloyan, “Some Reflections on the Theology Underlying the Constitution on the Liturgy.” Clergy Conferences on the Sacred Liturgy, 22. Badillo cites an argument made by Lamin Sanneh that the Second Vatican Council and its Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy directed institutional as well as intellectual attention towards this “new world Christianity.” Badillo, *Latinos and the New Immigrant Church*, 183.

⁵⁹⁵ “When you and I read papal documentation we realize that frequently enough it has translation troubles. We see a transcript in “The New York Times” of what was said by the pope, or by a Roman congregation, and we guess what may have been meant. We laboriously work out the imperfect translation from the Italian and the gummy curial style in the (subsequent) Latin and come to some kind of conclusion.” Clergy Conferences on the Sacred Liturgy, 21.

⁵⁹⁶ Reverend Gerard S. Sloyan, “Some Reflections on the Theology Underlying the Constitution on the Liturgy,” in *The Clergy Conferences on the Sacred Liturgy*.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 29. He called *Worship*, previously *Orate Fratres*, “the only periodical that speaks to the needs of parish clergy in any effective way,” 30.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 28.

substituted broad generalizations about the role of language for nuanced understandings of language's impact on "the proper relationship between public and private devotion." In April of 1964 they reflected,

some think that English will resolve all the difficulties, so they hold off any present attempt at participation. . . . [However] the reform that we ask is one of the spirit and in this reform the Bishops look for gradualism. By way of directive for this new gradualism, we might take the statement made by Pope Paul VI . . . – think seriously whether the priest's part should be changed, but give the people the instruction in the vernacular.⁵⁹⁹

Language should be suited to the situation of particular liturgical actors. Most importantly, English should not be treated like a simple, universal remedy. The Commission voted thirteen to two to approve the Archbishop's September 1964 statement about mandatory use of the English ritual. But "there was some hesitation . . . as the mandatory use would seem to preclude Latin."⁶⁰⁰ On October 6, one clerical member "wished to go on record holding that when Mass was said with only a server, the priest must use Latin."⁶⁰¹

From its earliest efforts, the Commission distinguished between the language strategies appropriate for the preparation of priests, people, and particular subdivisions of each category. Some Chicago priests had already begun discussing the new division of congregational labor occasioned by vernacular reforms. One commissioner informed his fellows that a few area priests had suggested a training workshop not for the laity generally, but for "those who would become leaders in the liturgical revival that we hope would be occasioned by the new use of the vernacular."⁶⁰² This plan was realized in the initial LTIP series discussed in the previous section. Yet participation was not exclusively for leaders. It would find appropriate forms in all corners of

⁵⁹⁹ April 30, 1964, Stokes to Meyer, EXEC/C0730/6#6, ACM.

⁶⁰⁰ September 8, 1964 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM. The Roman Consilium had similar reservations. See Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy (1948-1975)*, quoted in Kemper, 106.

⁶⁰¹ Fr. Stokes, in October 6, 1964 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁶⁰² Fr. Stone, in April 30, 1964, Stokes to Meyer, EXEC/C0730/6#6, ACM.

the diverse Catholic population.

In their first meeting on April 7, commissioners encountered the tangled questions of language and participation that had occupied the *Orate Fratres* authors discussed in Chapter One:

Father Killgallon suggested that we educate by doing something in the way of English participation at the present. . . . Father Dempsey wondered when the participation might begin. Father Kane thought that it would take a directive from [Cardinal Meyer] to bring participation. Father Stokes wondered what percent of participation there was at the present time; no one had a satisfactory answer to propose, since there was no clear-cut idea of just what “participation” entails percentage-wise.⁶⁰³

Killgallon saw English participation as a new competency that Chicago Catholics would need to develop, and the Commission’s role as providing education for it. Kane envisioned ‘participation’ as a matter of obedience, or at least direction; and Stokes exposed the very practical problem of identifying the goal. Participation’s conceptual richness made it difficult to define.

Stokes’ question was relatively straightforward. How many Chicago Catholics participated in the Mass, he wanted to know. Prior to April 1964 the archdiocese might not have counted the parishioners who participated or evaluated the participation they contributed, but the answer would certainly have been available if they knew *what* to count.⁶⁰⁴ If the Commission felt that “there was no clear-cut idea of just what “participation entails percentage-wise,” then, this dissatisfaction stemmed from the entailments of participation – what did participation “entail”? What did participation entail “percentage-wise”? Participation was something that could be identified in the world, or at least a certain percentage of something would signify an objective measure of participation. Or, perhaps, neither of these were true. This definitional difficulty framed the work

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁴ The Advent-Christmas 1958 issue of Boston’s liturgical newsletter, *Mediator*, known to the commission, had carried an article laying out the responsibilities of all priests and bishops, musicians and organists, and the faithful. Frederick R. McManus’ “Practical Synthesis of Laws on Active Participation,” *Mediator*, Vol. X, No. 2, Advent-Christmas 1958. The Commission did not discuss locating a similar guide, though presumably knew of them. But variations from the 1958 norms would make any existing guides imperfect for the purposes of implementing conciliar reforms, and even the 1958 Instruction required local adaptations.

of the Liturgy Commission. Its job was not to describe participation as a principle of freedom or submission, but as some phenomenon that could be observed, surveyed, and counted. And to either create or cultivate it where it was slow to emerge properly on its own. English, as both a target and a rallying cry, was extremely useful to the Commission in its early work.

But it was not the only useful or necessary aspect of the Commission's project. At their November 3, 1964 meeting the Commission spent very little time discussing the question of English liturgy. It had moved on to the Liturgical Directory, discussed above. The issue of language was still relevant, though, as they debated word choice for various Directory sections in great detail.⁶⁰⁵ The closer they moved into language, the more ambiguities emerged.⁶⁰⁶ English words had complicated, weighty meanings – sometimes theological, other times social, other times bureaucratic. Nothing made this quite so clear as composing a text by committee. Individuals from the same culture, with comparatively similar formations, could disagree on the implication of the word “immediately.”

Even greater disagreements existed where differences in age, race, class, gender, or combinations of those categories led to significant divergence of culture and formation. In May 1965 Msgr. Meter, a liaison from the archdiocesan Musical Commission, recommended to the Liturgical Commission that “the text [of spirituals sung by students at Mass] should reflect sound Catholic teaching and should avoid incorrect usage of English and meaningless syllables.”⁶⁰⁷ English joined Latin as a sacred language after 1964. That is, it too was now capable of possessing and transmitting the sacramental action and effect of the Mass. Vernacular languages had been

⁶⁰⁵ November 3, 1964 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁶⁰⁶ For the full, tortuous process of rendering the Mass into English, and all of the stylistic as well as spiritual questions that involved engaging, see Kemper, “Behind the text,” especially Chapter 2.

⁶⁰⁷ May 4, 1965 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

recognized as sacred in this way precisely because doing so acknowledged the sacredness of the people who spoke them.

But even when English-speaking people found the same things sacred (like singing at Mass), they might gravitate towards different English words for them. The Commission's evaluation and administration of language produced, created, and divided the Catholic communities into which it intervened. When various members of the Liturgical Commission disagreed on the implications of the word "immediately," their shared presence on the Commission required some negotiated settlement. But despite attempts to operate representatively, the Commission was a limited body. Meter, not the composers of spirituals or the students who sang them, attended planning meetings. Meter's proposal illuminates the simultaneous operation of sacred language at the universal and personal level. This is certainly a powerful element of sacred language, and especially sacred language used for public worship. Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of Religion* argues that "collective representations," collaborations of many individuals spanning space and time, make a thing sacred.⁶⁰⁸ In this durkheimian reading, English accrued sacred power through its ability to represent all Catholics and all English-speaking Catholics in distinct but overlapping ways. In doing so, however, English instantiated divisions between those personal operations that defined the universal operation and those Catholics whose personal operation was left out of administrative discussions.

The interrelations of English, Latin, and participation were universally complicated, but each situation had its own particular constellation of complications. After neglecting the issue in early November 1964, the Commission returned to the vernacular question on November 19 when they worried about the readiness of Chicago parishes for the English High Mass set to begin soon.

⁶⁰⁸ Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 18; 196

The rite would be mandatory starting on November 29. But certain parishes still had not secured the relevant musical texts, or even made an initial selection from among the numerous existing sources. Several commissioners felt that, though most parishes were ready for English and should begin immediately, this was a time-consuming and individual process and slower parishes should be given more time to prepare.⁶⁰⁹ This concession met with some resistance. Father Killgallon suspected that certain churches might “use the Latin High Mass as a ruse to escape the participated Mass on Sunday, unless a date could be fixed on which all Masses would be in English.” But a later meeting returned to the still unresolved subject. Commissioners held that the directions for introducing English into the High Mass

must take the side of advancing the participation without destroying the other side, which would be that of our Latin heritage. The desire then is to have the law so phrased that English would be used and yet Latin would be permitted in times when it would be considered suitable. Father Stone will attempt to phrase this norm that keeps Latin available for use without prejudice to English participation.⁶¹⁰

Securing an increase in participation was much more closely associated with English than with Latin. But participation of this sort was only part of the landscape of liturgical piety. Careful phrasing of policy was yet another aspect of the difficulty inherent in vernacular language.

An important part of the Commission’s implementation work was publicizing the reforms and making their case directly to local Catholics. They used both the archdiocesan paper and non-Catholic publications for this work.⁶¹¹ The secular press announced additional linguistic changes to the Mass, still attributable to the Council, in Spring of 1965. Chicago’s *Tribune* quoted Father

⁶⁰⁹ November 19, 1964 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁶¹⁰ January 5, 1965 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁶¹¹ Publicizing Commission projects was sometimes done directly, through articles submitted by members of the Commission such as James Killgallon’s “What They Are Asking About Changes In Liturgy,” *New World*, October 23, 1964, or indirectly such as when various members were interviewed by *New World* Staff Writers. The paper would also occasionally print important liturgical documents in full, for example “Text of Vatican Liturgy Commission’s Instruction on New Changes in Mass,” *New World*, October 23, 1964.

Stone, the commissioner responsible for phrasing the norm to “keep Latin available for use without prejudice to English participation,” in an article about this next stage in liturgical reform:

“The changes will make the various parts of the mass a lot clearer so that the people will be able to discern just what is taking place at each part of the mass,” explained the Rev. Theodore Stone, director of the liturgy training program for the Chicago archdiocese. ...
 “The people and priest and the servers of the mass will all take their proper role and only their role,” Father Stone explained.
 “No longer will the priest say everything in the mass,” Father Stone said.
 “This will make it clearer that the mass is not just the work of worship of the priest but the work of worship of the whole community.”⁶¹²

The laity were finally taking responsibility for the Mass. But the Commission’s commitment to increasing participation was not simply a matter of increasing the lay role indiscriminately. It was a matter of bringing participation to the appropriate level. That is, the “whole community” was not simply being empowered as a collective they were also being disciplined as members of particular groups, formed to take responsibility for particular symbiotic roles. The structure of liturgical reform was liberation, but it was also formation.

The March 7, 1965 changes did not substantively alter the language of the Mass, but instead adjusted elements which had proved incompatible with the earlier vernacular introduction.⁶¹³ The archdiocese distributed homily notes to Chicago priests with suggested points for explaining to parishioners how these changes would make the Mass clearer and more meaningful.⁶¹⁴ Laity were reminded that the earlier reforms had begun the process of illuminating the structure of the Mass.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹² “NEW CHANGES TOMORROW IN CATHOLIC MASS,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 6, 1965, N10. The article makes clear that the Commission saw communication through popular press as part of its outreach.

⁶¹³ The S.S. Cyril & Methodius parish bulletin asked for more readers, and couples for the Offertory procession which would be required after March 7 when “there will be little matter of choice in the new liturgy or the new rubrics.” The bulletin needed parishioners that a nearby parish had been inundated with two dozen volunteers for one Mass alone, putting S.S. Cyril & Methodius volunteerism to relative shame. February 21, 1965 bulletin, Ss. Cyril & Methodius Parish, PRSH/PO120/177, PRPB.

⁶¹⁴ Homily To Be Given on Sexagesima Sunday in Place of the Homily Called For In The Schedule, EXEC/C0730/6#3, ACM.

⁶¹⁵ In particular, it emphasized the difference between the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of the Eucharist, which, the homily guide argued, had all too easily seemed identical when both halves of the Mass were in Latin. Now the former was in English while the latter remained in Latin.

Still, the first stage had introduced certain “incongruities,” like the repetition of certain prayers by both celebrant and song leader. The second round of reforms addressed those issues. The priest was instructed to encourage his congregation to consider how the Mass would “soon be easier to follow . . . and appear more meaningful.” In exchange, parishioners should “make [their] mind the mind of the Church and strive to make the Mass what the Church desires it to be, the very center of our lives.” The Church would clarify their liturgical responsibility, and lay Catholics would then strive to meet it.

By spring of 1965, Commission discussions about English in the Mass were intermittent. No discussion of English or Latin occurred at all in March, June, or September of that year.⁶¹⁶ When commissioners returned to English concerns, they were similar to previous reflections. In May, several commissioners displayed an eagerness to push towards the final stage of vernacular reforms well before these were authorized, such as when Father Gannon suggested “that English be sought throughout the Mass, and this met the approval of all.”⁶¹⁷ In October commissioner Reynold Hillenbrand, like his colleagues, looked forward to the next stage of vernacular reforms, the translation of the Collect prayer. He argued “that the Collect should speak for itself. When the Collect is in English, it surely will speak for itself.”⁶¹⁸ But English spoke imperfectly. “Getting back to the use of an English that causes more distraction than devotion,” the Commission returned to their own translation work:

Father Randolph indicated that the recurrence of the word “lo” [in the liturgy] is distracting and Monsignor Hillenbrand pointed out an untoward phrase of “lust and lechery.” Monsignor Mroczkowski added still another one, that would be the repetition of the phrase “ah-hah, ah-hah.” Father Stone [abraded] these burrs in the English text of some of the

⁶¹⁶ Discussions that did mention English were not always confined to its use in Sunday Mass – they might be related to a Funeral Mass, for example, or the Forty Hours Devotion, or an ordination ceremony.

⁶¹⁷ May 4, 1965 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁶¹⁸ October 5, 1965 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

older formats of 40-Hours Devotion by providing us with a copy of a new format from the Archdiocese of Baltimore.⁶¹⁹

Texts produced by a like-minded group in Baltimore could help Chicago's Commission in its own region. A new class of experts in diocesan implementation of conciliar reforms was emerging.

English was not simply an idea for the Commission; it was a practical, expensive, time-consuming process of translation and explanation. Throughout, publishing constraints added time and tension to translation projects. In October 1965 the *Tribune* announced another round of reforms. These approved "the almost total use of English to replace Latin in the Roman Catholic mass in the United States."⁶²⁰ Only the canon, the "heart of the mass," would remain untranslated. This meant yet another round of revisions to missals, manuals, and inserts, all of which affected the schedule of changes. Monsignor Mulcahey reassured the Commission in December 1965 that, in light of the forthcoming "expansion of English in the Mass," existing missals would be adequate "when used in conjunction with the supplement that will be ready for the [most recent] parts that will be turned into English."⁶²¹ Liturgical reform taxed the financial resources of the archdiocese and the linguistic expertise of its Commission Members. Perhaps most expensively, it taxed the energy and attention of the Catholic laypeople.

In February 1966, the LTP circulated a paper for discussion of the "Elements of the New Liturgy" among its staff and trainees. The essay was designed to aid liturgical leaders in each parish with the new stage of liturgical reforms. It discussed the introduction of further English prayers as well as a reduction of comments, both of which would go into effect on March 27,

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

⁶²⁰ "Approve More English in Mass: Only the Canon Will Remain in Latin," *Chicago Tribune*, October 21, 1965, C10.

⁶²¹ December 14, 1965 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM. The adequacy may have been relative. In December 1964, the S.S. Cyril & Methodius parish bulletins instructed parishioners to hold off on saying the English propers (the prayers proper to a particular Mass) "because of the differences in the English translations" in the various missals used by parishioners there. December 6, 1964 bulletin, Ss. Cyril & Methodius Parish, PRSH/PO120/177, PRPB.

1966.⁶²² “The ‘*Ite, missa est*’ will be translated: ‘The Mass is ended. Go in peace,’” it reminded Chicago readers, commentators, song leaders and priests. Commentators were directed to attend to the particularities of their own congregation – where one or more comments were poorly aligned with a parish, they should be skipped.⁶²³ The paper expected a familiarity with the liturgical needs of the parish from those it had been training, monitoring, and supporting for the past several years. This familiarity would allow those trained by the LTP to make sure their community was adequately prepared. Parish bulletins and parochial schools were recruited for efficient, local publicity campaigns.⁶²⁴ Chicago priests also received sermon outlines from the Archdiocese for introducing the March 27 changes to their congregations. Homilists were asked to adapt the outlines to the needs of their particular parish, using their own pastoral style to convey, on the third and fourth Sundays of Lent that year, the latest changes to the Mass.⁶²⁵ “Some people may be listless and passive despite efforts to educate them and make the Mass more meaningful for them,” the outline warned priests. “There is need to remind them from time to time of the meaning of all these things.”⁶²⁶

Each Catholic was personally responsible for seeing the long liturgical project of participation succeed.⁶²⁷ The archdiocese wanted clergy and laity to reflect on the distance they had covered, consider whether they had met that responsibility for the earlier reforms, and plan how they would respond to those still pending. The archdiocesan sample sermon made it clear that the “ease” which English brought to the Mass required a new commitment in exchange. The

⁶²² English additions included the Collects, Prayer over the Gifts, and Postcommunions as well as the introductory dialogue to the preface and the prefaces themselves, the embolism following the Lord’s Prayer, and all short responses and conclusions. February meeting, LTP Conference, HIST/H3300/146#4, CNM.

⁶²³ Ibid.

⁶²⁴ March 13, 1966 bulletin, Ss. Cyril & Methodius Parish, PRSH/PO120/177, PRPB.

⁶²⁵ Sermon Outlines for introduction of additional vernacular, EXEC/C0670/32#2, JCC.

⁶²⁶ Ibid.

⁶²⁷ Ibid., 2.

suggested sermon language mused,

We have grown accustomed by now to the many changes which have come about as a result of the Second Vatican Council. We should find it easier to worship the Father together at Mass now that the priest faces us, now that we sing and pray together in our own language, now that the meaning of the various parts of the service has been made clearer to us. If we did not find that we are worshipping better now . . . The changes would not have had the effect which the Council had in mind.⁶²⁸

Worship was easier, but still not as easy as it could be. Sometimes the priest addressed the people in English (“The Lord be with you”) at other times in Latin (“*Dominus Vobiscum*”), and sometimes his language would switch in the middle of a sentence (“*sine fine decentes*: Holy, Holy, Holy”). After March 27 the Mass would have a more consistent linguistic logic.⁶²⁹

The Canon was not yet in English; it would not be translated until fall of 1967. But the Archdiocese of Chicago argued that the Latin Canon was part of a Mass which English had illuminated. English could clarify Latin without replacing it.⁶³⁰ The sermon outlines instructed priests to remind parishioners, “Although we do not speak during the Canon it is said in our name and we should pay close, worshipful attention and say the Great Amen with enthusiasm as our response to the Eucharistic Prayer.”⁶³¹ That response was greater liturgical responsibility. It must

come from within us. Language, gestures, song, ceremonies will accomplish little for us unless we put our whole selves into our common worship at Mass. These are times of great grace; let us take advantage of what the Holy Spirit is doing for all of us.⁶³²

The homily suggested to priests who gave it and parishioners who heard it that both consideration

⁶²⁸ Ibid., 3.

⁶²⁹ Collect, Secret and Postcommunion prayers would be said in English, as well as the greeting which preceded them and the people’s response. They remained in Latin during the first series of reforms because they were considered the prayers of the celebrant. But as they were prayed “in the name of the people and the people respond to them, it is most fitting that they be said in English.” Ibid., 6-7.

⁶³⁰ The priest’s private prayers would remain in Latin – those said at the Altar before reading the Gospel, while offering the gifts, washing his hands, and before Communion. The Archdiocese of Chicago introduced two further English prayers – the prayers at the Foot of the altar and the ‘Pray Brethren’ (the English translation of *orate fratres*) along with its response. These latter changes are not explained. Ibid., 7.

⁶³¹ Ibid., 4.

⁶³² Ibid., 8.

of the English Mass and its actual celebration could be great opportunities for Catholic formation.

The final stage in the translation of the Tridentine liturgy began in the Summer of 1967. On June 16, 1967, Chicago's auxiliary Bishop Aloysius Wycislo wrote to his "Brother Priests," updating them on Mass reform.⁶³³ The letter revealed how the Archdiocese would implement *Tres Abhinc Annos, On the Orderly Carrying Out of the Constitution on the Liturgy*, issued by the Consilium for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy on May 4, 1967 and commonly called the *Instructio Altera*. This document authorized the translation of the Canon, including the consecration, into vernacular languages.⁶³⁴ "You will recall that in a letter from Cardinal Cody under date of May 26, 1967," Wycislo wrote, "His Eminence indicated that the changes in the rubrics of the Mass recently issued in Rome, would go into effect in the Archdiocese, as scheduled on June 29, 1967." Wycislo enclosed a copy of the *Instructio Altera*, and a copy of the Liturgical Instruction issued by the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy with clarifications for applying the document to the U.S. context. Finally, he enclosed "a sheet containing a summary of the Mass changes effective June 29, 1967." The archdiocese had decided against a series of Liturgy Study Day programs "to acquaint you with the new rubrics, but . . . a thorough reading of the Commentary should suffice to help you through the new way to celebrate Mass." By mid-1967 English no longer required a training apparatus. It could not speak for itself, but Chicago Catholics could speak for it.

IV. Alternative Implementations: Spanish in San Miguelito, 1962-67

From 1962 until 1980, a period that included many of the busiest years for liturgical

⁶³³ Wycislo to Brother Priests, June 16, 1967. Folder 1, Box 1, San Miguelito Mission Records (SMM), University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame, IN (hereafter SMM).

⁶³⁴ Sacred Congregation of Rites, *Tres abhinc annos*, (Vatican City: AAS 59, 1967).

programming in Chicago, the archdiocese also sponsored the Cristo Redentor mission in San Miguelito, Panama. San Miguelito is an area near the Southern coast of Panama, about a dozen miles from the Panama Canal, a shipping passage which had been under U.S. jurisdiction since Panama declared independence in 1903. Cristo Redentor was located within the diocese of Panama City, established in the early 16th century and raised to archdiocese in the 1920s. The experimental parish Chicago established there offered the archdiocese another set of circumstances within which to explore the connection between the language of public worship and the habits of public life.⁶³⁵

The political stakes in San Miguelito represented, at least in 1962, more dramatic opportunities for deciding the fate of a nation than did those in Chicago. This situation allowed priests there to make more explicit arguments about the inextricability of liturgy and citizenship than the members of Chicago's Liturgical Commission incorporated into their own discussions. Their arguments asked San Miguelito's Catholics to reflect deeply on the way liturgical changes could condition political action. Bourdieu posited that such deep reflection denatures the religious ties that bind members of a community to their tradition. Though he allowed it as a possibility, Bourdieu de-emphasized "strategic calculation[s] tending to carry on quasi-consciously the operation the habitus carries on in a quite different way."⁶³⁶ Writing in 1972, Bourdieu argued that faith was a misrecognition of formation operating in the world; in 1962, the priests of San Miguelito posited faith as precisely that formation which could operate fully recognized. Chicago

⁶³⁵ Experimentation was a popular reference for U.S. Catholicism throughout the 20th century, particularly for liturgical and educational projects. See for example the 1930 *Laboratory Manual* to assist Catholic high school students studying the Mass, Rev. Raymond J. Campion and Ellamay Horan, *The Mass: A Laboratory Manual for the Student of Religion*, Chicago: William H. Sadlier, Inc., 1930); or the 'experimental' history class that a suburban Catholic high school undertook in 1963 ("Loyal Experiment Succeeds: History Class Is in Spanish," *New World School Supplement*, Aug 14 1964, 52). The pace of experimentation increased rapidly after 1962, in Chicago and elsewhere.

⁶³⁶ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 76.

priests in Panama had significantly more faith in conscious calculations than did Bourdieu or those who adopted this aspect of his theoretical approach.

Scholars of religion have noted the importance of the San Miguelito community to the development of liberation theology in Latin American Catholicism.⁶³⁷ But the community was also a model and foil for developments in the Archdiocese of Chicago. This was due in large part to its status as an “experimental” parish. Chicago priests also sought local outlets for their experiments, though these gained Chicago traction several years after the founding of Cristo Redentor. In 1968, the Association of Chicago Priests undertook a research project jointly with the Chicago Conference of Laymen to study the needs of parishes in the archdiocese and whether structural adjustments such as those explored in experimental parishes could better serve parishioners there.⁶³⁸ The San Miguelito experiment and similar work certainly informed the U.S. and global Catholic conversations, canonical and otherwise, that led to these 1968 considerations.

Catholic interest in experimental strategies was strong during the 1960s, but so was the care with which Catholic voices adjudicated the limits of experimental methods. In 1967, U.S. bishops stated a qualified endorsement for liturgical experimentation, a process linked with but not identical to the question of experimental parishes.⁶³⁹ In 1968, the Eastern Regional Group of the Canon Law Society of America heard two papers on experimental parishes. In them, Robert T.

⁶³⁷ See Manuel A Vasquez and Anna L. Peterson, “Progressive Catholicism in Latin America,” in *The Cambridge History of Religions in Latin America*, ed. Virginia Garrard-Burnett (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 379. See also Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991, 106.

⁶³⁸ The agreement was established with the University of Notre Dame, and was delegated to the ad hoc Committee on Parochial Experimentation. Report of the Research and Development Committee, Association of Chicago Priests, April 22, 1968. Folder 2, Box 1, SMM, 4.

⁶³⁹ George Dugan, “Catholic Bishops Endorse ‘Responsible’ Experimental Liturgy,” *New York Times*, November 15, 1967, 30. The article reported that bishops “look with favor on ‘responsible’ experimental liturgies, but they seriously question the spiritual value of some recent ‘demonstration’ masses,” suggesting that the ‘demonstration Mass’ category had undergone yet another transformation since the practical lectures given by Fr. McManus and others.

Kennedy and Thomas J. Reese advocated for continued and expanded use of experimental parishes.⁶⁴⁰ Kennedy praised the Church's then relatively open position on experimental parishes for "being true to an old and honored legal tradition according to which laws are regarded as wisely made and of maximum benefit to the community when they are the result of experimentation, and not antecedent restraints upon it."⁶⁴¹

Experimental parishes were especially valuable as laboratories for determining how best to serve a diverse future population.⁶⁴² In his 1968 talk, Fr. Kennedy enjoined his audience to live for the future of their shared faith and Church "by allowing that future to be born in the experiments of the present." In 1962, Chicago began its experiment in Panama.⁶⁴³ In a handwritten note dated August 18, 1985, Donald Headley introduced the original 1962 proposal to the archivist who would shepherd the document through history as a measure of time and a discipline of study. Headley wrote,

This document has to do with Meyer's foresight [sic], Mahon's intelligence & Carroll's support. It is important for the proposed tie-in between the experiment in Panamá and the benefits gained in Chicago by experience in ministerial development & with peoples in a situation of cultural change (rural > urban).⁶⁴⁴

The document to which Headley attached his note was a copy of a Memorandum dated February 15, 1962 from Gilbert A. Carroll and Leo T. Mahon to His Eminence Albert Cardinal Meyer.⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴⁰ Thomas J. Reese, "Experimental Parishes: Delivered at the Eastern Regional Meeting, Canon Law Society of America, Atlantic City, New Jersey, April 24, 1968 and Reverend Robert T. Kennedy, "Experimental Parishes: A Study of the Canonical Structure," Folder 35, Box 2, Canon Law Society of America Records University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame, IN (hereafter CLSA).

⁶⁴¹ The Church, Kennedy acknowledges, had an ambiguous record on that point.

⁶⁴² Kennedy, "Experimental Parishes" 8. The Society President sent a copy of both "enthusiastically received" papers to a colleague in Chicago.

⁶⁴³ Recent conversations on the periodization of 'experimental' work suggests that this is a fairly early instance of the term, which may reinforce the idea that experiments were more easily conceived as suitable for "foreign" soil.

⁶⁴⁴ Headley note, August 18, 1985, Folder 1, Box 1, SMM. The note continued, "The existence of this document was denied by Archbishop McGrath and Cardinal Cody. Why? I really don't know. It seems so logical & simple."

⁶⁴⁵ Carroll and Mahon Memorandum to Carroll, Feb. 15, 1962, Box 1, Folder 1, SMM.

It offered several possible plans for the Archdiocese of Chicago to simultaneously aid Latin American Catholicism and its own interests.⁶⁴⁶

Mahon and Carroll began their 1962 proposal to Archbishop Cody with a discussion of the state of Catholicism in Latin America. Approximately two hundred million people and one third of the earth's Catholics lived in Latin America, Carroll and Mahon reminded Meyer, a proportion that would only increase. For this reason the region was "an area of primary concern to the Catholic Church."⁶⁴⁷ The memo explained that simply sending foreign-born priests to work in Latin America would be inadequate to the situation there.⁶⁴⁸ Carroll and Mahon suggested instead that mission priests be used more efficiently, for "the training and direction of laymen in functions formerly performed by priests – especially catechesis," and they advised "the use of the liturgy as the main vehicle of instruction and commitment."⁶⁴⁹ They offered an experimental parish model as one solution. It would provide for the "spiritual care" of Latin American Catholics and at the same time allow the Church to find and perfect new pastoral strategies for general use.⁶⁵⁰ They suggested that Chicago select a parish in Puerto Rico or Panama, though they preferred the latter.⁶⁵¹ The authors also asked that Catholic colleges and universities in Chicago become involved,

⁶⁴⁶ The memo included two parts: *Proposals for Work in Latin America*, and *Spanish Language Training for Priests*.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., 1.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., 3. Using a target ratio of one priest for every thousand laity, Carroll and Mahon estimated the Latin American clergy shortage at 150,000 in 1962; they argued that by the end of the century Latin America would need to produce 600,000 priests to support congregations there. While the shortage was not a new phenomenon, population growth and urbanization had exacerbated the issue and demanded a new focus from the global Church. They cite a statement made by Pope John XXIII on May 7, 1960 as support for their claim, as well as U.N. statistics (2-3).

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., 4.

⁶⁵⁰ Also suggested were a lend-lease plan, a controlled-territory plan, and a loan-the-expert plan. Carroll and Mahon Ibid., 5.

⁶⁵¹ Mahon and Carroll suggested that the archdiocese choose "a people and a place whose cultural frame of reference would not be entirely foreign to the Chicago priest missionaries." The memo argued that "the people of these countries are closer to the spirit and mind of the United States Priest than of any other area in Latin America . . . American priests are highly respected and valued in both places. Panama would have one advantage over Puerto Rico – namely, Panama is considered to be truly Latin American while Puerto Rico is thought to be by many, a possession and part of the United States." Ibid., 6.

devoting their sociology departments “so that results [of the experimental mission] could be scientifically verified and then written up for publication in both Latin and North America.”⁶⁵²

The two priests concluded their proposal with reasons that the arrangement would benefit Chicago, arguing that “the ‘experimental’ parish would be a valuable training ground for Chicago personnel; we would assume that some of the priests working there might eventually be re-assigned to Spanish-speaking parishes in Chicago.” There was a long tradition of skepticism about the language training of Anglophone North American priests who engaged in missionary work in Spanish-speaking areas.⁶⁵³ The relevant abilities of Chicago priests were especially concerning to Carroll and Mahon.⁶⁵⁴ Mahon himself had served as pastor for a group of Spanish-speaking Chicago Catholics, and his own struggles to learn the language had exposed Chicago’s systematic failure in this regard.⁶⁵⁵ “To ask priests to hear confessions, preach sermons and attend meetings in Spanish without an adequate command of the language is both burdensome and frustrating,” his 1962 memo declared.⁶⁵⁶

Meyer accepted the memo’s argument and soon began working with Mahon to implement it. On August 29, 1962, Francis Beckmann, C.M., Archbishop of Panamá sent a letter to Meyer

⁶⁵² Ibid., 8.

⁶⁵³ Kenneth J. Pollinger, “On Thinking Latin America,” *America*, August 29, 1965, 214. Chicago archbishops beginning with Mundelein in 1917 took notice of increasing numbers of Spanish-speaking Catholics, initially drawing from Mexican immigration. See Badillo, *Latinos and the New Immigrant Church*, 121. Badillo emphasizes the mismatch between European immigration timelines, which by the interwar period encouraged a retreat from national parish structures (parishes based on shared language and national origin), and those from Latin Catholic countries, which were often denied the sort of national parish infrastructures that Irish, Polish, and other white ethnic Catholic groups had leveraged for accumulating cultural, political, and economic capital.

⁶⁵⁴ They noted that for five years the archdiocese had provided a private tutor (ten Chicago priests were currently studying with Mrs. Steen) for those priests who wished to study Spanish, and that other priests had secured language training by visiting a school or contracting with a Spanish-speaking parishioner to aid them.

⁶⁵⁵ Leo Mahon with Nancy Davis, *Fire Under My Feet: A Memoir of God’s Power in Panama*, (Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 2007). A Holy Week liturgy in Spanish was planned for the first time in Chicago in 1966, but Lt. Mulcrone does not seem to have been concerned by it. “Holy Week in Spanish Planned,” *New World*, April 1, 1966, 13.

⁶⁵⁶ Carroll and Mahon Memorandum to Carroll, Feb. 15, 1962. The authors mentioned that the previous year, Cardinal Meyer had approved and financed a trip to Cuernavaca for an eight-week intensive course, and that the success of that experience had spurred talk of establishing a similar immersion course in Chicago (9).

solidifying plans for the mission.⁶⁵⁷ “I do formally request then, Your Eminence, four priests of your Archdiocese, to take over the pastoral care of the community and area known as San Miguelito which will be erected shortly into a parish.” Several weeks later, on September 11, 1962, Meyer accepted Archbishop Beckmann’s offer.⁶⁵⁸ Meyer wrote that he would be very busy preparing for the Second Vatican Council’s opening session in Rome, but hoped to have many of the details resolved before leaving.

Mahon and two fellow priests took up firm residence in San Miguelito in January 1963.⁶⁵⁹ That spring, a few months after the close of the first session of the Council, the newly arrived Chicago priests began sending reports back to Archbishop Meyer. They described experiments inspired by the Council’s well publicized interest in liturgy and evangelization. Innovative approaches to these interrelated problems were urgently needed, they had discovered. Upon arriving in their new parish, the priests reported that

Our worst fears . . . were confirmed. What practice of Catholicism there is in the area seems to be centered around the women and children. . . . One Mass had some participation – that is, a young girls' choir sang hymns (badly) and one of the young girls read some prayers to which the others responded. One doesn't need very clear vision to see that no self-respecting man would involve himself in such a service – even the men who did come stood at the rear and just looked on respectfully.⁶⁶⁰

The priests made a firm commitment to engage with the men of San Miguelito, securing and cultivating their active, intelligent participation. They noted this project would require that they learn the vernacular language, Spanish, well and thoroughly.

⁶⁵⁷ Meyer to Beckman (draft), September 11, 1962. Folder 1, Box 1, SMM.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid. The responsibility involved sending four priests for an indefinite amount of time and payment of their salaries during their stay, but the contract specified that all land, buildings, and property would be the possessions of the Panama City Archdiocese. Contract between Meyer and Beckmann, Folder 1, Box 1, SMM.

⁶⁵⁹ Mahon with Davis, *Fire Under My Feet*, 1.

⁶⁶⁰ Panama Mission Report #1, March 7, 1963, EXEC/C0550/190#10, JCC. The priests would be joined at the beginning of 1964 by a group of nuns, whose attention might be directed towards furthering the liturgical work of women and children.

Mahon believed that the men of San Miguelito were suffering from a lack of liturgical opportunity, one that was preventing them from participating in the sacrifice of the Mass and the community that arose from it. It also prevented them from a Catholic formation that linked their faith and their function as social actors with definite political implications for the region:

All this [work] is time-consuming, but we think necessary; for ... We get the feeling of an undercurrent here in Panama that is definitely revolutionary. Revolutions are not necessarily bad. In fact, one is desperately needed here. But if the people are trained to responsibility and to Christian motivation, then the change could be peaceful and democratic. If not, it will probably be bloody and demagogic, if not Marxist.⁶⁶¹

Liturgical formation was not the only way to train the Catholics (especially men) in San Miguelito and beyond for responsible Christianity. But it was certainly important. It took up the majority of the priests' early years and required expertise in a new vernacular.⁶⁶²

Both North and Latin American Catholic communities played out a tension between active and passive parts in gendered terms that help to clarify the political nature of public worship. The earliest Liturgy Training Program workshops in Chicago had made an explicit case for the inclusion of women not in their own right but as wives of lectors, readers, and song leaders.⁶⁶³

Mahon made gendered Church roles even more explicit in the Latin American case, where he

concentrate[d] on those who, by their very nature and position, can best carry [the] Light and be the Way for the world – men. But we must first de-feminize our Catholicism (a weakness in [the U.S.] – and an even greater weakness in Latin American Catholicism).⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶⁶² Mahon's conviction that serving Spanish-speaking Catholics meant a focus on men predated his work in Panama. While serving as a pastor in Chicago, Mahon helped organize "*Hermanos en la Familia de Dios*," or Brothers in the Family of God. "Men only," he explained in a 2007 memoir, "since the Hispanic culture was one of male domination and we sought to instill a positive domination." Mahon with Davis, *Fire Under My Feet*.

⁶⁶³ The position of nuns as well as laywomen on the Archdiocesan Liturgical Commission makes it clear that this was not the only way in which women were engaged with and by liturgical reforms, but it certainly suggests that women were assigned a role heavily inflected by the one they were imagined to perform in a domestic setting.

⁶⁶⁴ Leo T. Mahon, "A Suggested Policy for Latin American work in the U.S., Folder 1, Box 1, SMM, 6-7. The "masculine manner" involved teaching the sacraments as "a sharing of the noble cause of unity with Christ our Brother, not a direct love affair with Christ which is quite unmanly."

This would, Mahon argued, transform laymen into a Christian community conscious of the privilege of their own salvation, and their subsequent obligation to “illuminate and lead other men” in that direction. Liturgy could form Catholics to participate actively in both Church and world.

Mahon found the figure of U.S. President Lyndon Johnson a compelling political model for liturgical work. In one essay Mahon positioned Johnson at the center of a progressive moral community, attributing to the president both a civil rights agenda and the leadership to bring U.S. citizens together over its transforming power.⁶⁶⁵ Johnson had in fact presided over a communal liturgy, Mahon wrote, in a speech following proposed civil rights legislation,

In that speech, the president was the master liturgist. First, he touched his audience by expressing the shame they felt; secondly, he voiced the hope of the American dream of justice and equality for all and thirdly, he thrilled his audience by issuing the call to action, to reform. All through the talk, the audience seconded his words with handclapping and cheers and by taking up the responsorial chant from the President: “We shall overcome.” Truly that was great and solemn liturgy.⁶⁶⁶

Mahon contrasted Johnson’s liturgy with the Church’s service, finding the latter wanting. “The changes that have come from the Council, particularly in language, have helped a lot but we are as yet a long way from the highly pertinent, popular liturgy we need.” He described the proper operation of the liturgy, an operation that resembled Johnson’s speech:

We begin by confessing our division and guilt and begging pardon; the ministers of the Word once more issue the call to freedom, the challenge to be the people of God; then the president of the assembly thanks God for being His people and thrills the assembly by sounding the call to action: “Let us be His people, let us be one,” and by means of the Sacred fraternal meal the assembly more than ever becomes the people of God.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁵ On most occasions Mahon, Kennedy, and other liturgical authors engaged with social justice campaigns in minimal detail, primarily as references to signal the rightness of a given community and its aims.

⁶⁶⁶ Leo Mahon, “The Church,” June 6, 1965. Folder 28, Box 10. SMM.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid.

The celebration over which a Catholic minister presided was neither pedagogy nor performance, though it contained the most perfect elements of both and exploring these themes illuminated the Mass by comparison. Liturgy was worship with active participation.

Mahon and his fellow priests did not have access to the resources that the Archdiocesan Liturgical Commission and the LTP used to prepare Chicago Catholics for the various rounds of liturgical reform. It is unclear whether the San Miguelito priests would have supported such a program if they did have those resources; lacking them was a convenient excuse to approach the liturgy in a more experimental fashion even before the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. In May 1963 the San Miguelito priests wrote to Archbishop Meyer about the Liturgical possibilities “both as to language and content” which seemed more and more likely to emerge from the Second Vatican Council.⁶⁶⁸ The San Miguelito team described their own difficulty in mediating between the needs of their parishioners and “the necessary element of universality,” such as official ritual language. They noted that a Latin American mission priest without their experimental resources would have even greater difficulties.

How can he possibly train people in Latin responses? How can he train lay helpers (lay liturgists) to translate and work with difficult forms and strange concept patterns when the educational level for these men is far, far below the level of their good will and interest.⁶⁶⁹

A growing population and lack of Church infrastructure made Panama’s position especially urgent.

After the death of Archbishop Meyer in April 1965, the San Miguelito parish transitioned to Archbishop Cody’s patronage.⁶⁷⁰ On June 17 Father Mahon wrote to Cody in order to introduce

⁶⁶⁸ Parish of San Miguelito to Meyer (draft), May 11, 1963. Folder 1, Box 1 SMM.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁰ In April 1965, the Archdiocesan Director, Rt. Rev. Msgr. James M. Lawler, sent a letter to Mahon with a check enclosed for \$1,000 and asked that \$200 be set aside for 100 Low Masses for the repose of Meyer’s soul. “I thought it would be appropriate to have this offering used by a mission activity in which His Eminence was directly and very personally interested,” Lawler wrote, “namely, your mission of San Miguelito.” James Lawler to Leo Mahon, April 29, 1965, Box 1, Folder 1, SMM. His relationship with both Archbishops was productive, but Mahon’s vision for the experiment may not have been identical to that of Meyer or Cody. In 1963, Mahon received a letter from a colleague

himself and explain the San Miguelito project to Chicago's new Archbishop. "Greetings and congratulations from your new 'subjects' in Latin America," he wrote. "We are members of a team of priests sent by the late Cardinal Meyer to found an experimental parish in Panama."⁶⁷¹ Mahon explained to Cody that the project was already considered "one of the most significant works in all of Latin America," for its imagination and innovation, and hoped that Cody would supply his "attention, vision and decision" to the experimental parish, a project which Mahon regarded as quite urgent. By this time, many Catholics interested in modernizing the parish had begun to look to the San Miguelito experiment as a model for the future of their own experiments, or for the Church as a whole.⁶⁷² The archdiocesan paper carried articles about San Miguelito, encouraging Chicago Catholics to take interest and pride in the work being done by fellow Chicagoans Mahon and his colleagues.⁶⁷³

Mahon also hoped Chicago could learn from the experience in San Miguelito. One year later, Mahon reflected on the nature of the Chicago archdiocese which Cody had joined just the year before.⁶⁷⁴ Mahon suggested that Chicago was a city torn between an "overstructured,

who wrote that he had "picked up too the fact that all is not peaches and cream with that Carte Blanche you thought you had from the Bishop, but I would hate to see your experiment worked out under ideal conditions." Ralph to Leo, May 10, 1963, Folder 3, Box 1, SMM.

⁶⁷¹ The team at *Cristo Redentor en San Miguelito* now included ten priests (four from Chicago, one from Holland, a religious and a diocesan priest both from New Jersey; three more, one from Chicago, another from Los Angeles, and a third from Panama would soon join) and three Maryknoll Sisters. Mahon noted that the team had expanded their territory to encompass San Miguelito (30,000 people), and two other parishes – Las Cumbres and Chilibre (20,000 people) and Chepo (20,000). Mahon informed Cody that Panama's Archbishop Clavel had made the area a new deanery, and that Mahon himself acted as its *Vicar Forane* as well as a "superior of the mission in all dealings with the Archdiocese of Chicago." Leo Mahon to John Cody (draft), June 17, 1965, Folder 1, Box 1, SMM.

⁶⁷² Joseph Fitzpatrick to John Cody, September 7, 1965, Folder 1, Box 1, SMM; Marcos McGrath to Albert Meyer, June 30, 1964, Folder 1, Box 1, SMM; Leo Mahon to John Cody, September 21, 1967, Folder 2, Box 1, SMM, 1-2. A 12-week Pastoral Institute was attended by priests who subsequently returned to their parishes in Detroit, New York, or Peru. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, "Parish of the Future," *America*, November 6, 1965, 523.

⁶⁷³ See "Chicago Priests in Panama Parish Adapt Customs to Meet New Needs," *New World*, October 2, 1964, 12; "Panama Priest to tell Chicago Women of his work," *New World*, October 1, 1965, 24; Gertrude Ann Kray, "Chicago-Born Priest Preaches 'Revolution' To His Panama Flock," *New World*, October 8, 1965, 5; "Archbishop Sees Panama Missions at First Hand," *New World*, July 15, 1966, 1.

⁶⁷⁴ Leo Mahon to John Cody, July 29, 1966, Folder 2, Box 1, SMM.

unreformed, unimaginative” Church and a “marginally free but understructured and over-lapping” one, describing an archdiocese torn between dull, rigid efficiency and promising but wasteful opportunity.⁶⁷⁵ Mahon’s description was meant to give Cody a sense of the complicated history of Chicago’s liberalizing efforts, into which the present liturgical reforms were settling. It was also an argument for granting structure to “imaginative” solutions like pastoral teams and folk masses, legitimizing the more radical aspects of reform that had begun to emerge in the past several years, in Chicago as well as San Miguelito.



MISSION PARISH OF Cristo Redentor in San Miguelito is packed as Archbishop Cody celebrates Mass. Assisting Archbishop at Mass are (left to right): Rev. John R. Keating, assistant chancellor of Archdiocese; Chicago priests Rev. Leo Mahon, vicar forane of Panama and rector of Pastoral Institute in Las Cumbres, and Rev. John H. Greeley, pastor of Cristo Redentor.

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Those reforms continued to draw on one another. In late 1968, Henry J. Zuba of St. Casimir church wrote to Archbishop Cody requesting archdiocesan support for the opportunity to improve his Spanish. He would need language skills to serve his parishioners. “I am sure you are aware of the fact that most of South Lawndale and all of the area along Cermak Road from Halsted Street

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., 2-3.

⁶⁷⁶ *New World*, July 15, 1966, 15. Image accompanied lengthy article about Cody’s visit to San Miguelito.

to Pulaski Road has developed into a Mexican Community,” Zuba wrote. He continued,

Having said the Spanish Mass for over six months with no preparation prior to my assignment I ask for my sake and the sake of the people who must hear their language spoken so badly, to study Spanish.⁶⁷⁷

Zuba asked to be sent to Panama where he would have the “chance to use the language in the kind of setting in which I would use it here, that is, in the formation of community.”⁶⁷⁸ Archbishop Cody responded to Rev. Zuba that he should make arrangements with Father Mahon for training.⁶⁷⁹

Dramatic changes could be made in San Miguelito that Chicago would not have sustained. The priests considered but ultimately abandoned the idea of declaring a one-year moratorium on celebrating Mass while the community was made more “Christianable.”⁶⁸⁰ Their actual interventions during the first year in San Miguelito included instituting a labor day Mass, for men only, at which they discussed Catholic social principles.⁶⁸¹ Self-consciously experimental in method and decidedly foreign to the priests stationed there, the San Miguelito parish illuminates ‘missionary’ aspects of liturgical reform muted in Chicago’s U.S. implementation.

Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., chairman of the sociology department at Fordham University, wrote an article on the San Miguelito project for *America*’s November 1965 issue.⁶⁸² Fitzpatrick’s approach to framing the experiment in Panama suggests an important part of its “experimental” allure. He began by discussing Panama’s tourist attractions, including the famous canal. “But [the area] has recently become a major stop for a new kind of traveler,” he continued, “for priests and lay people who seek new ideas and a new vision to guide their apostolate work at home or abroad.” Their primary destination was San Miguelito, where the Chicago team was developing pastoral

⁶⁷⁷ Henry Zuba to John Cody, Folder 2, Box 1, SMM.

⁶⁷⁸ Zuba mentioned that he had been using a course put together by Mahon to work with adults in his parish.

⁶⁷⁹ John Cody to Henry Zuba, October 9, 1968. Folder 2, Box 1. SMM.

⁶⁸⁰ Report #2, April 6, 1963, EXEC/C0550/190#10, JCC.

⁶⁸¹ Report #3, May 11, 1963), EXEC/C0550/190#10, JCC.

⁶⁸² Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, “Parish of the Future,” *America*, November 6, 1965, 521-3.

techniques that were so well adapted to their time and place that they “contained the seeds” of similar projects all over the world.⁶⁸³ Fitzpatrick was impressed with the results of a team that engaged the laity in liturgical matters only after a sense of community had been formed.⁶⁸⁴



In August of 1964, four months after the Chicago Liturgical Commission had expressed confusion about the means for ascertaining participation in any measurable way, their colleagues in San Miguelito reported that the lay adults there did “everything: sing, respond, read the lessons, make the announcements, compose the litanies, bring up the offertory gifts in procession – while the president of the community, the celebrant, reads and performs in their name the Eucharistic Act of Thanksgiving, the Canon.”⁶⁸⁶ Meyer’s Commission could have only dreamed of issuing such a report. This does not represent a failure on their part; in fact, the administrative apparatus the Chicago Commission developed was a singular success against which the short Chicago

⁶⁸³ Ibid., 521

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., 522.

⁶⁸⁵ *New World*, March 4, 1966, 26. Accompanied article about San Miguelito mission.

⁶⁸⁶ Report #9, August 26, 1964, EXEC/C0550/190#10, JCC.

presence in Panama seems insignificant. But a different set of possibilities was at work where reformers were required to learn a new language instead of to police an established one.

CONCLUSION: Directing Traffic Between Church and World

The exchange between Archbishop Cody and Lieutenant Mulcrone that opens this chapter illustrates how, despite the disinclination of archdiocesan officials to make explicit arguments about the Mass as preparation for democratic participation, Catholic religiosity and politics were inextricably meshed in 1960s Chicago. Lt. Mulcrone sent his 1966 letter privately in order to spare the Archdiocese “any formal protest” by the city’s police organization.⁶⁸⁷ The political costs of public rancor between these two institutions, one the “relatively autonomous” religious field of the Catholic Church, the other knit more obviously into the political, would have harmed them both. But such protest, Mulcrone suggested, was only natural when he and his colleagues considered a Catholic Mass that associated modern law enforcement with the worst villainy in the liturgical calendar. In keeping with “the new folksy language our liturgists use,” Mulcrone suggested that ‘high-priest’s bodyguard’ might be the more appropriate, historically accurate terminology for the “bully [liturgists] are striving to project.”

Throughout Bourdieu’s writing, religious work has a political dimension. A primary concern for Bourdieu is the “analysis of the social conditions constitutive of the social and technical competence demanded by active participation in ‘politics.’”⁶⁸⁸ That is, he is interested in the field that hosts the habitus that participates actively in political work. In the religious field this

⁶⁸⁷ Mulcrone to Cody, April 12, 1966. EXEC/C0670/32#2, JCC.

⁶⁸⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, “Political Representation: Elements for a Theory of the Political Field,” in *Language and Symbolic Power* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1991), 172; here Bourdieu is referencing his argument in *Distinction*.

is primarily the ‘political’ struggle for status within religious communities.⁶⁸⁹ But it could also include the struggle for status outside those communities, in the non-religious world, because the same actors operate in both places.⁶⁹⁰ Further, religious and political work can sometimes work at cross-purposes, despite the normal order of things in which the former guarantees the latter. “Despite the partial complementarity of [political and religious power’s] functions in the division of the labor of domination, they can enter into competition.”⁶⁹¹ Here Bourdieu provides a map for the dense web of interconnections between the vernacular Mass and American society in 1960s Chicago. In both the religious field and the political world to which it is always related, language can transform participation into an actor’s sense of proper social order.⁶⁹²

Mulcrone worried about an effect that only English could have on Chicago Catholics. The Latin text had not presented such problems. In previous centuries, when U.S. Catholics defended their use of Latin to Protestant neighbors they referenced the prophylactic quality of Latin. As a dead language, it insulated sacred rites from perversion by those messy practicalities buffeting languages put to everyday use.⁶⁹³ Mulcrone’s plea depended on a similar logic, though instead of agitating for a return to Latin, he proposed a more tightly regulated vernacular.

What Mulcrone did not state directly, though it hovered at the margins of his plea, was the possibility that the translators’ choice to use “police” rather than the more innocuous “attendant of the high-priest” had been intentional, done in full awareness of just this political implication. Or perhaps that the committee of translators envisioned a broader conversation about power within

⁶⁸⁹ Bourdieu, “Genesis and Structure of the religious field,” 20.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid., 10. Religious capital correlates to projects in that field; but also to all agents, who are born of states and class but committed “to the great world religions with their universal pretensions.”

⁶⁹¹ Ibid., 33.

⁶⁹² Ibid., 14. Bourdieu’s treatment of religion is less simplistically Marxian than this construction suggests, but Marx is certainly part of his intellectual apparatus.

⁶⁹³ H. “Letter 1 -- no Title,” *The Catholic Telegraph (1831-1846)* 10, no. 43 (Oct 23, 1841): 342-342.

which it was perfectly acceptable to apply some skepticism to the figure of the police officer, a conversation like the one joined by Catholic protests against the Vietnam War.⁶⁹⁴ But Mulcrone primarily worried that any harm done by Catholics would be due to a lack of watchfulness, a failure to understand the importance of the liturgy which they should vigilantly guard:

If it is true that our enemies would first seek to destroy respect for authority to gain a foothold in our country, what a gift they are offered when our pulpits propose it for them. Our Catholic youth should not grow up with a picture of a policeman slapping the Savior's face. My daily work with the youth of this city convinces me that their respect for police officers is now begrudgingly given but this is better than when it was declining. Our Chicago Department has gone through too much in its reorganization and its elevation of the police officer's image to have its strongest supporter – the church in this city – nurture a concept inimical to that image. I offer my criticism of the translation to the end that its amendment may accelerate rather than retard respect for law enforcement Officers.⁶⁹⁵

Catholic “pulpits” proposed the destruction of “respect for authority” through the English of the text read from the Gospel, likely by a layman newly trained for the job. A text like the 1966 Passion translation might be more likely to produce particular homiletic reflections by priests than otherwise, but it was not these reflections that provoked Mulcrone's letter. It was English as scripture – both universal and fixed by the particularities of the moment in which it was spoken.⁶⁹⁶

Political questions gained new urgency for U.S. Catholics in the 1960s through President John F. Kennedy's 1960 campaign. The election of a Catholic president coincided with a surge in activism directed at dismantling systems of race and gender privilege as well as U.S. military presence abroad.⁶⁹⁷ Policing, broadly conceived, was part of the state response to activism and a

⁶⁹⁴ For a discussion of strongly held Catholics position for and against submission to the draft, see Peters, *The Catonsville Nine*. For a discussion of Richard Daly's infamous instruction to Chicago police to shoot rioters during the April 1968 response to the assassination of Civil Rights activist Martin Luther King, Jr., see also Cressler, “Authentically Black and Truly Catholic,” 129, 139.

⁶⁹⁵ Mulcrone to Cody, April 12, 1966, EXEC/C0670/32#2, JCC.

⁶⁹⁶ A related but not identical situation provided the 2011 changes to liturgical English with their own socio-political contexts. See for example Rita Ferrone, “It Doesn't Sing: The Trouble with the New Roman Missal,” in *Commonweal*, June 30, 2011 (<https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/it-doesn%E2%80%99t-sing>).

⁶⁹⁷ U.S. Catholics have engaged with those arguments at a number of points, but the majority of voices I discuss in this chapter were staunchly behind campaigns for civil rights and somewhat less invested in economic or gender issues. The former has had a long history of Church support and the latter an equally long history of opposition.

fraught civic issue for contemporary U.S. citizens. Just months before Mulcrone's letter, the ACLU had begun an investigation into Chicago's new 'stop and quiz' (also known as 'stop and frisk') initiative. They had registered their substantial reservations with the department and the local press.⁶⁹⁸ In 1968 that same department would be accused of excessive and systematic brutality against protesters responding to the April assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the August Democratic Convention. The Chicago Police Department was associated with cruelty and violence both before and after these events. There are wider arguments to be both made and nuanced about the complex web of relations between Chicago cops and their local Catholic Church and churches, and about how this relationship engaged with the issue of police violence.⁶⁹⁹

Chapter Two examined the Catholic subjectivity that liturgical activists sought to form through campaigns like the Demonstration Mass. This work was accomplished in English, but always with the understanding that English was not really liturgical. In 1965, the archdiocese of Chicago allowed laymen, "vested in alb and cincture," (a long white garment and cord, both used to indicate the "purity" of the wearer) to recite the passion text during Palm Sunday in English.⁷⁰⁰ The laymen who read the text would move outside the Church after doing so, walking and driving streets policed by Mulcrone and his colleagues, possibly greeting them, again in English. Mulcrone's letter makes clear how the religious relationship might structure the political one.

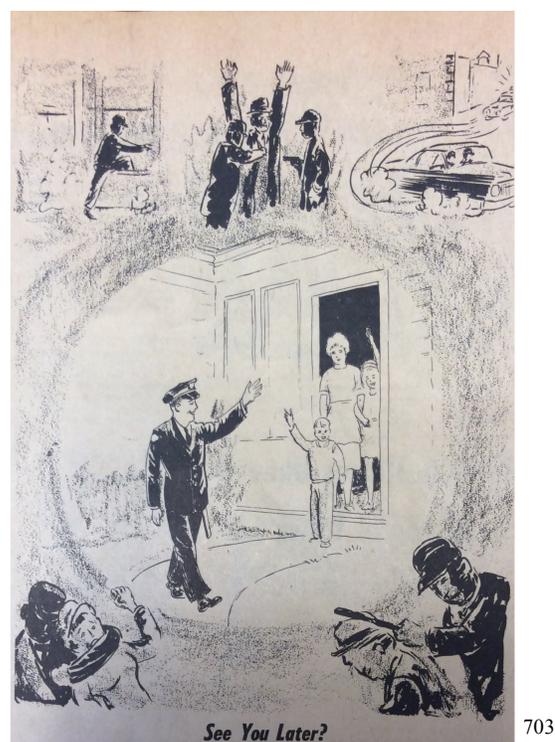
Two images published in the Catholic weekly paper in May of 1965 and October of 1966 makes this point without explicit reference to Mass and *with* an explicit focus on young Catholic

⁶⁹⁸ "A.C.L.U. Will Study Police 'Stop and Frisk,'" *Chicago Tribune*, February 19, 1966, 16.

⁶⁹⁹ See for example Frank Kusch, *Battleground Chicago: The Police and the 1968 Democratic National Convention* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). See also the 1964 Newark NJ program in which clergymen rode along with patrols "to promote better relations between clergymen active in civil rights areas and police." "Clergy Patrols," *New World*, Aug. 21, 1964, 5.

⁷⁰⁰ "Laymen in Alb, Cincture Allowed to Read Passion in Services Here," *New World*, Apr. 9, 1965. This, according to the *New World*, would be "the only time of the liturgical year that a layman will be able to read the Gospel," or use any vestments.

the first, a comic strip depicts an officer approaching a car containing an altar boy and a priest, presumably to give the priest a ticket for some traffic violation. The young boy's warning to the priest that the policeman has "got a gun" caricatured the idea that Catholics were becoming fearful of the police force. The second image shows a boy waving to a passing officer from his own doorstep. The bright circle of their interaction is surrounded by shadowy scenarios, unseen by the community who are safe because the officer and his colleagues keep crime away from them. boys, important sources of civic order for the police and of continued vocations for the Church.⁷⁰¹



Mulcrone argued that describing an unjust person with the word "policeman" during Mass

⁷⁰¹ That attention also engaged parents and teachers urged by Cardinal Meyer to study the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy in order to more adequately explain and model its principles to Catholic youth. Albert Meyer, "Cardinal Urges Parents, Teachers To Further Liturgical Participation," *New World School Supplement*, Aug. 14, 1964, 31.

⁷⁰² Peggy Ahern, "Careful, Father, he's got a gun." from the May 27, 1965 issue of *New World*, page 15. Ahern tended to portray Speck as an excessively innocent exaggeration of Catholic culture, especially youth culture.

⁷⁰³ "See You Later?," *New World*, October 7, 1966, 4. The shading of various faces in this image suggests a white community in need of protection from a 'shadowy' criminal community whose darkness could easily be read as racial, though it is also possible to interpret the gradation as shadowed white faces.

prepared parishioners, especially young men, to think of actual police officers in the same way. These parishioners then exited the liturgical space of the church into the wider, contested world of urban life in the turbulent 1960s. In the Lieutenant's mind, the Church should do all it could to form them; at the very least, it should not encourage them in their rebellion. Mulcrone envisioned an intimate public shared by himself, the Archbishop, and the ideal Catholic parishioner.⁷⁰⁴ He pictured their common enemies listening at church doors for any opportunity to leverage the power of a sacred language, to which they had no real right, for their own revolutionary purposes. In this he was more paranoid but not ideologically distinct from the San Miguelito priests. Liturgical language, suggested Mulcrone, should be policed such that the additional weight and power lent it by the Mass was used to convey proper social as well as theological meanings.

Five days after receiving the letter from Lieutenant Mulcrone, Cody responded to offer this member of his flock some pastoral assurance. In his April 19, 1966 letter Cody promised that Mulcrone's concern about the version of the Passion text used in Holy Week liturgies would be brought before the National Committee of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) at their next meeting.⁷⁰⁵ Cody shared Mulcrone's concern that the English word "police" might under certain circumstances influence the way Catholic youth viewed the police officers of their city, but distanced himself somewhat from Mulcrone's vision of the Catholic citizen. The Archbishop wrote that he

agree[d] with [Mulcrone] substantially about the translation, [but did] not believe that most of our Catholic people have given any misinterpretation to the use of the word 'police.' It is generally understood that historically there were no police in Christ's day, but only soldiers or guards (*custodies*), who kept the order. It is understandable that with the many

⁷⁰⁴ In adapting Lauren Berlant's phrase I do not mean to conflate the experience of women and Catholics. There are, however, interesting parallels between her articulation of a women's public constructed around the idea of suffering and the long-acknowledged Catholic investment in the same theme. See Lauren Berlant, *The Female Complaint: The Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008). See also Orsi, *Thank You, St. Jude*.

⁷⁰⁵ Cody to Mulcrone, April 19, 1966. EXEC/C0670/32#2, JCC.

unwarranted charges of police brutality, some uneducated people might connect the inference with our present Guardians of the Law.⁷⁰⁶

Cody was careful to emphasize several points about Chicago Catholics in 1966. First, they were fully capable of intelligent comprehension – they apprehended the words that came to them as part of the liturgy in appropriate context, with no unruly slippage between intended meaning and reception. They had been educated about historical criticism as well as current events. Perhaps due to the tireless work of the Liturgical Commission and the LTP, they could apply these analyses to the liturgy when appropriate. At least, most of them could. His second point did not so much undercut the first as set it off by comparison. There might still be a small number of Catholics with an inconveniently suggestible and immature *habitus*, and they might respond in distinctly inappropriate ways. On their behalf, and to soothe Mulcrone's fears, Cody promised to bring the matter up with his fellow bishops. But he was adamant that this description did not represent the authentic, or even the average, Catholic.

Mulcrone's letter signaled an anxiety that some element of the Mass operated on a passive Catholic subject, making Catholics either good or bad public actors. Cody's reply shared somewhat in Mulcrone's fear. But the archbishop carefully maintained the fundamental sophistication of the U.S. Catholic population in the face of the Lieutenant's less nuanced complaint, a position that was shared by archdiocesan programs to educate the laity about liturgical reforms. Particular kinds of suspicions adhered to Catholic religious practice. Modern liturgical reforms, most specifically vernacular translations of the Mass, reacted to those suspicions as well as to the practical constraints and possibilities of the social worlds in which they were implemented. Throughout its history, liturgical movement authors used political models to illustrate liturgical piety. But once

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid.,

the liturgy itself (and not just preparation for engaging with it) shared a vocabulary with the everyday lives of those attending it, awkward moments of clarity emerged. English translation presented a new kind of problem for the cooperation of religious and political projects. It confronted them with the messy vernacular implications of public worship.

Stories Often Told: *Narrating the Chicago Liturgical Reforms*

INTRODUCTION: The Last Latin Mass in Chicago

A Latin Mass was a rare occurrence in Chicago by the early 1970's. Half a dozen years of incremental vernacular reforms had come to an end in 1970 with the fully vernacular *novus ordo* Mass, now the official ritual of the global Church. One April Sunday in 1974, readers of the *Chicago Daily News* came across an article about Latin Masses offered at two area Catholic churches. Catholic and non-Catholic readers skimmed through the same news item, placing it one of two contexts. Non-Catholics read a story about their neighbor's tradition. It had become increasingly public, first during the presidential campaign of John F. Kennedy in 1960 and then through a famous international council that began in 1962. Catholics read a story about their own tradition. It was one that had been in the secular news regularly over the past decade as reporters waited outside parishes to interview Catholics about, among other things, liturgical changes. It was a story about Catholicism. Archbishop Cody's position called, or allowed, for direct intervention in the public relations of public worship. And he was not interested in publicizing the Latin Mass. Cody called both churches, instructing the pastors of Assumption and St. Procopius to cease provision of the Latin Mass immediately.⁷⁰⁷

Cody's action was met with a variety of protests. A Committee for the Restoration of the Approved Latin Liturgy circulated flyers around the city, copies of which were then forwarded on

⁷⁰⁷ Ferrazzi himself "declined to comment" and a chancery spokesman would not confirm any call. The pastor of St. Procopius was similarly "unavailable for comment," but two parishioners there, one by phone and one in a letter, said both that Cardinal Cody was behind the change and that the *Daily News* article had started the whole process.

to the archbishop.⁷⁰⁸ The flyer began by declaring 1974 "the year the Cardinal has completely 'outlawed' the use of the Latin language in the Sacred Liturgy in the Archdiocese of Chicago." It then quoted from the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy to argue that the Latin liturgy was legitimate and authorized. The flyer insisted Cody had "exceeded his authority" in this matter, "and his 'outlawing of Latin in the Sacred Liturgy is actually an illegal directive!" It asked why Cody was "so ultra-liberal" on other liturgical practices but "so ruthlessly unyielding" on this one. A member of Assumption forwarded the flyer to the Apostolic delegate, asking "are we not to enjoy the same privileges the liberal progressives enjoy, namely that of choice of liturgy?"⁷⁰⁹ Parishioners felt Cody had betrayed his pastoral responsibility to them:

That he should deprive us of the Sacred Liturgy according to the approved Latin Rite, which is so very meaningful, relevant, and valid to many Catholics, is a great tragedy. As Bishop . . . he is supposed to be the shepherd of the flock who is responsible for bringing souls together for Christ and not losing them for Christ. Banning the Latin Rite has caused many persons to stop going to church entirely or to go "underground."⁷¹⁰

The Committee asked for prayer, financial support, and help distributing their flyer. They left space at the bottom of each sheet for name, address, and cataloguing of any financial or distributional aid and asked that people return it to a P.O. box address so they could track community support. Their message closed with the pointed hope that Cody's intervention had not been provoked by a desire to normalize U.S. Catholics, "to make Catholics seem less 'different' and less 'foreign,' so that we can thereby woo funds from the Federal and State Government."

The archdiocese responded to the committee's "misstatements, or better, untruths" in a June 4 letter that began by establishing a counter narrative. The Vicar General for the archdiocese

⁷⁰⁸ Nor further references to this Committee exist in processed archdiocesan records. Committee for the Restoration of Latin Liturgy flyer, undated. EXEC/C0670/36#10, JCC.

⁷⁰⁹ Apostolic Delegate to Cody, September 24, 1974. EXEC/C0670/36#10, JCC. One "questionable" liturgical practice Cody had apparently allowed was "playing the music from the blasphemous play" 'Jesus Christ Superstar' at wedding ceremonies.

⁷¹⁰ Committee for the Restoration of the Latin Liturgy, flyer.

sent the letter to the Committee's Chicago P.O. box address "since [the committee had] chosen to use typical underground methods [and] it is not possible to answer you in public."⁷¹¹ He continued, "when the faithful were scandalized by the flagrant violation of the liturgical law (as published in the news article of the Daily News), Cardinal Cody felt obliged to take action and prohibit the Tridentine Mass which had not been authorized." Cody, the archdiocese insisted, was a Bishop, a member of the Congregation of Divine Worship, and a legitimate source of liturgical policy. Assumption's Latin Mass was illegitimate on two counts. First, Pope Paul VI had in fact outlawed the Tridentine liturgy when he established the new rite, the June 4 letter explained. Second, neither Assumption nor St. Procopius had sought the Cardinal's permission for the still-licit Latin version of Paul VI's Mass. The letter closed with a warning that "the Cardinal has directed his attorneys to study this matter and to advise him about action on libel. This will necessitate a legal protest to the United States Postal Authorities and of course the divulcation of . . . those who are responsible for this letter being distributed in front of some churches."

Several months later, Cody met with the pastor of Assumption parish, the Servite priest Thomas M. Ferrazzi, to discuss the events of the past spring. In a letter dated August 17, 1974, Ferrazzi wrote to Cody about their meeting, wishing, "to put in writing, what I expressed orally to Your Eminence yesterday afternoon."⁷¹² Ferrazzi's letter emphasized that he had favored the vernacular liturgy since before the council, a point that seems to have surprised Cody at their meeting. But Ferrazzi explained that this inclination had been a "personal feeling," subordinate to his pastoral obligations.⁷¹³ He appealed to these pastoral obligations, to the professional

⁷¹¹ Brackin to Committee for the Restoration of the Approved Latin Liturgy, June 4, 1974. EXEC/C0670/36#10, JCC.

⁷¹² Ferrazzi to Cody, August 17, 1974, EXEC/C0670/36#10, JCC.

⁷¹³ In 1964, Ferrazzi had been one of the few priests who failed to attend LTP training sessions along with his parish team. This may indicate a particularly busy schedule on Ferrazzi's part, or a detachment from diocesan programming, or simply a historical accident. The absence may suggest that Cody's surprise was understandable, however.

responsibility he shared with the archbishop, when he asked Cody to understand his actions. The six hundred Assumption parishioners who "USED TO" attend the Latin Mass, he insisted, felt "that their Cardinal should afford them the full opportunity of having a full Latin Mass from the very beginning to the very end just as the rest of the faithful have full opportunity to worship in the vernacular." In the same way that pastoral responsibility justified liturgical innovations during the pre-conciliar period, Ferrazzi argued, they made the provision of the Latin Mass necessary in 1974. Our "sacred responsibility goes out not only to one segment of our charge," he wrote, "but to its entire compound ... Each member is and must be our concern. Therefore we should accede to the sincere and realistic request of these . . . who wish to worship in Latin."

U.S. Catholic Liturgical projects have always happened in a public sphere that combines Catholic and civic spaces. The stories liturgical efforts build or dismantle in the course of their work will continue to circulate both internally and externally, both in Cardinal Cody's office and in the pages of the *Daily News*. Both locations advanced the cause of the English Mass. But they did so for different reasons, and the slippage between these stories emerged in the latter years of liturgical reform. By 1974 Chicago Catholics had been told the story of liturgical reform for at least a decade. In Liturgical Training Program workshops, in parish bulletins, and in Catholic and secular newspapers, they learned to narrate their tradition's new expression and alignment with U.S. culture. But these narratives were unruly. They were available for other uses as well, including support for the Latin Mass.

* * *

In its early years, Chicago's Liturgical Commission established the resources and procedures for ongoing liturgical education and review. The gradual translation of Mass prayers into English was a substantial part of that work. But by 1967 there was little of that work left to be

done by the Commission. The process of translation was not complete (the Canon would be translated at the end of the year). But it was familiar, as was the process of introducing the translation to the clergy, religious, and laity. English participation did not warrant new programs, but the story of its triumph could still do important work. Narrative replaced function, then, as one of the primary ways that the Commission used English in pursuit of active participation. The minority of Chicago Catholics who objected to the pace or nature of linguistic reforms found themselves outside of archdiocesan narratives about the Council, Catholicism, and U.S. culture.

Narrative is a fruitful category of analysis for subjects and disciplines beyond the study of religion. But other areas often look to religion as an exemplar of the use to which they put narrative in their own examinations. Both Amy Hungerford's literary work, discussed in the Introduction, and legal scholar Robert Cover's analysis of the role played by narrative in civil law draw on religious examples to make innovative and incisive analytical points. In his 1983 *Harvard Law Review* Foreword, Cover wrote that narratives were "the codes that relate our normative system to our social constructions of reality and to our visions of what the world might be."⁷¹⁴ They make human experience and the authorized constraints on it legible to one another. There is inevitably a normal response to a community's narrative, Cover argued, and that response is articulated as the community's law.⁷¹⁵ Chicago Catholics had two distinct responses to the English Mass narrative, but Cody's response articulated the community's effective law.

Cover's argument drew on several scholars significant to Religious Studies, including Clifford Geertz and Peter Berger, to formulate his approach to meaning-making and world construction. Cover's work has also been an important citation for contemporary scholars of law

⁷¹⁴ Robert Cover, "Nomos and Narrative," Foreword, *Harvard Law Review* 97, no. 4 (1983): 10.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 42

and religion. These scholars organize an analysis of the tension between state and religious actors around Cover's work. Winnifred Sullivan uses Cover's work to explore laws "transformed . . . through the power of the alignment of narrative and nomos."⁷¹⁶ Kathleen Holscher understands Cover to illuminate the correlation between, on the one hand, "communities' 'vernacular' legal systems and the nomoi underlying them," and on the other "the codified American laws they share between them."⁷¹⁷ American Catholics shared American laws, and institutions. But they also shared a complicated, many-layered system of religious laws.

Cover's work is on U.S. law, but he regards religious associations to be exemplary of the way laws create "an entire nomos – an integrated world of obligation and reality from which the rest of the world is perceived."⁷¹⁸ Sullivan demonstrates how Cover's logic can be applied equally to the federal government and private religious organizations, and sees no firm distinction in his work between either religious and non-religious narratives or in their function with regard to law. But Holscher amplifies a tendency of Cover's argument to construct the government and religion as counterweights. For Cover, narratives create a people with a constant vision of the future, a vision against which "the various civil demands constitute[e] shifting variables" to be negotiated, not served.⁷¹⁹ His model treats "a religious people" as uniform in their vision, and uniform in their negotiation of civil variables, without structurally requiring this uniformity. But his reliance on

⁷¹⁶ Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, "Book Review: Rights Protection: 'Once More With Feeling: Getting the Story of Religion and Law Straight,'" *Tulsa Law Review* 47 (Summer 2011): 21.

⁷¹⁷ Holscher, *Religious Lessons*, 201, n.10. Holscher remarks that Cover "confined his model to religious communities," which is a strange truncation of his argument. Though he does emphasize several religious cases, and imbue others with "religious" tropes (see especially page 35), he explicitly argues that his choice of religious examples does not exhaust the genre of examples illuminated by his method (Cover, 24; 31). His intuition that religious examples are particularly useful ones for his argument, however, highlights the very point that Holscher makes in her 2012 book. Meaning-making is frequently categorized as religious even when neither makers nor meaning take religion as fundamental to their work. The U.S. relationship between law and religion has calcified a division of labor in which religion creates worlds and governments run them. The two parties cannot stand independently of one another.

⁷¹⁸ Cover, "Nomos and Narrative," 31.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 27.

religious examples to establish his argument illuminates a tension that affects a wide variety of work on the topic of religion. Chicago Catholics engaged in actions and norms that rendered competing visions, but did so in a situation that was fraught precisely because there was an expectation, both general and archdiocesan, of narrative uniformity in religious groups. They were not uniquely subject to these expectations, but the expectations were uniquely U.S. religious ones.

Cover's 1983 argument offers three useful reflections on the creation of U.S. Catholicism's English Mass narrative. First, his argument is chronologically equidistant between the religious studies work he cites, which was written prior to the conclusion of the events I discuss, and the work of Sullivan and Holscher, who wrote considerably later. Cover's argument was constructed just long enough after the liturgical reform campaigns for their results to have permeated public consciousness, but not so long after that they had slipped from memory into history. Second, Cover's argument remains a touchstone for scholars of law and religion. This centrality makes it important to unpack the tension between governance and religiosity that his work can point to. Third, his description of "normative mitosis," the narrative "shearing" between two worlds when they respond to laws in equally strong but exactly opposite ways, is a particularly vivid match for the Latin Assumption controversy which opens this chapter. A law like the archdiocesan decision to support only vernacular liturgy by 1974 was an opportunity around which both "mainstream" English Mass and "reactionary" Latin Mass communities in Chicago oriented themselves. The former narrative triumphed over the latter, but it did not erase it.

Cover's article usefully describes the process by which narratives both enable and depend on the commitments of social groups. John McGreevy makes a similar point when discussing the language and narrative of U.S. nationalism. White Catholic immigrants had "obtained [membership in this narrative] with such effort," but by the post-war period saw it to "have moved

beyond their control,” and into a preferential option for racial integration.⁷²⁰ Cover’s typical examples depict moments when “religious” worlds shear off from “secular” ones in this way. A world is turned inside out,” Cover explains, “a wall begins to form, and its shape differs depending upon which side of the wall our narratives place us.”⁷²¹ This “normative mitosis” was the experience of U.S. Catholics, whichever attitude they brought to the liturgical laws of the 1960s.

In this chapter I explore the narrative that linked the vernacular Mass to modern U.S. Catholic citizenship and the narrative of Latin Mass excision that supported it.⁷²² I also describe the beginnings of the “inside out” narrative that cast a resurgent Latin Mass in the same role that English had performed prior to 1964. The narratives that interest Cover are those that “create and reveal the patterns of commitment, resistance, and understanding,” and these “are radically uncontrolled.”⁷²³ The English triumphalism narrative was embraced by a much higher number of Catholics and non-Catholics than the alternative, but it was still “radically uncontrolled” by them.

English in the liturgy transitioned from operating as a productive tool for the cultivation of active participation to serving as metonymy for the whole history of active participation. That is, it offered a narrative in which the archdiocese of Chicago, local Catholics, and the general public could locate the moment that U.S. Catholics achieved liberation. Part I of this chapter analyzes archdiocesan attention to English in the latter half of the 1960s through its ongoing administrative

⁷²⁰ McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 254. McGreevy tracks “two ‘Catholic’ traditions offer[ing] competing views of the Church’s role” in U.S. society and geography (260).

⁷²¹ Cover, “Nomos and Narrative,” 31

⁷²² Kemper cites Nathan Mitchell in *Cult and Controversy* to support the latter’s argument that “as medieval Christians lost their ability to comprehend and speak Latin, they were deprived of the ability to exercise fully their baptismal priesthood in the Eucharistic priesthood. . . Deprived of words, a person is deprived of power to act. In this light, the mandate of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy . . . logically demanded that the language of the liturgy be one which is accessible to the faithful in order that they be able to participate.” Kemper remarks that vernacular liturgical reform is the one “most significant” in the minds of those who remember the conciliar era. Kemper, “Behind the text,” 16.

⁷²³ Cover, “Nomos and Narrative,” 17.

work and an educational program called “Let Us Give Thanks!,” given in both 1964 and 1968. These sources demonstrate the narrative that archdiocesan liturgy programs had begun to consolidate by the end of that decade. Part II examines an ‘alternative’ implementation procedure, and the alternative narrative that structured it, for parishes using “vernacular” instruments for music during Mass. Part III traces the narrative that emerged over the same period in the *Chicago Tribune*, a paper read by Catholics but not aimed at them exclusively.

This chapter lays out the particular work that the English Mass did for both Chicago Catholics’ own experience and for the image of themselves they saw reflected in archdiocesan or civil venues. Early reforms had emphasized the local adaptation narrative for implementation of the English Mass. By 1967 that narrative was applied to liturgical music, which still posed implementation problems. But liturgical language, more or less completely implemented, now anchored the whole story of conciliar reform instead. Within archdiocesan materials this story was one of a liberated laity, but of a laity liberated for greater liturgical responsibility. Popular sources like the *Chicago Times* highlighted the liberation but were less invested in describing or cultivating a sense of responsibility for the Mass in their readers. Archdiocesan and popular narratives converged on a simplified story of the English Mass in U.S. Catholicism, though the latter told it about Catholicism and the former about the U.S.

I. Regulating the Reforms: Liturgical Programs and Policies 1967–72

Between 1964 and 1970 the Archdiocese of Chicago organized and implemented a program for introducing the vernacular into public worship, first as a translation of the Tridentine liturgy, then as the new *novus ordo* rite. Chicago Catholics, like their fellows all over the world, learned to participate in a vernacular Mass. Like their fellows across the United States, they

primarily learned to participate in English which, like other vernaculars, was the language spoken by the people. Training for English participation required the training of laypeople, primarily men, for new liturgical leadership positions. For this among other reasons the conciliar reforms to the liturgy may usefully be described as the freeing of the parishes and the liberation of parishioners. But it is equally useful to reflect on how this represented an extension and expansion of strategies for managing Catholic congregations. Chicago's Liturgical Commission spent the 1960's developing and refining a narrative that allowed them to coordinate the reforms, and to provide local Catholics with a way to understand their participation as fundamental to modern Catholic history.

Chicago liturgical policies and programs immediately following the Council featured preparations for new English Mass prayers. But as the liturgy became more vernacularized, the archdiocese emphasized other elements of active participation. At the same time, resistance to their efforts began to emerge in the form of agitation for the Latin Mass. The archdiocesan Liturgical Commission began to see evidence of a Latinist faction within the local Catholic community, both through personal experience and in various publications.⁷²⁴ The Commission was confronted with the possibility that the delicate balance they envisioned between English and Latin could be lost in translation.

⁷²⁴ Archdiocesan paper the *New World* had positive if limited coverage of Latin liturgy during the early years of the reform. Their first coverage of traditionalist's liturgical protests in the U.S. took place in early 1965 ("Traditionalist Movement Protests Liturgy Changes," *New World*, April 2, 1965), but the first mention of local agitation (aside from the inevitable minority opinion included in any article about Chicago's general embrace of the reforms) may have been a 1966 letter to the editor by Margaret V. Walsh ("Bring Back Latin," *New World*, January 7, 1966, 23) from the close northern suburb of Evanston. John B. Sheerin CSP's satiric column a few weeks later about Traditionalist "regression" elicited further protest from Oak Park ("John B. Sheerin, CSP, "Traditionalists Don't Regress Far Enough," *New World*, January 21, 1966, 4; Eunice Schaffhauser, "Anti-Traditionalist Editorial Labelled Unfitting 'Tirade,'" *New World*, February 4, 1966, 13).

Regulations on liturgical language very quickly emerged as a proxy for authority within the modern Church. In March 1966, the Commission discussed interrelated questions of liturgical language and archdiocesan jurisdiction. “The late stress on Latin brought some misgivings to the [March] meeting,” the recording secretary wrote in the meeting minutes. Chicago-born Auxiliary Bishop Aloysius Wycislo, who served under both Meyer and Cody in Chicago until being named bishop of Green Bay, Wisconsin in 1968, then “made it clear that any restrictions in liturgical practice that might be exacted will be traced to excesses. Those that wail will be those that had no ear for warnings.”⁷²⁵ Wycislo’s pivot indicates that the simple language binary had become a more complicated stand-in for discussions of obedience, of proper rather than excessive adaptation to local circumstances. “Excessive” practices, including those related to liturgical language, created a problem when they represented a rebellion against the model relationship between English and Latin that the archdiocesan Commission had been working towards for nearly two years. Or, against the model relationship between members of the Catholic community that active participation in the liturgy had characterized for liturgical activists since well before the Council’s reforms. Having both “an ear for warnings” and a voice that spoke English were constituent parts of being a proper Catholic. English marked a position in the narrative of Catholic progress as much as it did a specific liturgical practice.

In the latter part of the 1960s the Commission operated on a changed landscape. Regulating reforms, more than introducing them, moved archdiocesan projects forward. But despite these shifts many of the same issues continued to inform their work. Even the development of a finely tuned apparatus for administering reforms did not allow the Commission to articulate the difference between “English” and “participation” easily. Archbishop Cody approached the

⁷²⁵ March 1, 1966 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

Commission in early 1967 for help defending against liturgical experiments and improprieties he viewed as “the desacralization of the liturgy.” The Commission’s response continued a conversation begun at their first meeting, one in which “English” and “participation” were inextricable but not identical issues. One commissioner

saw the desacralization as the product more of irreverence than innovation. Mumbling in English is more of a problem than a do-it-yourself liturgy conducted by priests who pooh-pooh leaders of song, commentators, lectors, organists, and laity.⁷²⁶

The innovations and experimentations which bothered Cody extended beyond language. The Commission, however, returned to English in order to diagnose the most troubling aspects of contemporary Catholic worship. The *manner* of speaking English, if not English itself, presented difficulties for piety.⁷²⁷

One final element of the Mass remained to be translated. In April 1967 Wycislo informed the Commission that a tape of the new English translation of the Canon, the Mass prayer in which the host was consecrated by the priest, had been recently presented to a meeting of the U.S. Catholic Bishops at the Chicago Hilton to great acclaim. Finding the right English words for this sacred prayer had been extremely important. “Some of the thinking that had gone into the English rendition was to effect a translation that would not trifle with sense, but would still be a readable and understandable text. The bishops found that the thinking had been singularly effective,” he explained.⁷²⁸ Wycislo, who had attended the listening party, hoped the new Canon would be in use

⁷²⁶ Comment attributed to Commission member and director of the Liturgy Training Program Father Theodore Stone. February 7, 1967 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#2, CNM.

⁷²⁷ Still, this particular mumbling was modulated by the set of English conditions and associations: perhaps by the parishioner’s irritation with the English text, or with the font on the insert she read from, or the pace at which new translations arrived from her favorite publisher. Or perhaps her mumbling, always present, was simply more noticeable in English (in which mumbling sounded lax) instead of Latin (where mumbling might retain a certain prayerful solemnity – though liturgical reformers of previous decades would certainly disagree).

⁷²⁸ April 18, 1967 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#2, CNM.

by October 15 of that year.⁷²⁹ The Commission immediately moved to begin preparing Chicago for this latest reform. They considered how to use Father Banahan's televised "Mass for Shut-Ins" to prepare the faithful for hearing the Canon prayer in English.⁷³⁰ The translation was still proving difficult in November, however. A letter from Frederick McManus was read aloud at a Commission meeting that month, explaining that the original plan of placing the Canon prayer into English chant had been dismissed because "our language does not seem to lend itself to a satisfactory rendition of the chanted Canon."⁷³¹

Translation has a long and productive analytical history, with scholars from many backgrounds and with many interests exploring the principles that govern transition between two linguistic worlds. The translation of religious texts is often useful to scholars whether their primary interest is in religion or not. Walter Benjamin's 1921 translation theory, for example, concludes with a brief note about scriptural translation, describing scripture as specially and fundamentally translatable because it is uniquely concerned with "true language."⁷³² But Benjamin assumes that an analysis of the works or forms of art he discusses does not necessitate consideration of the audience.⁷³³ This dissertation is less concerned with translation as a theoretical condition and more with the implementation of policies that included but were not exhausted by translation. Catholics involved in implementation of liturgical reforms were fundamentally invested in the relationship of the "audience" to the liturgical text. While there are interesting lines of inquiry in juxtaposing Benjamin to the process of translation undertaken by ICEL in the 1960s, or by Californian Catholic

⁷²⁹ September 19, 1967 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#2, CNM.

⁷³⁰ Ibid., Banahan also organized a program called "The Mass in First Person" for September 27. The program showed "portions of the Mass as seen through the eyes of the priest," in order to provide the laity with a vantage point, "superior to all others in the Church." Dr. Rev. John S. Banahan, "What's In the Air," *New World*, Sept. 25, 1964, 6.

⁷³¹ November 7 1967 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#2, CNM..

⁷³² Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings Volume 1, 1913 -1926* ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings, 253-263 (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2002), 262.

⁷³³ Ibid., 253

layman Roger P. Kuhn when he composed his 1964 *The Mass Reformed: A New Draft Liturgy of the Mass, with Commentary*, they will not occupy me here.⁷³⁴

The Commission was a space for discussions about the precise wordings of documents composed in or translated into English. But it was also a bureaucratic middle-manager, tasked with smooth liturgical executions that depended on material texts, delivered in time to be of use. Both publishers and translators had significant impact on the liturgy, and the Commission mediated between those extra-parochial organizations and Chicago's Catholic community. In December 1966, "the struggle for a uniform English translation of the liturgical books [was] still being advanced," [and the U.S. Bishops were] underwriting the bulk of the expense involved in this work of sacramental scholarship."⁷³⁵ When official texts of the translated Canon were predictably delayed, interim copies were distributed to keep parties like the Commission informed.

The Commission weighed the costs of further disseminating these imperfect documents against the cost of delayed education. In November 1967, the Commission discussed their choice to distribute an unofficial copy of the translation, and the issues that had raised:

there had been some criticism that we had circulated the English copy of the Canon that would have been circulated by others, . . . to make certain that our priests would have the text in time for the date appointed for the change. Father Stone also noted that there has been criticism of the translation used in the Canon. He suggested that the reasons offered by the translators for their choice of phrases might be divulged to the priests.⁷³⁶

⁷³⁴ Neither Kemper's "Behind the Text," nor McManus' Foreword to *Thirty Years of Liturgical Renewal* engage with Benjamin or similar thinkers, but instead with the principles adopted by ICEL and U.S. Bishops for English translation of the liturgy. The ICEL itself identified finding language appropriate to the sacral nature of the liturgy and directed at the middle range of Catholic Mass-goers as its primary goals; the U.S. bishops made use of ICEL documents, but their own responsibilities required them to consider practical concerns beyond these principles as well. Roger Kuhn's *The Mass Reformed: A New Draft Liturgy of the Mass, with Commentary*, was published by the Catholic Action Office in Notre Dame, IN in 1965 with a foreword by H.A. Reinhold. Folder 20, Box 12, John F. Dearden Papers, University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame IN (hereafter JFD).

⁷³⁵ December 6, 1966 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁷³⁶ November 7, 1967 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#2, CNM.

Commissioners were more knowledgeable than liturgical publishers or National Catholic organizations about Chicago. But they were also more knowledgeable than Chicago parishes about national and international liturgical laws and resources. Members of the Commission were tasked with a delicate mediation between these areas of liturgical experience and expertise. Their expertise and experience was, in part, defined by those mediations.

When Pope Paul VI introduced a new Mass rite in 1969 the Commission drew on their experience introducing incremental changes to the Tridentine form in order to prepare Chicago for the *novus ordo missae*, or “new order of the Mass.” They organized various trainings, publicizing both the workshops themselves and summaries of the material presented there in local publications. The Commission began with education aimed at preparing clergy.⁷³⁷ Programs for the laity, developed cooperatively with various archdiocesan agencies, soon followed.⁷³⁸ In September 1969 the Commission directed a combined parish bulletin/*New World* article campaign towards the Chicago laity.⁷³⁹ The following February, commissioners selected and distributed relevant special publications on the new rite culled from their reading of national experts.⁷⁴⁰

A set of directive on Pope Paul VI’s 1969 Mass included specific rules for the Chicago celebration of public worship.⁷⁴¹ Guidelines drew heavily on practices developed over the past five years of reforms to the Tridentine liturgy, including the conceptual shift to a Mass understood primarily in communal terms. The Directives noted that the new rite no longer distinguished between High and Low Mass forms but instead “speaks of masses with or without people

⁷³⁷ September 11, 1969 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#4, CNM.

⁷³⁸ April 9, 1970 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#5, CNM.

⁷³⁹ September 11, 1969 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#4, CNM.

⁷⁴⁰ February 4, 1970 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#5, CNM.

⁷⁴¹ Summary of Special Directives on the Liturgy For The Archdiocese of Chicago, ADMN/P8100/84#10, JCC, 6.

present.”⁷⁴² The Directives also made it clear that Mass was to be said in the vernacular. Latin Mass exceptions could only be granted by explicit approval of the local Ordinary.⁷⁴³ Vernacular Masses would necessarily include vocal contributions from the people, who were instructed to sing their responses and hymns according to “the quality of the liturgical day and the size and capability of the congregation present.” The archdiocese directed Chicago Catholics, once again, to attend to the responsibilities of their particular Mass role. “It is not consonant with the spirit of the liturgy to have an organist or soloist singing all the parts of the mass alone while the congregation remains silent.”⁷⁴⁴ The archdiocese continued to manage the Mass. But much of that management had been decentralized, outsourced to parish liturgy teams who had been given the tools to recreate the management strategies of the archdiocese.

Laitly and priests who attended 1969 LTP workshops and read related Commission publications were as familiar with the standard process of introducing new liturgical elements as the members of the Commission. That process continued after implementation efforts had moved on from language reforms. When promulgation of the *novus ordo* closed the era of liturgical experimentation, educational efforts found new objects of liturgical interest. In April 1970, the commission arranged to distribute a monthly review of “educational materials and programs helpful in implementing good liturgy, prepared by the Commission” to rectories, convents, and parish liturgy team chairmen.⁷⁴⁵ The Commission continued to organize training programs but organized them around new issues, such as prayer for parish liturgy teams.⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴² Ibid., 8.

⁷⁴³ Ibid., 6.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., 8.

⁷⁴⁵ April 9, 1970 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#5, CNM.

⁷⁴⁶ September 24, 1970, Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#5, CNM.

Five years into the program of conciliar reform, translation was no longer a primary Commission focus. The Tridentine Mass had been thoroughly vernacularized, then replaced with a new rite that most Catholics knew only in vernacular translation. This contributed to the Commission's growing sense of a need to reflect on their role. In late November 1969, the Commission's reflections provoked an existential crisis about its ability to "stimulate and communicate with the laity" and clergy, and to demonstrate "what good liturgy is."⁷⁴⁷ One clerical member lamented, "at times we seem just to be standing on the shore, too busy about minutiae, instead of showing people the beauty of the liturgical life." One solution to the issue of triviality was to reorganize the Commission under a new Office for Divine Worship (ODW).⁷⁴⁸ In April, the commission approved the plan to form a Diocesan Office with "a full time director having genuine status," whose purpose would be to "develop and implement educational programs and disseminate information" related to good liturgy.⁷⁴⁹ In the new administrative landscape, the Commission would "continue to represent the constituents of the Archdiocese . . . to the Executive Committee" of the Office, while the Office itself would be responsible for the administration of related programming.⁷⁵⁰ For several months in 1970, Commission meetings were taken up largely with planning the transition, though commissioners continued to work on various training programs and the distribution of printed materials.⁷⁵¹

⁷⁴⁷ November 25, 1969 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#4, CNM.

⁷⁴⁸ December 7, 1969 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#4, CNM. Chicago was one of the first U.S. dioceses to use this organizational format. As other cities looked into taking the same step, Chicago offered both a model and, in some cases, explicit advice for using an Office to manage liturgical work. See Jennifer A. Callaghan, "'Not a fully homogeneous grouping': Forming an Office of Worship in the Archdiocese of Seattle," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 33, no. 2 (Spring 2015).

⁷⁴⁹ April 9, 1970 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#5, CNM.

⁷⁵⁰ May 20, 1970 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#5, CNM.

⁷⁵¹ November 12, 1970 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#5, CNM; December 10, 1970 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#5, CNM. March 11, 1971 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#5, CNM. The Liturgy Training Program had been subordinated to the Commission in November of 1965, and was subsequently absorbed into the Office for Divine Worship along with the Commission.

* * *



Between the first meeting in April 1964 and reorganization in 1970, Chicago's Liturgical Commission developed resources and honed strategies for implementing liturgical reform. The LTP's first educational efforts were directed at training men to fill new leadership positions. Only men were asked to volunteer for these workshops, even when low response rates made parishes eager for participants.⁷⁵³ These men were trained as members of parish liturgy teams who would be able, the LTP hoped, to extend the archdiocesan program to friends and families in the home parish, if not to their roles as citizens more broadly (a narrative pushed much more strongly by Leo McMahan in Panama). The *New World* comic strip *Our Parish* found that the impact of transforming Catholic men for their new liturgical roles did in fact have broad social implications.

⁷⁵² Peg O'Connell, "Our Parish" comics in *New World*, December 3, 1965, 17 and December 16, 1966, 17. Margaret Ahern contributed the *Our Parish* comics under the pseudonym Peg O'Connell. She also submitted another regular strip about a mischievous altar boy under her own name. See http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1999-08-28/news/9908280057_1_edward-ahern-mrs-ahern-cartoon-exhibition, accessed May 24, 2017.

⁷⁵³ See for example "Loop Church Seeks Liturgy Commentators," *New World*, March 19, 1965, 9; see also S.S. Cyril & Methodius Parish Bulletin, November 8, 1964.

In Chapter Three I described the numerous LTP workshops introducing the new liturgy, as well as the print and audio-visual materials they developed to help with this process. One such resource was a film strip presentation given at the first set of LTP workshops in 1964 and again in 1968 in a revised form. A close examination of the presentation, and the updates made to the 1968 version, demonstrates the narrative of triumphal English participation that the archdiocese refined over those years. It also illustrates the obligation that English introduced: an English Mass became the responsibility of Catholic laity in a much more explicit sense than had been possible when the liturgy was in Latin, liturgical materials implied.

The six-part 1964 sessions used a film strip, called “Let Us Give Thanks!,” accompanied by live narration to explain the new liturgical practices to the men, their priests, and their wives.⁷⁵⁴ An October *New World* article about the LTP workshops described the presentation in detail, allowing Chicago Catholics who had not volunteered or been selected for a workshop to benefit from the contents of the presentation.⁷⁵⁵ The filmstrip was generally very well received by trainees, according to LTP records. While six of the hosting centers experienced widespread complaint about the media presentation, forty-five reported no complaint and thirteen of those reported that the film strip “was wonderfully received.”⁷⁵⁶

Part A of “Let Us Give Thanks!” contained a fifty-frame film strip; part B had seventy frames. Together, the images and narration provided a “historical presentation on the meaning of the Mass.” But the images played a subordinate role to the verbal narration.⁷⁵⁷ The script insisted that these pictures did “not tell the story. They are not that numerous and detailed. They are,

⁷⁵⁴ Though the script remains in the archdiocesan archives, the filmstrip for the 1964 training sessions has been lost.

⁷⁵⁵ Mary Claire Gart, “History of Mass Helps Prepare Trainees for English Liturgy,” *New World*, Oct 23, 1964, 2.

⁷⁵⁶ November 20, 1964 Summary of Facts. No explanation for either the complaints or the enthusiasm was given.

⁷⁵⁷ “Let Us Give Thanks - a history of God's people at Mass,” 1964, HIST/H3300/146#4, CNM.

however, an indispensable visual accompaniment to the very intensive spoken story. The picture will enable the listener to assimilate the enormous amount of actual data packed into the script," it explained. "Because the script is written as a message from laymen to fellow laymen," it called for live narration by three distinct readers. These were to be selected for "exceptional voice, verve, and dramatic appeal . . . If you can ob[t]ain men who use their voices professionally, all the better," the presentation instructed. These theatrical qualities extended to the accompanying script. Directors were instructed to "position the three readers in a lighted area of an otherwise darkened room. The audience should be able to see the pictures on the projector screen, and also glance over and see the narrators." The message was framed as by laymen for laymen, but in both cases these laymen were expected to be extraordinary figures of charismatic piety.

The first narrator opened the presentation conversationally, directing himself to the emerging laymen in the room but acknowledging the laywomen also in attendance. "You are a Christian layman," he announced. "So am I. You and I are baptized sons of God the Father and brothers of Jesus Christ. Probably every other person in this room is a baptized brother or sister of Christ too. We all make up one family."⁷⁵⁸ He went on to explain the nature of a Christian community and that Christ had instituted the Mass as an experience of it. The narration then began a historical tour through millennia of liturgical change in order to demonstrate the connections between the conciliar reforms and the various historical stages of Eucharistic development. The three narrators described in vivid detail the Last supper, the first Mass held after the death and resurrection of Jesus, a Mass during the 2nd century Roman persecutions, and the quintessential worship of a 7th century Mass celebrated by Pope Gregory. Listeners were asked to imagine

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid., A1.

themselves in each setting in much the same way that Fr. Moran's play had done in 1950s Boston.⁷⁵⁹

Drawing attention to liturgical fundamentals in each context gave narrators an opportunity to explain the post-conciliar Mass. For each historical example narrators put the words of a newly vernacularized liturgy, due to reach Chicago parishes a few months later, into the mouths of earlier priests and people. The script wove historical associations into these new English responses, but at the same time crafted a compelling story about the way modern reforms completed or corrected that history.⁷⁶⁰ "The Lord be with you," read the first reader, acting as a 3rd century Bishop; "And with your spirit," the second and third readers responded, performing his congregation.⁷⁶¹ Listeners were encouraged to note the core features of the Mass, present from the beginning and in all subsequent variations "no matter how complicated the ritual gets."⁷⁶² This was especially the case for the "ideal" example of the Gregorian Mass, at which everything was "in our own language," and each congregational category (Bishop, priests, deacons, and people) played their own role.⁷⁶³ Seventh century Catholics participated fully, intelligently, and actively in the central act of public worship, the narrators insisted.⁷⁶⁴ It was this type of worship, they argued, that had become possible once again. This pattern of eternal return, which understood reform as reestablishing the past not innovating a discontinuous present, is certainly not unique to Catholicism. But it is both deeply woven into that tradition and especially emphasized in the emerging narrative of the early post-conciliar period.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., A7. See chapter two of this dissertation for a discussion of Fr. Moran's play.

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., A10.

⁷⁶¹ The Bishop's subsequent prayer of thanks is presented as one he "composes . . . as He goes along, although in his mind he is following a traditional outline."

⁷⁶² Ibid., A10.

⁷⁶³ Ibid., A14.

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid., A16.

The second half of the 1964 script picked up where the previous week had left off, in the 7th century liturgy. Like Marthaler's Demonstration script discussed in Chapter Two, "Let Us Give Thanks!" highlighted the importance of the layman and his active participation in the Mass. It emphasized the presence of God's eyes on him and spirit in him. "A Mass celebration of [the type common in the Christian 7th century] gave us Christian laymen a powerful sense of our importance and dignity. . . . No Christian is unimportant, no one belongs on the sidelines of our joint enterprise, because the Risen Jesus has made us all active members of His Body," the narration maintained.⁷⁶⁵

The script frequently distinguished the simple basics of the Mass, those elements which were fundamental to the experience of community, from historical accidents. "Now look at the 20th century Mass," it continued. "Something has happened in the history of the Mass to frighten the Church, to bar her people from a familiar meeting with the Lord Jesus in His Supper action. Tonight we must discover what happened to exclude us laymen from most of the action at OUR Lord's table." Over the next several pages, the narrators explored those moments in Catholic history which led to changes from the Gregorian ideal. The audience was informed, or more likely simply reminded, of the liturgical abuses in medieval Catholicism, and of the steps taken by the Council of Trent to end the more egregious ones.⁷⁶⁶ Though that Council behaved responsibly, the narrators insisted, it had also frozen the Mass in its reactionary form, delaying "the thorough reform of the Eucharistic celebration 400 years." As the centuries passed, laymen found their participation in devotions instead of "the structure of the Mass" which was its most natural

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid., B2.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid., B15.

home.⁷⁶⁷ This was the liturgical narrative that participants brought home with them and that the archdiocese encouraged them to spread to their own parishes.

In the final minutes of the script, the three readers took turns reciting the many liturgical errors of the recent past until, in “our own 20th century, we began to find our way back to the idea of the Mass as a community action,” they explained.⁷⁶⁸ Finally they described the slow progress of the liturgical movement, and the Catholic laymen: from singing hymns at Mass to reciting the rosary aloud at Mass, to frequent communion, to the proliferation of English missals, to the recitation of the part traditionally allotted to altar boys but originally that of the congregation as a whole. Then, “Finally, on December 4, 1963, the miracle happened.” The Second Vatican Council’s Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy called for rebuilding the Mass. The narrators then brought the audience into the contemporary moment, where their liturgical responsibility began.

(167) This fall we American Catholics will begin celebrating a partially improved Mass in our parish communities. We will use this interim version of the Mass for a few years while we grow accustomed to responding, and singing in English, and offering true community thanks. (168) Then the fully reconstructed Mass will be introduced. There is every indication that it will afford as vibrant and clear an experience as the classic Roman mass at its best. (169) . . . but this will be our Mass, modern, clearcut, direct. (170) We Christian laymen will discover the incomparable dignity that is ours. So now, let us prepare to lead our parishes in this period of transition.⁷⁶⁹

This triumphant narrative of liturgical progress was considered useful to the formation of that new class of liturgical leaders whose work it would be to carry the reforms into local churches. Lay leaders would become more disciplined by disciplining their own parishes in particular ways. They would not simply repeat what the Liturgical Commission and the LTP laid out for them. The Directory itself called for ‘local’ adaptations in a way that made even variations from the text part

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid., B16.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid., B17.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid., B17-8.

of its narrative. But it would be difficult to guide a parish through vernacular reforms without allowing archdiocesan materials to orient Chicago Catholics around a common standard.

* * *

A revised version of “Let Us Give Thanks” was published in 1968 with a script by William H. Thompson and William J. O’Shea, recorded narration by Jim Gannon, and slides illustrated by Walter Bernadyn.⁷⁷⁰ The revised program “was written primarily for adults,” though suitable “down to the junior high school level.”⁷⁷¹ It included discussion questions meant to start a conversation about the audience’s own local experience. The program assumed that that experience would be, in many cases, a fraught one. “BE SURE TO DISCUSS RIGHT AFTER VIEWING,” the script book urged. “Adult Catholics have many misgivings about the modern changes in the Mass. This program is designed to get you talking honestly about worship!” It was also designed to resolve in favor of a shared narrative about the English Mass as the seal of successful, necessary reform.

The 1968 presentation followed the same narrative arc as before, but the additional years had given Thompson and O’Shea an opportunity to hone their message. Its purpose was “to show that the ‘new Mass’ now celebrated in Catholic churches is not really new at all. It is a restoration of important features of the original Eucharist which were lost in the course of centuries,” Gannon’s narration explained. The program was still evenly split between descriptions of the early

⁷⁷⁰ "Let Us Give Thanks," 1968 filmstrip, Part I, slide 1, HIST/L3300/37. Liturgical and Devotional Material. Archdiocese of Chicago's Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Records Center Chicago, IL (hereafter LDM). The 1964 script does not list authors, making it unclear whether Thompson and O’Shea were involved in that version or whether they simply adapted earlier work for the 1968 presentation. The program was available from Thompson-O’Shea Associates in Joliet Illinois for \$20.00, postage paid. The record began with “What A Great Thing It is,” by Ray Repp, from his F.E.L. record ‘Allelu’.

⁷⁷¹ "Let Us Give Thanks," 1968 script, 3. HIST/L3300/37, LDM.

centuries “of positive development” and guided analyses of the later period “of gradual decline in the sense of community worship, until the restoration begun in our own day.”

The 1964 version had begun with a comparison between historical layman and the contemporary laymen waiting to be trained as lectors, commentators, and leaders of song. The 1968 version began somewhat more generally. Accompanying an image of a quiet pre-Vatican II parish Mass [Fig 1], the narrator said

Just a couple of years ago our parish Mass looked like this. The Mass was something the priest did. We joined in interiorly silently. We spoke of priests "saying" Mass, and told people we were going to "hear" Mass, or to "attend" Mass.



Fig. 1⁷⁷²



Fig. 2⁷⁷³

Then the image shifted to a much more dynamic celebration [Fig 2]:

(2) Now the Mass looks like this. The Mass is something we do together. We are not silent, but very vocal in prayer and song. We speak of celebrating the Mass. We speak of ourselves as a "community", going to partake of a festive "banquet".⁷⁷⁴

The narration continued as he explained that God had “been trying to make us a real community since the dawn of history,” more specifically a thanks-giving or Eucharistic community. “But SIN is a flat refusal to give thanks,” he continued. “The tragedy of sin in mankind cut off the flow of

⁷⁷² “Let Us Give Thanks,” 1968 filmstrip, Slide 1, Part I.

⁷⁷³ Ibid., Slide 2, Part I.

⁷⁷⁴ “Let Us Give Thanks,” 1968 script, 4.

thanksgiving from men to God, and shattered the unity of men. Once men stopped being a Eucharistic community, they found they were no longer a community at all.”

The two scripts are identical in many places, but the 1968 script emphasized and developed the earlier version’s focus on community.⁷⁷⁵ It explained to the listening audience that Christ had redeemed humanity not as individuals but as a Eucharistic community [Fig 3]. “Yet the mass we knew until very recently bore very little resemblance to a community action,” [Fig 4] Gannon told



Fig. 3⁷⁷⁶



Fig. 4⁷⁷⁷

them, narrating both a rejection of pre-conciliar liturgy and an incorporation of the move beyond it into a history patterned by the search for community. This echoed the earlier scripts’ discussion of “community action,” but made the point far more clearly.

As in 1964, the narration asked audience members to imagine themselves part of a community at Masses throughout Church history. Gannon’s’ narration introduced a 1st century Jewish farmer waiting for a messiah, then brought listeners to observe the Last Supper, to participate as Peter presided over the first Mass following the death and resurrection of Christ, and celebrate a Mass “stripped down to its bare essentials” while persecuted by empire in early 3rd

⁷⁷⁵ Relatedly, the 1964 version did not have any discussion of sin.

⁷⁷⁶ “Let Us Give Thanks,” 1968 filmstrip, Slide 6, Part I.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid., Slide 7, Part I.

century Rome. Side A concluded with the opportunity to envision “the Mass at its best” in the year 600, in the safety of a Christian empire and a robust liturgical celebration in Rome.⁷⁷⁸ Questions for discussion after viewing Part I asked participants about their own experience at Mass and to make historical observations and relevant contemporary applications, always with the idea that the Mass was a celebration of community.

Part II began by once again asking the audience to think about “the Mass most 20th Century Catholics grew up with.”⁷⁷⁹ This liturgy had lost its “compelling sense of the Risen Christ actively present in every participant. . . . Often the result has been passivity, boredom, and a demeaning sense of one’s unimportance.” Gannon’s narration indicted “passive” laity, but it placed the blame for their poor state on historical accidents which had swayed the liturgy from its ideal type. These were “the unfortunate historical events which caused this change in public worship.” Slides depicted Charlemagne’s 9th century emphasis on “uniform worship” for his newly united kingdom and the Church’s reaction against Arianism and subsequent stressing of the distance between creature and creator.⁷⁸⁰ Once again the program showed the developments of the middle ages, the “freez[ing]” of the liturgy by the Council of Trent and the “age of rubrics, [which] delays the thorough reform of the Eucharistic celebration 400 years.”⁷⁸¹

After describing the resulting devotional deviations from truly communal public worship, “Let Us Give Thanks!” slowly assembled the important history of 20th century liturgical reform through December 4, 1963 when, using language taken directly from the 1964 script, “the miracle happened” and the Second Vatican Council decreed a new era of reform. The ensuing description

⁷⁷⁸ “Let Us Give Thanks,” 1968 script, 7.

⁷⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 10; 11.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

took what had been present-tense description in 1964 and translated it into a past-tense retaining momentum towards a “revolutionary” future. But it also included a new emphasis on flexibility. Four years of living and working with liturgical reform had situated liturgical reformers more firmly in a particular historical trajectory. In the following quote, I have italicized those phrases drawn from the 1964 script, whether identically or transposed into a contemporary sense of history:

In Advent of 1964, American Catholics began celebrating a partially improved Mass in our parish communities. Since that time we have grown accustomed to responses and hymns in English, and offering true community thanks. A vital breakthrough came when we heard the full prayer of thanks proclaimed in our own language. In short, a more fully reconstructed Mass is being introduced.

It will certainly afford as vibrant and clear an experience as the classic Roman mass at its best. But the language . . . will not be borrowed from a bygone age.

The basic framework will be that of the original Eucharist, but this will be our Mass, modern, clearcut, direct. And most important, we can be confident that the form of the liturgy will never again be standardized.

As in the early Church, there will be a healthy flexibility, plenty of room for new ages to express themselves in new ways.

This survey of the history of the Mass has been presented to help us understand the liturgical revolution that is upon us, to help us recognize the Mass as our action.

“Let Us Give Thanks!” was an origin story, a tale about the birth of Catholic worship, Catholic community, and the liturgical reforms which had brought both worship and community to Chicago Catholics at the moment they needed it most [Fig 5].



Fig 5⁷⁸²

⁷⁸² “Let Us Give Thanks,” 1968 filmstrip, Slide 52, Part II.

In the above quote, English was worship for the modern age. Hearing the “full prayer of thanks” “in our own language” constituted a “breakthrough.” It was a culminating point for the strands of history, community, and liturgy that found their resolution in liturgical reform. The Mass was just as “modern, clearcut, and direct” as reformers had planned, the filmstrip explained. And even more important, it continued, the Mass was protected from standardization, from ever again becoming fixed to a time that its participants had moved beyond.⁷⁸³

By 1968, English was at the end of its use as a vehicle of liturgical reform. But as a narrative device for marking the essence of those reforms, and for highlighting the new responsibilities of the laity to participate in public worship, it was inexhaustible. The 1968 program was distributed to Chicago parishes and offered at events throughout the city. A broad cross-section of the Catholic community was urged to reconceive of their own Catholic pasts and to strategize ways of moving forward together – without, of course, imposing any uniformity on those who came after. Yet the Mass was uniformly English. In less than a decade the Latin Mass was nearly erased from Chicago and replaced by the vernacular, which the archdiocese regarded as primarily English. English was the language of the people, but liturgical English did not simply bring the Mass into English. Instead it formulated 1960s U.S. Catholic versions of English and community through ongoing archdiocesan programs. Those formulations were part of the meaning that the story of English triumph championed.

English language in public worship was a descendent of the dialogic, the liturgical principle present at various moments in Church history but especially important to the liturgical movement. It highlighted lay responsibility to and for public worship, and therefore justified archdiocesan efforts to train local Catholics for it. While that training incorporated a sensitivity to local

⁷⁸³ “Let Us Give Thanks,” 1968 script, 14.

adaptation, by 1966 there was very little flexibility in liturgical language. Liturgical music, however, offered another opportunity for the narrative of local adaptation without endangering the idea of a unanimous Catholic community.

II. Alternative Narratives: Vernacular Instrumentation

Music was integral to both the Catholic Liturgical Movement and the conciliar reforms of Vatican II.⁷⁸⁴ Congregational participation was in many cases synonymous with congregational singing prior to 1964 and much of Chicago's liturgical infrastructure, overseen by the Music Commission, was organized around liturgical music and musicians. The former was the realm of lay participation and the latter the site of cultivating lay leadership in that project. The Liturgical Commission took primary archdiocesan responsibility for liturgical matters after the Second Vatican Council, though they shared oversight of the relevant music with their sibling commission. In 1966 the two groups collaborated on a response to the introduction of guitars to parish Masses. Previously, instruments for parish liturgies had been confined to organ and the human voice. The archdiocese developed a policy towards vernacular instrumentation that differed from the one it deployed towards vernacular language. Where language must be standardized, music was more sensitive to variable local conditions.

Archdiocesan liturgical training hoped to achieve universal English participation through a focus on men drawn from the most respectable classes of often though not exclusively white parishes. The guitar Mass permission process emphasized a wider range of demographic characteristics. Initially the Catholic category deemed appropriate for use of the guitar during

⁷⁸⁴ The role of vernacular hymns in liturgical interventions was as complex as the role of vernacular in the liturgy more broadly. A New York pastor reversed, in the decades before the Council, a previous pastor's permission for English hymns at high Mass. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 165.

liturgy was constructed out of the combination of Black, Spanish-speaking, young adult, and liturgically expert adults. The above four groups each qualified for permission to use the guitar at Mass for overlapping but not identical reasons, though each expressed those reasons during an identical application process. The archdiocese understood all four groups to have communal identities which were not satisfied by existing liturgical methods. Modern instruments would allow them both to fully realize their own particular communities and to engage in additional training in the post-conciliar Church and its liturgy. But they would be encouraged to realize their own particular communities through liturgy that would be, in this aspect, idiosyncratic.

The category was subsequently expanded to general archdiocesan use, but guitars never became a requirement of Chicago Catholic worship. The archdiocese developed a system for discerning the liturgical legitimacy of the guitar and granting limited permission for its use at Masses in 1966 and 1967. This work was organized by a narrative very like the one developed for the introduction of vernacular languages into the same ritual. But where the Liturgical Commission arrived at a uniform and triumphant application of the vernacular liturgy narrative, they applied the guitar narrative with far more flexibility, demonstrating an alternative approach to local liturgical circumstances.

* * *

The Archdiocese of Chicago Music Commission was formed in 1953 to coordinate sacred music in the archdiocese. Joseph Mytych, a diocesan priest born in Chicago who also served as Director of the Polish Catholic Pastoral Mission at one time, proposed the commission based primarily on Pope Pius XII's *Mediator Dei*. From this document he drew the idea that "the departure of the faithful from a really active role in the fulfillment of the Liturgy, brought about

by many and varied circumstances, should cause the Church much concern.”⁷⁸⁵ Citing several other papal sources, including *Divini Cultus*, Mytych argued that “the song of the Church, all declare, is traditionally the means of active participation.” Mytych therefore proposed a program “to restore music to its exalted place within the Sacred Liturgy,” a program in which he hoped “to avoid the stigma of reform.”⁷⁸⁶

The Music Commission’s main concerns were organists, choir directors, and choirs but they also encouraged communal musical responses by the congregation to the prayers of the priest. Charles N. Meter was an original member of the Music Commission and became Chairman in 1962. He was also an original member of the Liturgical Commission founded in April of 1964, serving as a liaison between the two groups. At a meeting in the fall of 1966, he emphasized the early work of the Musical Commission for his liturgy colleagues.⁷⁸⁷ The Liturgical Commission appreciated the efforts and special expertise of their Music colleagues. But they saw certain musical elements to be under their own authority as well.

The Liturgical Commission could not discuss their own projects without frequent references to and discussions of liturgical music. Early Commission diagnoses of existing participation almost always involved a musical context.⁷⁸⁸ In these cases the active participation of the choir, not the general laity, was the primary focus. But the distinction could be a blurry one, and policies authorizing changes to choir norms were used as models for extending participation to the faithful more generally under certain circumstances.⁷⁸⁹ The Liturgical Commission took

⁷⁸⁵ Joseph Mytych, “A Proposed Program of Liturgical Action Aimed At the Restoration of Liturgical Music in the Archdiocese of Chicago,” 3, ADMN/A1350/2222#1, CNM.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁷⁸⁷ September 13, 1966 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁷⁸⁸ September 8, 1964 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁷⁸⁹ November 4, 1964 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

steps to maintain a distinction between the two, however. In composing the Directory, they distinguished between choir and community as separate entities. They struggled to represent the relationship “in such a way that the role of the community would not be so stated that the choir would be excluded or that the role of the choir would be so portrayed as to preclude the community from choral cooperation.”⁷⁹⁰ Both roles, in euphony not in unison, were useful for promoting liturgical excellence. And both roles required direction by the Liturgical Commission.

The first Liturgy Training Program workshops trained lay liturgical leaders to be lectors and commentators. Song leaders and parish choirs were also trained at those first LTP sessions in 1964. Members of the parish choir were expected to divide into small groups, each of which would be assigned to gradually introduce additional congregational singing at one of the Sunday Masses. LTP workshops trained them to begin by leading the congregation in a familiar hymn to open the Mass, and singing “a simple refrain between the Epistle and the Gospel . . . taken from the Archdiocesan Liturgy Hymn Card,” which was available for congregational use.⁷⁹¹ After completing the workshops, parish choirs and song leaders continued instructing their congregations as new hymns or litanies were added. Altogether, the archdiocese expected it might take song leaders several months to accustom their congregation to fully participate in the liturgy.⁷⁹²

Later programming continued to take musical participation into account. A 1966 LTP conference emphasized the liturgical responsibilities of a parish Song Leader, arguing that, “In our efforts toward liturgical participation, perhaps no part of the program has come under more

⁷⁹⁰ November 8, 1966 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁷⁹¹ Procedure for Introducing the New Liturgy Into the Parish, 1, HIST/H3300/146#2, CNM.

⁷⁹² This included singing the entrance hymn, response between Epistle and Gospel, Offertory song, Communion hymn, and recessional hymn from the Archdiocesan hymn cards. *Ibid.*, 2.

criticism than the music, especially the hymn singing at Sunday Mass.”⁷⁹³ The conference highlighted the work done by these lay liturgical leaders who prepared the congregation for Mass and ensured that they participated in it. They reported on the successes and failures of parishes which had already undertaken this process, marking the various types who made good and bad leaders of song, as well as the good and bad means of attracting and selecting them. The priest’s role in all of this was to coordinate, and to demonstrate through his own interest the interest which parishioners should take in singing and the liturgy more generally.

In 1966, the archdiocese distributed a set of directives for Chicago liturgy that included information on the instruments permitted to accompany sacred worship. Permission to use a musical instrument other than an organ had to be obtained through the Archdiocesan Music Commission. Guitars were a topic of special concern, and the directives emphasized that their “permission will be granted only under carefully specified conditions.”⁷⁹⁴ But two years later, the guitar was less tightly regulated. The 1968 Directives stated that “Musical instruments other than the organ may be used in liturgical services provided they are played in a manner that is suitable to public worship.” In the previous two years, the archdiocese had conducted a successful experiment. The result was an openness to guitars at Mass but not a comprehensive program for putting them in every parish.

The archdiocese regulated compositions as well as instruments, and liturgical translations (which needed to be set to music both structurally and tonally different from the music appropriate to Latin liturgy) had necessitated an explosion of liturgical music. By 1968 the archdiocese was still finding its way through the new musical landscape and announced that “the vernacular texts

⁷⁹³ February meeting, LTP Conference, 5.

⁷⁹⁴ Special Directives on the Liturgy For the Archdiocese of Chicago, June 1966, 3.

set to music composed in earlier periods may be used in liturgical services even though they may not conform in all details with the legitimately approved versions of liturgical texts.”⁷⁹⁵ Both instruments and songs were means to enhance lay participation, however, which was legible as congregational singing. “The Ordo promulgates this general principle . . . There is to be as much singing as is consonant with the people’s ability and the available resources of the assembly.”⁷⁹⁶ The archdiocesan directive, then, was that all Sunday parish Masses should include singing, but it did not fix “the specific parts that must be sung. The amount of music present should depend on the degree of solemnity with which a given Mass is celebrated.” Music required fine-tuned adaptation to local conditions and circumstances.

Liturgical commissioners were as confused about the norms for music as they were about the methods for quantifying participation. But they were less concerned about the former than the latter. They reasoned that musical directives should be applied less uniformly than language because these directives required much more sophisticated modulations to culture. Where the Commission envisioned a binary between Latin and English, their sense of musical possibility was much broader. A spring 1965 meeting concluded,

the variety of congregations demands a certain freedom of musical expression that the needs of these congregations might be met; . . . there is no ‘native’ congregation to be considered in the establishment of music norms for sacred expression; Father Kane then wondered how the pastor might determine what should be used in his church if there are no demonstrable standards. . . . the exchange of ideas brought out no conclusions for the establishment of any norms that might be of objective value to those who want a measure for what should be the music heard in church.⁷⁹⁷

The Commission had left a certain amount of space for variation in the use of English and Latin, at least when questions of liturgical language were still relatively open. But the degree of freedom

⁷⁹⁵ The instruction cites the March 5, 1968, Inst. On Music, n. 55. Summary of Special Directives on the Liturgy For The Archdiocese of Chicago, 12.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid., 8.

⁷⁹⁷ June 1, 1965 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

they apportioned to music here far surpassed that, leaving the Commission with no guidelines “that might be of objective value” in the eyes of the skeptical recording secretary.

Still, there were real issues of liturgical formation at stake. Catholics must recognize what they were doing during the liturgy and make their liturgical actions intentional ones, as I argue in Chapter Three. Parishes required guidance so that Chicago Catholics might “recognize that they really do pray when they sing.”⁷⁹⁸ The proper attitude might be found relative to a variety of norms but the Liturgical Commission was still responsible for evaluating and enforcing them, and in 1965 it was evident that some priests were still lacking in musical preparation. Music liaison Meter informed the Commission that “tapes might be used to simplify the orientation of the priests to the new music in the Mass.” Those tapes were circulated the following spring.⁷⁹⁹

Tapes and albums, musical examples that were relatively affordable, available, and portable, played a significant part in the spread of liturgical music. As with language reforms, the material dimension of musical changes required certain negotiations. Some music came from the Catholic Church itself, and these copyrights and printing costs were relatively small concerns. Many other songs, arrangements, and example recordings however were produced by companies with distinct economic concerns. Presciently, one commissioner remarked in 1970 that, “she wished to explore the possibility that the Archdiocese would get permission and pay any fees involved for parishes which wish to use music other than that in Missalettes.”⁸⁰⁰ Within a few years of her suggestion, the Archdiocese of Chicago would be sued by local business Friends of

⁷⁹⁸ October 5, 1965 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁷⁹⁹ December 14, 1965 Minutes and March 1, 1966 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

⁸⁰⁰ April 9, 1970 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#5, CNM.

the English Liturgy for copyright violations. The lawsuit accused Chicago parishes of photocopying hymnals instead of purchasing new copies from the publisher.⁸⁰¹

Priests as well as congregations who wanted music for the new Mass turned to tapes, albums, hymnals, and sheet music by publishers who were emerging to meet the needs of this new market.⁸⁰² Dennis Fitzpatrick, a Chicago organist and choir director since the early 1950s, founded Friends of English Liturgy (F.E.L.) in 1963 to publish a variety of Folk Mass recordings and their sheet music, several of which were approved for liturgical use.⁸⁰³ Other publishers had more extensive catalogues. The World Library of Sacred Music released several extremely popular gospel influenced Mass settings by Father Clarence Rivers. Other albums were never approved by liturgical authorities, like the rock and roll Mass of the Exceptions, released on F.E.L. in 1966 and marketed to an audience who appreciated the Mass as a musical genre as well as public worship. The 1968 *Mass in F Minor*, the 3rd album by the Electric Prunes, was released by Reprise in 1968 and also never approved for liturgical use.⁸⁰⁴ Reprise was not known for their sacred music catalogue, and neither the band nor their label seemed interested in the liturgical use of the album. But they drew on both the long history of Masses in western art music and the new prominence of Catholicism in U.S. culture. The landscape of Mass music was rich and vibrant; it exceeded

⁸⁰¹ William Grady, "Publisher Won't End Battle Over Hymns," *Chicago Tribune*, June 13, 1990.

⁸⁰² December 14, 1965 Minutes and March 1, 1966 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM. It would be inaccurate to characterize popular music as unfamiliar territory to religious music, or to Catholic artists. An album by the Belgian "Singing Nun" spent ten weeks as the top album in the U.S. before being bumped from its position by *Meet the Beatles* on February 15, 1964.

⁸⁰³ Fitzpatrick was also consulted by ICEL about translation of the Canon, as well as composition of sample English chants. See Kemper, "Behind the text," 143.

⁸⁰⁴ The album's *Kyrie* was made famous when it was included on the soundtrack to the 1969 film *Easy Rider*. The band's earlier albums had been straightforward psychedelic rock, though they (or session musicians carrying the band name for the producer who owned it) released a setting for the Jewish Kol Nidre prayer for its next album. Several other bands recorded similar projects, for example the German band Os Mundi's *Latin Mass* (1970), *Ceremony* by the UK's Spooky Tooth and Pierre Henry (1969), and Austria's Eela Craig, which released *Missa Universalis* in 1978.

Catholic determinations of legitimacy, but it existed in conversation with them.⁸⁰⁵



Fitzpatrick had previously released the *Demonstration English Mass* album which was well received by Chicago Catholics if somewhat hesitantly by the archdiocese.⁸⁰⁷ The album offered Catholics and non-Catholics the opportunity to learn “how the Council decision could be carried out in a typical Catholic parish” via vinyl.⁸⁰⁸ Fitzpatrick’s album was put out by his own company, F.E.L. The ad it ran in the *Chicago Tribune* encouraged readers to buy the record as a Christmas gift, as it would be perfect for

priests, sisters, seminarians, and friends. It helps those of other faiths to understand the Mass. Fr. Fitzpatrick’s DEMONSTRATION ENGLISH MASS recording has been hailed

⁸⁰⁵ Other musical productions like *Godspell* (1971 stage musical, 1973 film) and *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1970 stage musical, 1973 film) followed the gospel narrative and are therefore less relevant to my discussion.

⁸⁰⁶ Margaret Ahern, “An Altar Boy Named ‘Speck’,” *New World*, January 15, 1965, 11.

⁸⁰⁷ According to the back cover of the album, Fitzpatrick had served as an organist and choir director in Chicago parishes for a decade, which makes it possible that had been involved in Chicago’s push for musical participation through Joseph Mytych and the Music Commission. For more on Fitzpatrick, see Ken Canedo, *Keep the Fire Burning: The Folk Mass Revolution* (Portland: Pastoral Press, 2009).

⁸⁰⁸ “Advertisement,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 7, 1963, C11.

by both Church and lay leaders as a genuine contribution to the Church and is being used as a guide to changes in the liturgy.

The same advertisement also mentioned a “live” demonstration of the album to be held December 8, 1963 at Mundelein College. Catholic lay organization the Knights of Columbus had published an advertisement in the same paper for a free pamphlet about the Mass for several years. “It will be sent in a plain envelope. Nobody will call on you,” that ad promised.⁸⁰⁹ Catholics had moved, then, from understated advertisements for the Mass as it has always been to grand public listening parties for a Mass yet to come.

The controversy that emerged in the mid-1960s over the tendency of some priests and parishes to incorporate modern music into Sunday Mass was not due entirely to the spread of popular recordings. But this was certainly a factor. The Commission, at Cody’s direction, was tasked with developing a method to intervene a little more directly in liturgical music.

In a discussion about Folk Masses, Archbishop Cody stated that complaints are coming in about these Masses which are done without much discretion . . . one parent is very disturbed. Rome seems to be against it. . . [One member reminds the Commission] “Last year we said that a balance is needed. . . we must consider cultural differences of groups . . . we must hold on to youth. The Religious Teaching Assoc. says [teen-agers] do not always feel at home at other Masses. We should help them to express their life in worship.”⁸¹⁰

Both the complaints and the need for balance affected the system that soon emerged for use of guitar at Mass: an application, to be filled out by a petitioner, requesting the use of guitar at Mass and justifying the petition in light of archdiocesan regulations. Successful applications would be authorized twice: by the Music Commission, which would evaluate the sacredness of the music, and the Liturgical Commission, which would evaluate the suitability “of the guitar itself.”

Guitar permissions would be “restricted to closed groups; the congregation at a regularly scheduled Sunday Mass would not be such a group,” the Commission decided. “A special cultural

⁸⁰⁹ “Display Ad 56,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 28, 1962, B24.

⁸¹⁰ September 13, 1966 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#1, CNM.

group would get permission, as would a closed group of teenagers.” Closed groups were homogeneous and specialized, partitioned off from the general congregation that might feel, as the frowning crowd in the “An Altar Boy Named Speck” comic from February 4, 1966 suggested, that guitars contributed to an unliturgical atmosphere. The organizing principle of efforts to incorporate



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vernacular into the liturgy was to bring everyone together. The use of guitars during Mass, however, was seemingly appropriate only to small, closed groups. It merited exceptional, not uniform application.

In 1966 the Archdiocese of Chicago contained 457 parishes as well as numerous chapels, schools, institutions and organizations, each presenting a culturally situated opportunity to celebrate Mass. Around three hundred of these possible Mass sites applied to use guitar for worship between August of 1966 and October of 1967. Applications were overwhelmingly made on behalf

⁸¹¹ Margaret Ahern, “An Altar Boy Named ‘Speck’,” *New World*, February 4, 1966, 9.

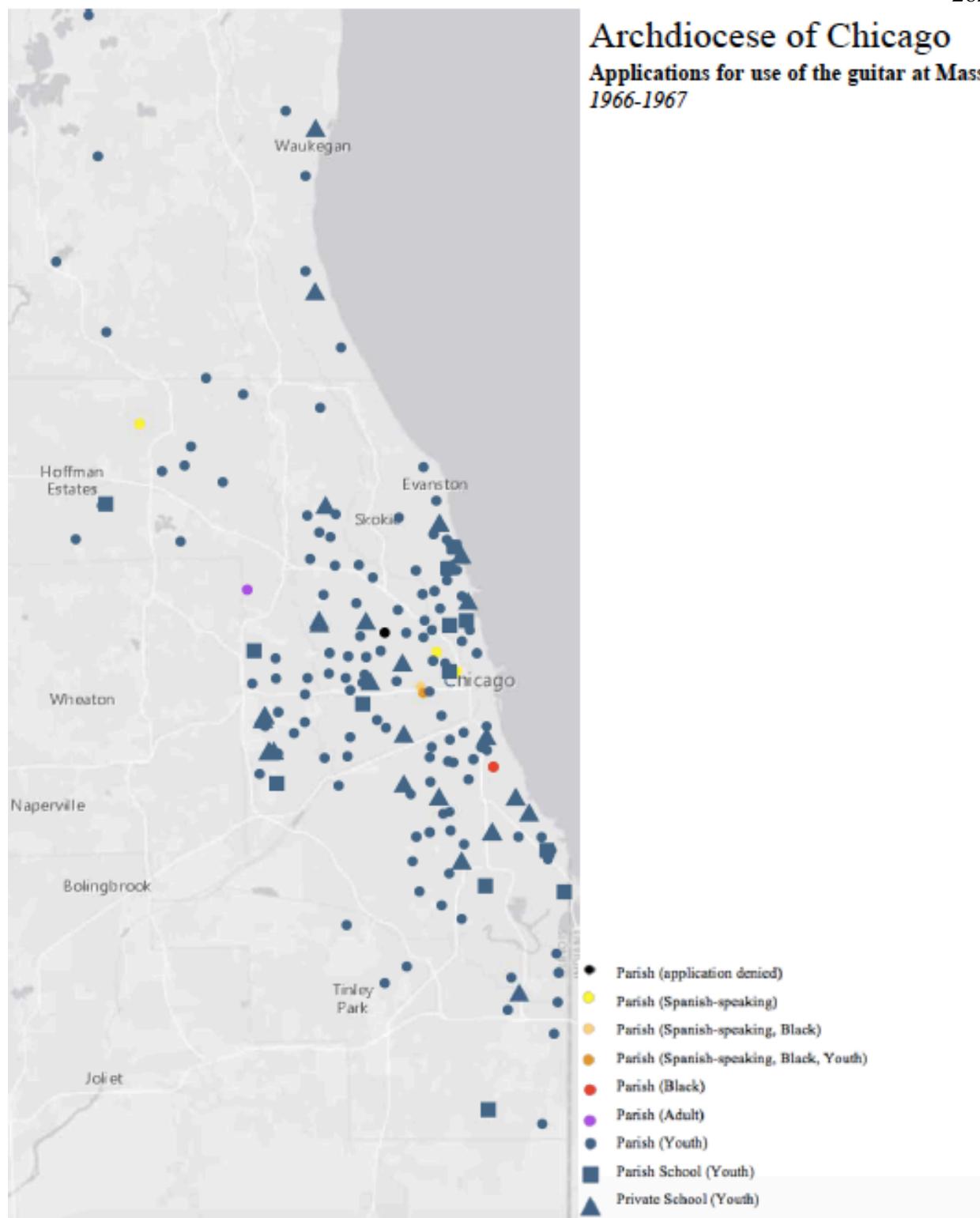
of young Catholics, who would use guitars to engage with liturgy at this point in their lives with the understanding that they would graduate to more universal musical forms as they entered adulthood. Other groups deemed suited to guitar use were marked either as cultures distinct enough to represent their own “universal” form, or as liturgical elites whose deep formation in modern Catholicism made them immune to the possible dangers of musical innovation. The map on the following page shows the geographic distribution of application from parishes, parish schools, and private Catholic schools throughout the application period. It demonstrates the overwhelming frequency of on behalf of young Catholics.

The first application approved by the Commission was submitted by Joseph A. Kelly of St. George Church. On his application he wrote, “our congregation is of Negro people, half of whom are not Catholic; our “Church” music is foreign to them, not accepted as either beautiful or meaningful. Our congregation will be much more “at home” with a guitar, singing music more akin to what they have been accustomed to sing.” Two of Kelly’s points endeared his application to the Commission. First, he referenced his own responsibility for ensuring that the music be properly produced and received. Second, he indicated that culturally situated musical techniques would produce a liturgical setting in which the full and active participation of his parishioners could thrive. It was that thriving, not the music itself, which was most important.

Two hundred and fifty of the Chicago applications survive, requesting use of more than thirty musical sources. Fr. Kelly requested permission to use the compositions of Clarence Rivers, one of five applications to do so. Only two composers/compositions were cited more frequently: the *Hymnal for Young Christians*, and Ray Repp’s *Mass for Young Americans*, both published by Chicago’s F.E.L. Repp’s music was, by far, the most frequent request in Chicago. The *Mass for*

Archdiocese of Chicago

Applications for use of the guitar at Mass 1966-1967



Young Americans was mentioned by name fourteen times and Repp's work was referenced more generally fourteen times. The Commission only rejected one musical choice, Ian Mitchell's *Folk Mass*. Another request for the Mitchell Mass was refused as well, but the application was provisionally approved with the caveat that an alternative musical choice be made. The Commission did not specify what they objected to in Mitchell's score, but they encouraged applicants to consult with archdiocesan music experts.

The Commission was more likely to reject applications that failed to restrict guitar use to Masses for culturally homogenous groups, though they did so only three times. A rejected application from St. Genevieve Church applied for use of the guitar at a mixed-age Mass. "Obviously, since it is a parish Mass, others cannot be excluded," Msgr. Mohan wrote in his application. "Even though there are many with Polish and Italian names," he wrote, "they consider themselves Americans. Few can speak foreign languages."⁸¹² Perhaps the Commission felt that such an integrated congregation would not qualify for the special circumstances exception earned by Rev. Kelly's petition. Liturgical Commission Chairman Theodore C. Stone reported to the Archbishop that they had refused permission to such applications because, despite parish surveys indicating enthusiasm for guitar, and despite claims of spiritual benefits cited by both older and younger members of the congregation, the Commission felt "that for the present the use of the guitar should be restricted to Masses not opened to the general public."⁸¹³

Guitars at Mass, like other concrete projects of liturgical reform, were neither good nor bad. They could be *used* well or badly, however. Rejected applications appealed to two common principles of that the Commission's reform campaign: increasing participation and cultivating

⁸¹² Permission Letter #110, August 15, 1966. EXEC/C0670/33#1, JCC.

⁸¹³ Theodore Stone Memorandum to Archbishop Cody, August 15, 1966, EXEC/C0670/33#1, JCC.

piety. Yet the Commission, at least at this point, still rejected these applications. They feared that the guitar could become a crutch, preventing Catholics from embracing the general norms of Mass. They maintained that there were other ways to increase participation and foster piety more appropriate to these particular groups, and using the guitar instead could discourage them from developing those other strategies. Later, more lenient letters of approval included language that cautioned against some of the “open group” elements condemned here, granting permission but instructing applicants to closely regulate the populations.

A handful of guitar Mass applications sought permission based on special cultural circumstances. Four of these were approved for use in Black Catholic Masses.⁸¹⁴ These applications, like Fr. Kelly’s above, posited an affinity between African American Catholics and the guitar. But they also mentioned young people explicitly.⁸¹⁵ Another six petitions referenced the special relevance of guitars for Spanish-speakers. These applications (five in Chicago, and one in a northwestern suburb of the city) made no special reference to young people. Reverend Rafael Orozco wrote that Catholics in his suburban mission church were prepared for the guitar “because of the customs they already have and love flowing from their Latin, Spanish, and Mexican culture.” Still he promised that “Advance Instruction would [also] be given, and rehearsals would be held.” The Commission’s permission to Orozco made the following caveat: “[the guitar] should not be used exclusively in all Masses in your program. For the sake of balance, the young people should also have the opportunity to participate in Masses at which a guitar is not

⁸¹⁴ McGreevy argues for a general (hierarchical if not always and everywhere popular) Catholic acceptance of integrated parishes by 1959 (*Parish Boundaries*, 90). Yet he also points out that Chicago had remnants of both a segregated parish structure and a divided agenda among both black and non-black Catholics about the merits of culturally (or racially) homogeneous churches. For more on this topic, see Cressler, “Authentically Black and Truly Catholic.”

⁸¹⁵ Permission Letter #211, January 10, 1967, EXEC/C0670/33#3, JCC.

used.” This note was standard for many applications, so its presence here is notable only because Orozco made no reference to young people in the original application.

The Commission was part of a larger consensus about special propriety of guitars for these communities. In his paper for the 1968 Canon Society meeting discussed in the previous chapter, Reese argued for the benefits of dissolving “national” parishes. But he was more sympathetic to “parishes for recent immigrants, such as Puerto Ricans, to provide them with an opportunity to identify with their Church and their culture until they can become part of the American main stream.”⁸¹⁶ He also criticized the U.S. Catholic Church for its ongoing failure to ordain a representative number of black priests and reported on a push by black priests and communities for a more relevant ministry, one which removed white priests from black parishes. Reese concluded that these groups, for varying reasons, represented a reason to retain aspects of the national parish. He also tied the liturgical use of guitars explicitly to his justification.⁸¹⁷

By far the most common request was for use of the guitar with young people: almost two hundred of the three hundred fifty applications that survive mention primary school, high school, or college populations explicitly. Occasionally these groups were more specialized, such as students who assisted at Mass.⁸¹⁸ Sometimes an application combined cultural and generational justifications. One application explained that guitar Masses would both attract more teenagers to church and “break down the wall between the children of English speaking (mostly Polish descent) and the children of Spanish speaking (mostly Puerto Rican).” Here both age and origin were

⁸¹⁶ Reese, “Experimental Parishes.”

⁸¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 4, 5.

⁸¹⁸ One of these, already discussed above, included both African American and Puerto Rican youth, a second included a Polish/Puerto Rican congregation and a third parish community drew heavily on those with a rural Puerto Rican background; neither of the latter two referenced Spanish speakers. Permission Letter #141, March 1, 1967 and Permission Letter #272, March 25, 1967, EXEC/C0670/33#4, JCC.

treated as transformable. That is, the guitar was considered useful at this particular moment due to a specific set of demographic characteristics, but these would eventually evaporate into undifferentiated Chicago Catholicism, in part, through judicious application of the guitar.

The final category of Catholic to receive permission for liturgical use of the guitar was made up of various small groups of adult Catholics with an established liturgical interest or expertise. The largest number of applications in this category were filed by nuns. There were sixteen applications from convents and communities, and two others for services that brought sisters together with the communities they served.⁸¹⁹ Several parishes requested a guitar during special Masses for their lay liturgical leaders, and one parish asked to use the instrument at a Mass for their mothers' club, noting that these women had been exposed to guitars through their children.⁸²⁰ All were granted permission to proceed.

The groups in this final category were certainly closed, and in that they fit the Liturgical Commission criteria. But it is difficult to see why a group unified by their role as lectors was likely to prosper when exposed to guitar music, as would a group unified by their Spanish-speaking culture or their generalized youth, but a group unified by simple parish ties would not. These groups were ultimately unified by the administrative category, not a single underlying principle. That is, they were unified by the coincidence of their separate suitabilities for a given administrative policy.

Four seemingly unrelated groups made up the category of guitar-Mass Catholicism: these groups were defined by their cultural minority status, age, or advanced or specialized Catholic formation. Usually the groups were distinct, but occasionally these characteristics blended and

⁸¹⁹ Permission Letter #264, March 27, 1967 and Permission Letter #376, October 9, 1967, EXEC/C0670/33#1, JCC.

⁸²⁰ Permission Letter #212, January 11, 1967, Permission Letter #380, October 14, 1967, and Permission Letter #246, March 7, 1967 EXEC/C0670/33#1, JCC.

blurred. The archdiocesan Liturgical Commission saw in black, Spanish-speaking, young adult, and liturgically expert Catholic groups an opportunity to pursue the local adaptation element of conciliar reform. A similar case could be made for their pursuit of English, the local vernacular. Yet the narrative used by the archdiocese in each case, though drawing on similar Council documents, was idiosyncratically applied. A simple comparison of official decrees would easily explain the difference in terms of obedience to hierarchical policy, which left more room on musical matters than on linguistic ones. But I want to emphasize that while commissioners did not ignore official decrees, their emphasis was an application of different narratives about the Council as a whole to different populations with different relations to the general Catholic community. Lectors trained to orient Chicago Catholics to English in the Mass were ideally respected men, largely though not exclusively white, with families and histories of parish service; musicians trained to orient Chicago Catholics to guitar music at Mass were ideally members of specialized groups with a commitment to continued reflection. Differences in the Catholic community in each case elicited different versions of the enculturation narrative.

Or perhaps they were simply people who existed on the periphery. Permission was also granted for use of the guitar at Our Lady of Loreto (interdenominational) Chapel in Chicago's O'Hare International Airport for use by the airport workers and occasional traveler, such as those who found their way inside shortly after midnight on January 1, 1969.⁸²¹ The Chapel's pastor, John J. Keough, submitted an application filled out by hand, instead of the more typical typed petition. He requested permission for use of the guitar at Mass by "the group of employees here at the airport – staunch Catholics who participate at daily Mass here aged between 35 and 50 [in]

⁸²¹ John Maclean, "Subzero Cold Cuts Celebration," *Chicago Tribune*, January 1, 1969, 2.

our catacombs-like chapel room in [the] basement of Terminal #2.”⁸²² He explained that, “actually,” far from preparing his congregation, “they have been preparing me thru a couple months brainwashing over coffee & rolls after Mass.” He requested permission for ad hoc usage “because of the situation here. Some days they are just not prepared because of emergency work – other times the group might be too small – or too large – to really make it a prayerful experience. We would like permission to use the guitar ‘as the spirit’ moves the group,” he wrote. The Commission felt that Keough’s group could be trusted to discern the spirit accurately, or at least that their catacomb liturgies would not bother anyone else if not. They approved the application.

In spring of 1967, the Commission began preparing to phase out the individual permission process in favor of general guidelines. The Commission was generally impressed with the results of the system they had developed, and they discussed the positive reactions to the guitar at their April meeting. They concluded that “What is well done with guitar music proves to be appealing to something more than a teenage congregation.”⁸²³ The ‘culture’ appropriate to guitar music was perhaps wider than originally thought. It was still true, however, that the Liturgical Commission should monitor the situation. No matter how much they expanded the category of people for whom guitar was considered appropriate at Mass, it was still necessary to make sure every guitarist was trained and every parishioner knew the difference between a Mass and an album or concert. The former was a religious project over which the Catholic Church in Chicago had jurisdiction; the latter was one which concerned them, but which they shared with a much broader field of actors.

Permission could be granted based on age, which was a characteristic that would pass within a few years, or culture, which would either disappear or remain peripheral. It could also be

⁸²² Permission Letter #281, April 13, 1967. EXEC/C0670/33#3, JCC.

⁸²³ April 18, 1967 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#2, CNM.

granted for people trusted to know how liturgy worked and thus to enjoy the privilege of more flexible liturgical opportunities. But music continued to pose liturgical problems. At their December 1970 meeting, the Liturgical Commission failed once again to find a solid definition. “In discussing the mailing of the recent petition by the Music Commission to all organists, the entire Liturgical Commission entered into a debate as to the meaning of “suitable” music for a liturgical function. No conclusive ideas were forthcoming, proving how difficult it is to define, legislate, or be specific on many of these items.”⁸²⁴ The confusion of the first year remained, but it did not prevent music from playing a prominent role in fostering participation in ways that were no longer true of the largely resolved language issue.

III. Public Worship in the Public Eye: Press and the Catholic Mass



First Mass Ever Offered by Reigning Pontiff in Western Hemisphere Makes Picture of Rare Beauty

825

For Catholics, the second half of the 1960s was a time of constant liturgical change, training, and narrativization. For their neighbors, the whole decade was a pageant of Catholic

⁸²⁴ December 10, 1970 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#5, CNM.

⁸²⁵ October 8, 1965, *New World*, 1.

worship watched from a respectable distance. Several factors helped transform the Catholic Mass into a media symbol of the new Catholic laity during the 1960s. Catholics were becoming more visible in society and politics, and their ceremonies were especially picturesque.⁸²⁶ Televised ceremonies of the Second Vatican Council brought sumptuous color to a story of grand political and religious change, and the liturgical reforms it initiated (or at least energized) supplied the press with material for many years.

But another factor was the presence of a Catholic in the White House. The same media that brought the Council to U.S. audiences had breathlessly covered John F. Kennedy's election, inauguration, presidency, and state funeral. The gaze trained by Catholics and non-Catholics alike on the public worship of the Kennedys, and to a lesser extent the Johnsons, encountered a changing image of official U.S. worship between the early 1960s and the early 1970s, the same period during which liturgical reforms slowly saturated the U.S. Catholic landscape.

The Kennedys were the first presidential couple to make Catholic Mass a central part of their beltway life. Just after President Kennedy's inauguration, the *Chicago Tribune* Press Service's Laurence Burd described to his readers their President's Sunday plans.⁸²⁷

President Kennedy went to Roman Catholic mass today in a village community center [in Middleburg, VA which has no Catholic church]. . . . Today's mass was moved from the 90 seat third floor of the community center to the main auditorium in expectation that the President's attendance would swell the congregation. About 150 persons worshiped with the chief executive in the center, where folding chairs were placed for 200.

Readers also learned about the Kennedy's attendance at private Masses held at the home of the President's Father whose recent stroke made such arrangements necessary, or the recreation center

⁸²⁶ Anthony Burke Smith, *The Look of Catholics: Portrayals in Popular Culture from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010).

⁸²⁷ Laurence Burd, "Kennedy Goes to Mass, Wife Nurses Cold: President and Caroline Romp in Snow," *Chicago Tribune*, February 13, 1961, A7.

at Camp David which became a chapel on Sundays for Navy personnel and their families.⁸²⁸

Suddenly the Catholic Mass was everywhere.

Those domestic scenes were far different settings for worship than the Masses the couple attended internationally as part of state visits. In summer of 1962 their visit to Mexico included Mass in the basilica of Guadalupe:

Inside the basilica, the Kennedys in a middle pew of the second row joined 5,000 worshipers, many of them standing, for the mass. Several times that number stood in the streets outside the basilica gates for a glimpse of the visiting couple....

The big columns inside the church were decked with the flags of Pan-American nations. The column nearest the Kennedys carried the flags of Cuba and Venezuela. . . . They were applauded and cheered both inside and outside the church as they entered and left.⁸²⁹

Press coverage of these Masses, simple domestic affairs or lavish diplomatic ones, put Catholic public worship before the national gaze before any conciliar documents had been approved.

When President Johnson ascended to the presidency following Kennedy's assassination, Burd continued to regale his readers with strange tales of Catholic liturgy, as first one then the other Johnson daughter flirted with the Catholic church.⁸³⁰ The conversion of Johnson's younger daughter Luci and her marriage to a Wisconsin Catholic man meant that Johnson too would regularly be seen at Catholic Masses, for familial reasons as well as the ceremonies of state.⁸³¹

When Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, archbishop of Washington, D.C., sat near the President at a Pan American Mass celebrated for visiting Latin American diplomats he remarked on this habit. The

⁸²⁸ Laurence Burd, "President and Family Attend Private Mass," *Chicago Tribune*, April 23, 1962, 3; "Kennedy Does Baby Sitting At Camp David," *Chicago Tribune*, October 14, 1963, B15.

⁸²⁹ Laurence Burd, "Kennedys Return from Mexico: Hosts Give Huge Farewell at Airport," *Chicago Tribune*, July 2, 1962, 3.

⁸³⁰ "Lynda Attends Catholic Mass on Texas Visit," *Chicago Tribune*, July 6, 1964, 5.

⁸³¹ "Luci Johnson is Unpinned From Student: She No Longer Goes Steady, She Says," *Chicago Tribune*, Jun 9, 1965, C9.

Cardinal teased that Johnson's broad liturgical experience qualified him for a part-time job in Rome as an ecumenical liturgical expert when he was done with the American presidency.⁸³²

* * *

The Mass was the central act of Catholic public worship. Its sacred mystery was an effective bridge between creator and creation and a re-constitution of the gathered congregation, each week, as both body and people of their God. But the Mass was also the public face of Catholicism. Catholic liturgical piety and practice were elements of a public relations strategy, conducted officially and unofficially, that had begun before the conciliar reforms. By the late 1960s, English was no longer a useful liturgical tool for the Archdiocese of Chicago. But it remained an important inflection point for the narrative of U.S. Catholic development in the modern era. Perhaps for this reason, Latin was beginning to emerge as a particular type of problem for the archdiocese. Popular narratives, sustained by press coverage of the Council and subsequent reforms, were even more prone to conflate English liturgy with Catholic progress. But their narrative diverged from that of the Commission in several ways. The divergence highlights the emergence of a counter-narrative among those local Catholics who began to agitate for Latin liturgy by the early 1970s.

Andrew Greeley expressed serious skepticism about press coverage of Catholics in his 1977 book, *An Ugly Little Secret*. He argued that while several national publications had religion writers on staff who could approach Catholic topics with sophistication and nuance, these authors were frequently "sidetracked in favor of confident and certain but very ill-informed writers."⁸³³ These authors, and the papers which funneled them into American homes, suggested to Greeley

⁸³² "Article 3 -- No Title," *Chicago Tribune*, November 25, 1968, 13.

⁸³³ Greeley, *An Ugly Little Secret*, 43.

that nativist assumptions about Catholics had taken a particular turn after the Second Vatican Council but had not radically altered. Articles generally took the position that “the Catholic church will be in trouble as soon as enough of its members become sufficiently well educated to see through its foolish superstitions and its arrogant abuses of power,” Greeley argued. “So when various interpreters of the recent crises in American Catholicism assure their readers that this is exactly what’s happening, then that is good news, indeed.”⁸³⁴ Greeley focused on political coverage of the 1976 presidential election and the “abortion issue,” neither of which are part of my discussion here. But I want to suggest that coverage of liturgical reforms was instrumental in assembling and illustrating the public narratives to which Greeley draws our attention. They were also present in Catholic discourse, but there they were modulated by an understanding that well-educated members were finally fulfilling their responsibility to a Church which had embraced them and the modern world through a return to its original authentic tradition.

Chicago’s secular press covered the Catholic Mass as part of its coverage of local religious culture, but also as a marker of the Catholic Church’s distinct character.⁸³⁵ In September of 1962, just as the Second Vatican Council began, local parish St. Daniel the Prophet offered an evening course for Catholics and non-Catholics alike. The program included the Catholic Mass among its topics and the directors, both priests, claimed the course “would attempt to give Catholics a deeper insight into their religion and give non-Catholics the correct interpretation of the church.”⁸³⁶ The

⁸³⁴ Ibid., 44.

⁸³⁵ In late 1960, the woman’s club at Chicago’s St. John Fisher Catholic church sponsored a charity benefit. The *Tribune* described how the pastor and two assistant priests gave a Mass “demonstrated in slow motion” with “a running commentary as they go thru the rites.” Advertised in the *Chicago Tribune*, the demonstration (not unlike the Boston programs discussed in Chapter Two) was open to the public. Unlike those programs, however, it was not part of an archdiocesan campaign “Church Unit Will Review Catholic Mass,” *Chicago Tribune*, October 2, 1960, SW2. See Chapter Two of this dissertation for discussion of Boston campaigns.

⁸³⁶ “Church Plans Religion Class in September,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 9, 1962, A4.

Mass was for community outreach as well as for developing the existing community, goals the *Chicago Tribune* was happy to support in this minimal way.

As the *Tribune* covered the Council, journalists found new reasons to write about the Mass. Recent developments in color transmission of television images made the vivid pageantry of Roman Catholicism available in living rooms across the country in the mid-1960s. Catholic liturgy was especially eye-catching. But unlike other Americans, U.S. Catholics were obliged to do more than simply observe the Mass. As noted throughout this dissertation, liturgical experts sought *active* participation from their coreligionists. This, too, was part of the narrative reaching the general U.S. readership during coverage of the Council.

While Chicago's Catholics learned about the Mass directly from the archdiocese in carefully curated programs, non-Catholics received less contextualized reports. In late October 1962, in the first *Tribune* item to mention liturgical reforms, the Roman correspondent reported,

Prelates at the Roman Catholic ecumenical council discussed ways today of keeping worshipers from becoming 'indifferent and mute spectators' at mass, [and quoted those who felt] worshipers should be given 'greater knowledge of all parts of the mass and more intimate participation in the mass.' The Roman Catholic mass is said in Latin but worshipers may follow the mass with a missal containing a translation of the Latin into their national language.⁸³⁷

The author concluded the article by noting that the session in question was sparsely attended, as many of the Prelates had returned home to tend to diocesan affairs. The liturgical issue did not seem to be a particularly urgent one.

But just a week later the paper reported on proposals for "extensive changes in the Roman Catholic mass," and this time the *Tribune* described a majority "determined to give the mass more dramatic impact."⁸³⁸ One way to add "drama" was to include lay participation in the offertory

⁸³⁷ "Continue Talk on Move for Mass Changes," *Chicago Tribune*, October 31, 1962, 7.

⁸³⁸ "Council Hears Proposals for Mass Changes: More Dramatic Impact Seen as Aim," *Chicago Tribune*, November 6, 1962, 12.

prayers, spoken at that time by the priest alone; others involved cutting or adding certain prayers, changing the location from which various texts were read aloud, and moving the closing blessing, *ite missa est* (“Go, the Mass is ended”) after the final Gospel reading. The paper periodically reported on the slow development of the reform process; it covered the first change to the Mass, the insertion of the name of Joseph into a remembrance prayer, in November 1962.⁸³⁹ A year later the *Tribune* Editors mentioned with surprise that “the Vatican ecumenical council reject[ed] a proposed revision in the Catholic liturgy that would allow use of the vernacular in place of Latin in parts of the Catholic mass,” but that was the only mention of the Council’s liturgical concerns for 1963.⁸⁴⁰

The *Tribune*’s coverage was not superficial, and explained many of the procedural details that the Liturgical Commission would tackle in more depth. In late May 1964, citing the announcements of U.S. Catholic bishops and agencies, the paper began reporting on several changes set to go into effect in March of the following year, including the switch from Latin to English for many Mass prayers. The reforms would entail managing a massive material apparatus, not simply securing the relevant permissions. Publishing liturgical aids was especially important.

The [Catholic] welfare conference said missals for altar use are being speeded to press but hand missals in English for use by the congregation will not be published for some time. This is because other changes are in the works. Meanwhile, English texts of the mass will be made available to the people on cards, leaflets, and missal inserts.⁸⁴¹

Transmitting and regulating the new liturgy would be a significant undertaking, as discussed in the previous chapter. But the *Tribune* was not responsible for it, nor were many of its readers.

⁸³⁹ Richard Philbrick, “Name of St. Joseph Is Added to Mass,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 14, 1962, A6.

⁸⁴⁰ “The Editor’s Digest of Today’s News,” *Chicago Tribune*, October 15, 1963, 3. Council voting procedures were complex and precise, and a vote could reject a particular approach to revision without rejecting the revision itself.

⁸⁴¹ “Plan for use of English in U.S. Mass Told: Bishops to Announce Date for Change,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 22, 1964, A6.

In August 1964, the *Chicago Tribune* previewed the first U.S. Roman Catholic Mass celebrated under the new liturgical guidelines, excitedly describing the language reforms. It quoted Rev. Gerald Sloyan, President of the National Liturgical Conference, who “believed that these are the first occasions on which the proper and ordinary parts of the mass rites will have been spoken and sung in English in this country.”⁸⁴² The historic-sounding pronouncement did not mention the Demonstration Masses that Frederick McManus, who coincidentally celebrated the August Mass, had performed in Boston. But this Mass was, in fact, thoroughly different. Demonstrations had been explicitly designed *not* to be actual liturgy; they accomplished their work precisely in the gap between performance and sacrament. The new Mass was both English and actual. It was a sacrament. But it was also a work in progress. A report on the August 24 Mass very helpfully noted for its more quantitative readers that “There was some Latin used in the mass, particularly in the consecration, but about 70 per cent of the service was in English.” The reporter also revealed that the text used by McManus had been the editor’s proof “because the newly authorized version awaits publication.”⁸⁴³ For *Tribune* readers, both Catholic and non, Catholic liturgy was an interestingly unfolding history of vernacular progress.

The *Chicago Tribune* narrated the liturgical reforms of the Roman Catholic Church to tell the story of Catholic Americans. In October 1964, the *Tribune* explained to their readers that very soon “the celebrant will face the congregation in delivering the world [sic] of God from Scripture during the mass,” but noted that the question of using modern languages was unresolved, being left to the independent decision of national bishops’ groups.⁸⁴⁴ It believed its audience was

⁸⁴²“First English Mass Slated for St. Louis: McManus to Celebrate on Aug.24,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 14, 1964, B18.

⁸⁴³“Hold First Mass in English: Liturgy Council Gets Preview of Rites,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 25, 1964, 22.

⁸⁴⁴“Pope Approves Shorter, More Public Mass,” *Chicago Tribune*, October 17, 1964, A17.

interested in the answer to that question, perhaps in resolving it in favor of modern languages. But *Tribune* journalists were not concerned to show, as the archdiocese was during the same period, that language was simply a means toward the ultimate end of active and responsible participation.

Two elements of reform, orientation and language, were rarely if ever the only reforms that articles mentioned. But they often featured prominently in press descriptions. In Spring of 1965 the *Tribune* described the new round of changes as “structural” additions to preexisting linguistic changes. It quoted the assessment that Fr. Stone, Chicago Liturgical Commission member and Liturgy Training Program Director, made of the new reforms:

The changes will make the various parts of the mass a lot clearer so that the people will be able to discern just what is taking place at each part of the mass," explained the Rev. Theodore Stone, director of the liturgy training program for the Chicago archdiocese. ... "The people and priest and the servers of the mass will all take their proper role and only their role," Father Stone explained. "No longer will the priest say everything in the mass," Father Stone said. "This will make it clearer that the mass is not just the work of worship of the priest but the work of worship of the whole community."⁸⁴⁵

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the Commission's commitment to increasing participation was not simply a matter of increasing the lay role indiscriminately. It was a question of bringing participation (up) to a level determined to be appropriate. That is, the ‘whole community’ was not simply being empowered as a collective, they were also being disciplined as members of particular groups. Liturgical reform was liberation, but it was also the constraint of training. Press narratives attended to this element of liturgical reform, though they tended to privilege liberation more and more as their coverage settled into narrative patterns.

The *Tribune* provided its readers with stories about the Council's influence on the local community. In many, the Mass was an important element. The paper reported in 1965 on joint

⁸⁴⁵“New Changes Tomorrow in Catholic Mass,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 6, 1965, N10.

meetings held by local Catholics and Masons at which “the meaning of the Catholic mass” was discussed along with “what the masons stand for.”⁸⁴⁶ Similar conversations continued throughout the period of liturgical reform. Participants at an Ecumenical Insights program sponsored by a Methodist church attended the services of several denominations in 1967 to see “how churches have updated their worship, how they understand themselves to be experiencing God, and what they conceive to happen when worshipers get together,” at the special Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Lutheran services scheduled for that October.⁸⁴⁷ Each program included an explanation of the service followed by public worship in which the “audience” took part, followed by a panel discussion by laymen to answer questions. Throughout this period of changes to the liturgy, the Mass was presented as an opportunity for non-Catholics to develop their ideas about their Catholic neighbors. Area Catholics had to be adequately prepared for their own Catholic worship, because that worship was fundamental to their participation in the Catholic Church. But their preparation also allowed them to engage in the important work of presenting that worship and that Church to outsiders.

When the Canon finally joined the rest of the Mass prayers in English in late 1967, the *Chicago Tribune* reported on what would seem to be the final conciliar reform, explaining that now the “entire Roman Catholic mass may be said aloud in modern language.”⁸⁴⁸ Their jubilation was slightly more subdued than that of the narrator in “Let Us Give Thanks!,” but not different in essentials. It lacked the latter’s pivot, however, to liturgical responsibility. After 1967, the

⁸⁴⁶ “Groups Hold Joint Meeting,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 26, 1967, M12. The relative isolation of certain Catholic groups, in Chicago and other cities, from groups like the Masons inspired the breathlessness with which newspapers noted instances of these events. For further discussion of the way that many groups saw Vatican II as reorganizing the boundaries between Catholics and other U.S. religious groups, see McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 147.

⁸⁴⁷ “Program to Study Religious Services,” *Chicago Tribune*, October 1, 1967, Q8.

⁸⁴⁸ “Entire Mass May Be Said in Vernacular,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 11, 1967, B8.

Commission largely turned away from English projects. English, as either an interesting problem or a pressing project, had faded from the Commission's agenda. But it continued to function metonymically to convey a powerful narrative about the successful campaign for active participation and the new stage of U.S. Catholics in their history, as I demonstrate earlier in this chapter. It was also well on its way to becoming a permanent narrative trope for journalists.

Two years after Rome and the NCCB had authorized translation of the Canon into English, Pope Paul VI ended the era of liturgical experimentation by establishing a new Order of Mass.⁸⁴⁹ The changes reached U.S. Catholics in spring of 1970, after bishops from the U.S. and eleven other English-speaking countries cooperated to produce a common English translation of yet another liturgical text.⁸⁵⁰ The *Chicago Tribune* began their report on the translation by reminding readers that “the two biggest physical changes, already made, dealt with how mass is said rather than what is said. Modern languages replaced Latin in 1965 and the priest was put behind the altar facing the people.” This was certainly a simplified version of the years since 1964. The previous spring, the *Tribune* had contextualized the announcement of the New Order of the Mass by mentioning the same two examples.⁸⁵¹ Language and orientation now constituted the journalistic litany for any discussion of Conciliar liturgical reforms. This emerging pattern yielded a familiar shorthand for referencing the Council and its reforms in in any number of subsequent situations.⁸⁵²

⁸⁴⁹ “Pope Orders End to Mass Changes, Head Cover Rule,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 3, 1969, A26.

⁸⁵⁰ “New Catholic Mass Set for Early in 1970: Lord's Prayer to Have Revised Ending,” *Chicago Tribune*, Oct 26, 1969, 22.

⁸⁵¹ “Pope Orders End to Mass Changes, Head Cover Rule.”

⁸⁵² In an article giving “background of the persons charged in a plot to kidnap Presidential adviser Henry Kissinger, to blow up tunnels beneath government buildings in Washington and to destroy draft board records in several cities,” Daniel Berrigan's path to radicalization is traced back to when, in the early 1960s, “He turned the altar to face the congregations, said parts of the Mass in English and made other such innovations – all well before such changes were officially approved by the historic Vatican Council.” Lloyd Miller Jr, “Dan Berrigan: the Son Who Was 'Different,’” *Chicago Tribune*, September 20, 1971, 3.

There was a subtle but significant divergence in this period between the narrative governing popular press treatments of the council and its liturgical reform on the one hand, and the narrative that organized the work of those implementing the reforms on the other. While reporting on these events, the *Tribune* also made the strange claim that with the new Mass, “women are for the first time allowed to have a role.”⁸⁵³ This statement would have irritated the Archdiocese of Chicago’s Panama Mission priests, discussed in the previous chapter, because it failed to reflect the nearly total domination of Catholic Mass by women and children they found in San Miguelito in 1962. The quote would also have irritated the Archdiocese of Chicago’s Liturgical Commission, this time for its implication that any of the numerous roles played by women in the Mass previously were not simply insufficient, they were illegitimate. But the statement was perfectly in keeping with the simple meaning that “having a role” had taken on in the vocabulary of the *Tribune*.

The Chicago paper continued to report on Roman Catholic liturgy, creating a shared Catholic and non-Catholic knowledge of these events as the final liturgical reforms commenced. Pope Paul VI called use of the *novus ordo* by all other priests and laypeople worldwide “an act of obedience, a fact of coherence with the church itself, a step forward in its authentic tradition, a demonstration of fidelity and vitality to which all must promptly adhere.”⁸⁵⁴ Spanish-speaking countries adopted the Mass in December 1969, but English-speaking U.S. Catholics encountered the new form for the first time on Palm Sunday of 1970.⁸⁵⁵ Though parish churches in Chicago would not celebrate the new Mass until the following week, Chicago Catholics were invited to watch it on the March 15th 8:15am WGN-TV “Mass for Shut-ins” program with Rev. John S.

⁸⁵³ AP, “Pope Orders End to Mass Changes, Head Cover Rule.”

⁸⁵⁴ “Pope Replies to Critics of Revised Mass” *Chicago Tribune*, November 20, 1969, 3.

⁸⁵⁵ “Italy Begins New Catholic Mass,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 1, 1969, A8.

Banahan, a televised liturgy which allowed area Catholics to fulfill their Sunday Mass obligation from home, or simply to learn more about the ever-changing Mass.

* * *

Over the same period, Latin's problematic resistance to the triumph of the English Mass was taking shape in the U.S. and elsewhere. Traditionalist groups began to emerge, maintaining complicated tensions with local and Roman authorities. At the same time, individuals and groups without official affiliation began to express their dismay with the sweeping vernacular reforms. The *Tribune* covered all of these developments as shadows of the mainstream story.

In January of 1969, seven hundred Catholics attended a "traditional Latin mass" celebrated in the lower level auditorium at Ford City shopping mall on Chicago's south side.⁸⁵⁶ The Mass was celebrated by John Vianney Kelly, a Carmelite missionary priest, who had planned a simple liturgical celebration with friends and relatives upon his return to the area. But many other Catholics, dissatisfied with their usual liturgical options, learned about the Mass and traveled from all over the region to attend. One of these attendees, the *Tribune* reported, "criticized John Cardinal Cody for permitting 'unusual experimentation with the mass' and for allegedly refusing to allow Latin masses to be said routinely in the Catholic archdiocese." Another individual linked his desire for a return to Latin liturgy with irritation at the 'professional organizers,' and their "lessons in social and economic doctrine." Both genres of complaint would become inextricable from the development of Latin Mass advocacy groups. Yet interest in Latin Masses was never confined to those organizations. The local reporter cautioned readers, "Most of those attending

⁸⁵⁶ "Latin Mass Attended by 700 Catholics: Traditional Rite Held in Shopping Center," *Chicago Tribune*, Jan 27, 1969, 10.

the [Vianney] mass emphasized that they were not part of an organized group,” though such groups would organize, both locally and nationally, over the next several years.

Soon after Vianney’s Mass, the archdiocese felt compelled to make a general statement.

The phrasing of their press release naturally occasioned some debate at a Commission meeting:

In the discussion on the placement of our statement on “Latin Masses”, Mr. Dosogne noted the confusing and perhaps incorrect articulation of the policy. As a result, the statement was revised and approved to read: “The vernacular is to be used by the sacred ministers at all public Masses to the extent permitted by law. Exceptions to the contrary require the explicit approval of the Ordinary.” . . . Such a policy seems to be more correct liturgically and juridically, allowing for occasional music in Latin, and yet covering the danger about which the Cardinal is concerned (by mention of the parts of the “sacred minister”) without allowing ourselves to legislate in reaction to the abuse of a minority.⁸⁵⁷

The attempt to preserve a soft legislative touch was a common theme in Commission discussions. Also common was the distinction between sung and spoken elements of the Mass, notable here because of the much more expansive idea of participation emerging from Commission conversations about liturgical music, discussed above. More unusually, the Commission had begun to set Latin to the side of normal archdiocesan liturgical activities, where before it had often attempted to find a balance between the two languages. The *Tribune*’s coverage was now much more likely to seek that balance, if only to provide “balanced coverage” of the Chicago community.

As Latin lost its claim on the energies of the Commission, a small number of Chicago Catholics took up its banner. A 1973 investigative column for the *Chicago Tribune* responded to reader requests for information on Chicago Latin Masses. “The Action Line resolves problems, gets answers, cuts red tape, investigates complaints and stands up for your rights,” the regular column began.⁸⁵⁸ It continued, “Readers have been calling this last week about the item in Monday’s column on where to attend a Roman Catholic Mass in Latin. They have been telling

⁸⁵⁷ April 17, 1969 Minutes, ADMNS/M3300/427#4, CNM.

⁸⁵⁸ “The Action Line,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 5, 1973, 5.

me about Assumption Church at 323 W. Illinois St., and several ‘chapels’ in the suburbs. Can you verify, and then clarify,” the contributor asked. Columnist Milt Hansen responded,

The pastor of Assumption reluctantly confirmed that the church does have a Latin High Mass every Sunday morning at 10:30am. The chapels, according to an Archdiocesan spokeswoman, are apparently part of the Traditionalist movement and the priests associated with it have been suspended.

The Assumption pastor’s reluctance to confirm may have been prescient given the events of a year later.⁸⁵⁹ The chapels, or others like them, would continue to incubate Latin Mass practitioners outside of Archdiocesan authority for over a decade, until the authorized return of the Tridentine Mass to St. John Cantius brought many of them into that parish in the early 1990s.⁸⁶⁰

* * *

The Catholic Mass became inextricable from the public face of Catholicism as first Kennedy’s election and then the Second Vatican Council drew on its pageantry to illustrate Catholic life. In a very different way, a Mass served as backdrop for the beginning of President Richard Nixon’s term. Nixon’s second inaugural concert in 1973 featured the 1812 Overture, which traditionally includes canon or other gunfire as a percussive element. Several musicians scheduled to perform walked out of that performance to protest further U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Across town, at the Washington Cathedral before an audience of nearly 18,500, Leonard Bernstein gave a free concert of Haydn’s *Mass in Time of War*.⁸⁶¹ A freelance D.C. reporter attending the concert considered the religious implications of the event, but subsumed them under a more generally human aesthetic. “The ecumenical significance of a Roman Catholic

⁸⁵⁹ It was another publication and article that launched Cardinal Cody’s instruction to discontinue Latin Masses at once and entirely, which suggests either that he did not regularly read the *Tribune*, that the *Daily’s* coverage was more incendiary, or that the liturgical landscape had become more closed over that year.

⁸⁶⁰ *Celebrating 100 years: the Parish church of St. John Cantius, 825 North Carpenter Street, Chicago, Illinois 60622.* (Chicago: 1993).

⁸⁶¹ Richard D. Freed, “Music: An examination of the arts and the Presidency now,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 28, 1973, E4.

mass conducted by a Jew in an Episcopal church may be worth noting,” he wrote, “but only as incidental to the broader connotations of universal brotherhood stressed by the two speakers and, most eloquently, by the music.” As in previous periods, the Mass could circulate as an independent aesthetic object, outside the narrow confines of a particular religious tradition or even interfaith collaborations. But it had acquired newly fraught entanglements of the civic and the sacred in the past decade. If the reporter had been interested in separating the music from the Mass, he could easily have done so. Instead, he made the religious genealogy of the performance an explicit part of his staging. The broader connotations existed in parallel with the “incidental” issues of ecumenism or even Catholic exceptionalism; they did not supplant them. The Mass remained a particular religious practice, even as it also functioned as a site where the universal and ‘the Catholic’ could be held distinct.

The Catholic Mass accumulated many associations between Kennedy’s quiet Middleberg worship and Bernstein’s well-attended concert.⁸⁶² Americans had watched it change dramatically in person, on television, in the press, or via all three. There were a number of possible narratives with which to understand that change, but one of the most common strategies was to mention the translation of the Mass into English, the language of everyday speech. The Archdiocese of Chicago Liturgical Commission saw the gradual and piecemeal translation as a series of opportunities to check on and develop Catholics in the area, both clergy and laity; by the late 1960s, however, they had begun to focus on other aspects of the liturgy than language. The interest

⁸⁶² Art Music has a long tradition of composers writing Mass settings; Bernstein’s own Mass, composed to the memory of John F. Kennedy and premiering in 1971, is not unrelated to this tradition. Joseph Haydn’s late 18th century composition *Mass in Time of War* is just one of his fourteen Mass settings, which like the Masses of Bach, Beethoven, and Andrew Lloyd Webber have filled concert halls across the globe. Particular prayers, as well as complete Masses, also populate the musical landscape. Folk duo Simon & Garfunkel’s first album, *Wednesday Morning 3am*, was released shortly before the liturgical changes began to reach U.S. parishes in November of 1964 and includes an arrangement of the Mass prayer “Benedictus.” Its composition, production, and release exceeded any official Catholic jurisdiction, even as it drew on the same sacred music tradition and played to an overlapping audience.

in improvement did not cease, only the use of English to achieve it. For press outlets like the *Chicago Tribune*, the Council was summarized by liturgical reforms, and those reforms were symbolized by English translation of Sunday Mass and the orientation of the priest towards the people.

CONCLUSION: Divided Communities and Misaligned Narratives

The archdiocese of Chicago keeps one archived folder detailing the incident that opens this chapter. The documents it contains both record the event and enervate it. They hold it in place; it cannot move forward. Records of the thorough implementation of vernacular liturgy occupy boxes and boxes, their substantial volume and administrative legacy highlighting the comparative isolation of the 1974 Assumption Latin Controversy file. In the story of Chicago liturgical reform the English Mass completes a progress narrative, and the disappearance of the Latin Mass proves it. The disappearance was neither complete nor uncomplicated, but it remains a key pivot of the post-conciliar story.

When vernacular liturgy arrived in 1964 it presented a useful pedagogical opportunity for the archdiocese of Chicago. After a few years, however, it primarily supported a narrative about the responsibility of Catholic laity to engage in the particular relationships that constituted Catholic community. This story hearkened back to the arguments made by liturgical activists in the pages of *Orate Fratres* decades before the Council initiated sweeping reforms. Compared to the Commission's process for introducing guitars at Mass, the vernacular language narrative was far more uniform and inflexible. The archdiocese was not sole author of the vernacular Mass story however, and the simpler thrust of journalistic narratives focused neither on responsibility, community, nor uniformity. Instead, newspapers like the *Chicago Tribune* used the English Mass

to summarize a changed Catholic practice, one that had made Catholics far more familiar to their neighbors.

But for Latin Mass activists there was still another narrative, one that drew on both the archdiocesan and the journalistic story but reconfigured those elements for a different purpose. Robert Cover's argument about normative mitosis, discussed at the beginning of this chapter, offers two important views on the narratives "shearing" over Catholic liturgical language. More specifically, he illuminates narrative shearing over the authorized and enforced laws which governed Catholic liturgical language. Cover wrote that laws like the liturgical pronouncements of the Second Vatican Council and the archdiocese of Chicago involve "objectification of the norms to which one is committed," which "frequently, perhaps always, entails a narrative – a story of how the law, - now object, came to be, and more importantly, how it came to be one's own."⁸⁶³ Chicago Catholics took possession of the liturgical laws of the 1960s in a number of ways, and developed narratives about that process that were informed but not entirely controlled by archdiocesan and journalistic authors. For Chicagoans committed to Latin liturgy the laws provided the resources to diverge from both the Liturgical Commission and the editorial board of the *Chicago Tribune*.⁸⁶⁴ But the resulting narrative would have little power to sway the Catholic institutions on which Catholics depended for the Mass.

* * *

The Latin Mass that was "forbidden" by Cody in April 1974 was as much a creation of the liturgical implementation campaigns as the vernacular Masses which replaced it. It was precisely that type of public worship, and that type of worshipping Catholic community, that had resisted

⁸⁶³ Cover, "Nomos and Narrative," 45.

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid., 46. These stories were important as "the range of [Catholic] commitments." They "provide resources for justification, condemnation, and argument by actors within the group, who [struggled] to live their law."

reconfiguration for the modern age. It was, in the official narrative, both an affront to hierarchical authority and an offense against the aspiration of an increasingly active U.S. Catholic community. In newspaper coverage that referred to the Mass, Catholics found themselves embedded in a narrative that they shared with non-Catholics about a community that was only their own. In worship, Catholics found themselves embedded in a particular experience of that community. Though they shared a community, Catholics differed in the degree to which they felt at home in it.

Parishioners at Assumption and St. Procopius were unhappy that the Archbishop's reaction to the *Daily News* article about their Mass was to forbid it. The dozen or so members of the laity from Assumption who wrote letters of complaint to their Archbishop in the following weeks expressed their loss in language ranging from lamentation to accusation. One letter from "a humble, Spanish-speaking man" cried out "one by one all the Catholic Churches are being stripped of anything that makes them seem Catholic." Another noted that "the vengeance with which the church leadership has moved to wipe out the old way is much more akin to the totalitarianism which rules the Communist world than the love of Christ with which Catholicism has always been associated." The author protested the irony of a Church lauding openness but behaving tyrannically.⁸⁶⁵ But Assumption parishioners did not argue for a return to a pre-conciliar, let alone pre-modern, ecclesiology in their calls for the Latin Mass. They grounded their claims in both the secular and sacred obligations of Cody's role as pastor of a flock. They embraced a model of authority combining the democratic and the pastoral.

Letters from Assumption parishioners began arriving at the Archdiocese offices almost immediately after their pastor announced the decision to end Latin Mass, and continued for more than two months. At least ten individuals and one organization (the Catholic Antimodernist

⁸⁶⁵ Arjonilla to Cody, April 29, 1974; Unger to Cody, May 6, 1974, EXEC/C0670/36#10, JCC.

League) sent letters to Cardinal Cody between April 29, 1974 and July 5.⁸⁶⁶ Letters called the Assumption Latin Mass "a source of strength and beauty," or upbraided Cody for taking "away from me the Latin Mass at Assumption, which was the only real enjoyment I could look forward to each week." Authors wrote about the Mass like a precious possession, something both deeply personal and inherently social. Cody's decision had taken the Mass *away from them*. It was a source of something important and fulfilling in their week. The archdiocese had devoted years to convincing them that they the laity were responsible for it, but they were also dependent on its provision by Fr. Ferrazzi and, ultimately, their archbishop.

Many of the parishioners who wrote to Cody reasoned similarly. One pleaded that she and parishioners like her "too are members of your flock and deserve to be heard." Another wrote "we are entitled to [consideration] as you are the Head of our archdiocese." Archdiocesan authority was, for these parishioners, an authority *on behalf* as much as it was an authority *over*. These letters assumed that they were in competition with other Catholics more aligned with Cody's projects, and that they had lost a protector as protection was over-extended to their opponents. But references to troubling alternative Masses supported their appeal for equal treatment, not a call to abolish the other Masses. The continued existence of the alternative proved their own right to participate in the Latin liturgy. Partisans of the Latin Mass, these letters argued, were only partisan because they had been forced to fight for equal treatment.

Champions of the Latin Mass at Assumption parish in 1974 came to Assumption because they felt unable to participate at other parishes. Liturgical impediments made it difficult, if not impossible for these Catholics to enter into public worship where the "public" was so

⁸⁶⁶ The instigation for Cody's intervention may have been an article in a secular paper, but Catholic periodicals were certainly involved in covering the issue. Some letters include articles from both.

fundamentally at odds with their own narrative commitments. One author explained that "it was during a Mass in our parish about one year ago when we were forced to listen to a song by Barbara Striesand [sic] from a tape recorder on the altar that I decided I could no longer help support our parish and switched my support to Assumption." Another described an incident in which a family member, confronted with new directives on the sacrament of first communion, had been "outraged that it would even be suggested that a twelve year old child should make such a decision himself." Latin Masses had become the common space for refugees from jarring liturgical moments.

The appeal to equal treatment under the new liturgical law was also an appeal to the ideal of active participation championed in Council documents and in the liturgical movement that both pre- and post-dates that event. One letter asked, "if the Catholic church wants to become so liberal and democratic why not give the people themselves a choice in what type of mass they care to participate?" Another complained that Cody's sweeping decree against Latin Mass was "very inconsistent with all your talk about 'dialogue' and 'decision sharing.'"⁸⁶⁷ In his follow-up letter to Cody, Ferrazzi suggested that the archbishop allow "pastors and their Parish Councils [to] decide what the Parish wants. If we use the Council for many other matters of Parish concern, why not in this matter?" Ferrazzi thought that this policy would help "keep many souls in the Church, who otherwise will remain outside and we should feel responsible at least in part, for their staying away from the Church and the Sacraments." Participation constituted community. Where Latin Mass was more effective in that constitution, Ferrazzi urged, it should be legitimate.

⁸⁶⁷ Cody seems to have argued that he had only 'outlawed' (or, publicized the global out-of-law-ness of) the Tridentine Mass, and that he had simply pointed out that while the *novus ordo* was legal with permission, no one had sought his permission. Some Catholics, specifically the Antimodernist league, asserted that he had outlawed *all* Latin in the Mass, whether that was a misinterpretation of Cody's decree or a reasonable translation of its language.

The parishioners at Assumption parish who wrote to Archbishop Cody did so having learned much about the Catholic Mass over the past decade, some of it through the efforts of the Liturgical Commission and the LTP and some of it from the public discourse on the Mass that had circulated in popular and political culture over the same period. Like the archdiocese, they wanted to ensure that their public worship constituted and consecrated the world and human life in it. Parishioners wrote letters to their Archbishop pleading for continued access to “their” Latin Mass, arguing for their right to it using both the Catholic liturgical principle of ‘active participation’ and the democratic ideals inherent to the American citizenship they shared with Cody. But Cody used those same principles and ideals to maintain his initial position, and by autumn Latin Mass was officially forbidden within the archdiocesan boundaries of Chicago.⁸⁶⁸

Cover happily treats religion as the fundamental model or *nomos* “because the paradigmatic cases I have in mind require just such a heavy weight of meaning,” and share with ‘religion’ an orientation towards liberation and away from “fallen states.”⁸⁶⁹ He is not alone in making religious norms and stories the supplement to pragmatic, uninspiring, and ultimately soulless state actions. Cover writes that narrative “is a challenging enrichment of social life, a potential restraint on arbitrary power and violence. We ought to stop circumscribing the *nomos*,” he argues. “We ought to invite new worlds.”⁸⁷⁰ It is this invitation which Latin Mass activists were no less eager to answer than their archdiocese. Cover’s work suggests, though never explicitly states, that government is both a lesser form of religion and a step beyond it. A lesser form because at best it traffics in comparatively “light” meaning, at worst it fails to generate meaning at all. But

⁸⁶⁸ It would not be licit again until 1989 when Cody’s successor Cardinal Bernardin granted permission to one urban parish to offer the Latin liturgy. See epilogue for further discussion of this parish, St. John Cantius.

⁸⁶⁹ Cover, “Nomos and Narrative,” 35.

⁸⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 68.

government is also a step beyond religion because it serves “the universalist virtues [of] modern liberalism . . . justified by the need to ensure the coexistence of worlds of strong normative meaning.”⁸⁷¹ Religion provides law with a moral horizon; law keep religious worlds from each other’s throats.

Over the past fifty years, “the Latin Mass” has hovered at the margins of American Catholic conversations, code for attitudes about the Council and Catholic modernity more generally. Both its detractors and its supporters absorbed a narrative about the importance of active participation to the development of modern U.S. Catholicism. It was the degree to which English overlapped with participatory actions, as these were described in archdiocesan liturgical programs, that divided them into separate worlds of meaning. A decade before the 1974 Assumption Latin incident many Catholics would have had trouble imagining its outcome. Reformers were ambivalent about abandoning Latin well into the implementation of conciliar reforms. But over a very short period, scholarly and popular understandings of the Latin Mass converged on a narrative in which the subsequent re-introduction of Latin is the more curious and troubling event.

⁸⁷¹ Ibid., 12

Some Initial Conclusions: The Latin Mass in 21st Century Theory and Practice

“Active participation is not simply a matter of making responses and reciting or singing together certain prayers. It is, above all, a union of mind and heart with Christ in the offering of His Sacrifice, . . . The people have long been accustomed to thinking of the Mass as an action that the priest alone performs, while they attend, believe, adore, petition, and so on. But Christ died as the Head and Representative of all men, not just of the clergy, and so when His Sacrifice is made present in the Mass the laity as well as the clergy are co-victims and co-offerers with Christ. The priest . . . is at the head of the whole action, while all the others take their respective parts according to the status and role assigned to each.”⁸⁷²

“It’s hard to change . . . Take a family as an example. Members know they must get along but often they have habits that annoy one another. They don’t leave the family, they practice getting along. It’s the same things in the Church. Things don’t just happen, we have to practice. The trouble is that many of us don’t have enough courage or love.”⁸⁷³

“If we think about the changes which have been taking place in the Liturgy, we become aware that their effect on some people has been a loss of the sense of divine presence in the Mass. This is indeed sad since these changes are intended to achieve just the opposite result.”⁸⁷⁴

The Vernacular Mass in Public

The three quotes above sketch the narrative that brought an English Mass to U.S. Catholics as an entailment of active participation. The previous chapter examined how that narrative began to spin off semi-detached interpretive communities by the early 1970s. The narrative dissonance between Bernstein’s interfaith cultural event, Cody’s executive decision, and Assumption’s appeal to democratic parity was not a historical irony. It was the result of diverging parties with an interconnected imagination of a shared object. The Mass of one cannot be detached from the Mass

⁸⁷² Rev. Shawn G. Sheehan, “Spiritual Formation Key to Program,” *Mediator* Vol. X, No.2, Adv.-Chrstm., 1958, 1.

⁸⁷³ Rev. Theodore C. Stone, assistant director of CCD, member of the archdiocesan Liturgical Commission, and director of the Liturgical Training Program, quoted in Mary Etta Talarico, “Program Will Train Laymen in New Liturgy: Six-Week Course to Prepare Parishes for Mass in English,” *New World*, Aug. 21, 1964, 13.

⁸⁷⁴ O’Hare Airport Chapel bulletin, April 20, 1969, PRSH/PO120/117, PRPB.

of the others. Each party pulled the Mass into its own orbit, only to have it tugged at by one or more competing story. Cody's and Assumption's narratives developed in intimate conversation with an archdiocesan liturgical reform strategy. Both experienced an implementation process designed for Chicago. But that strategy built on decades of diocesan programming like Frederick McManus's Demonstration Masses in Boston in the early 1950s, and national discourse like the combative discussions about liturgical language in *Orate Fratres* in the 1940s and beyond. Bernstein's conception of the Mass was essentially global, but it was grounded in the circumstances at work in particular moments of composition, performance, and reception. Scholars who write about liturgical reform today explain things like the transition from Latin to English both to those who experienced them and those encountering them for the first time. Their analyses constitute yet another tug at the same Mass.

“Active participation” defined a language for and a measurement of Catholic community in the *Orate Fratres* discussions analyzed in Chapter One. The substance of active participation was changeable, but in each case it represented an opportunity to correct an existing parish issue or infuse lackluster piety with renewed and redirected vigor. It was an opportunity and a justification for intervention, but the precise opportunity and the particular justification varied. This remained true in those conversations dominated by the linguistic aspect of active participation. Perhaps more than other areas, the language issue emphasized the intellectual component of the Mass. The debate centered around the best means of recruiting lay participants – whether by presenting them with a Mass in their own language or exciting them to learn the exceptional language of the Mass – and of forming them, once recruited, into an ideal liturgical community. Liturgists who advocated for the vernacular claimed that it would allow Catholics to understand the Mass in a way that was impossible with Latin. Their opponents insisted that this

was a false dichotomy, on the one hand ignoring the intellectual work that was required to move between a vernacular translation and the deep historical and theological import of Mass prayers, and on the other ignoring the body of worshippers who were perfectly capable of comprehending, if not a Latin dictionary, then at least the Latin prayers found in their missals. In every instance, the relationships that Constance Furey reminds scholars to examine structured both the instigation and the outcome of these debates. There were competitive relationships between liturgists, each with their own hard-won positions, and symbiotic relationships between members of a parish bound together in very public worship.

In the context of an archdiocesan campaign, liturgical programming of the 1950s took on an even broader public face. The Boston's Demonstration Mass series examined in Chapter Two was part of systematic push to make the whole Catholic polity into one liturgical community. It presented the Mass in English with accompanying explanations (techniques that would be incorporated into the Mass ritual itself a little more than a decade later) in order to simultaneously prepare local Catholics for the Latin Mass and convince them of its superiority relative to an English Mass. At the same time, archdiocesan campaigns for more active participation in the Mass bled into other moments of Catholic life, from funding orphanages in still-ravaged post-War Europe to encouraging and corralling Catholic votes. As the Mass slipped between performative, pious, and political contexts, priests and laity made constant distinctions between an authentic Mass and events or ideas that merely related to the Mass. They ritualized the Mass, as Catherine Bell would say, through comparison with a non-participated Mass, a play about the Mass, a lecture-demonstration on the Mass, or a guidebook for leveraging participation in the Mass to increase participation in U.S. politics.

The Second Vatican Council gave a clear opening to vernacular liturgy and U.S. dioceses rushed to convert a nation of Catholics to new forms of weekly public worship. As in previous decades, the search for active participation was inextricable from the drive to reform Catholics through reforming their religious practice. This time, however, English was a preeminent mark of active participation. Chicago undertook an especially comprehensive implementation campaign, designing and providing the workshops, publications, and interviews for local Catholic and non-Catholic press that I investigate in Chapters Three and Four. Post-Kennedy, post-Council Catholic laymen were the subjects of these formative strategies. Catholics were required to develop a consciousness about their liturgical practices, and to feel responsible for public worship as well as other public matters. Pierre Bourdieu's social theory provides a useful landscape onto which the archdiocesan administration of liturgical form can be mapped, with the caveat that Bourdieu assumes a misrecognition that archdiocesan officials worked explicitly against.

After the initial years of reform, the archdiocese revised their vision of active vernacular participation in the new (and still evolving) liturgy. In this narrative, the celebration of a completely English Mass proved both the success of conciliar reform campaigns and the need for lay Catholics to play their role in the worshipping community. But other liturgical elements, like the instruments used during Mass, inspired archdiocesan actors to adopt some of the older emphases on local adaptation that vernacular language had originally included. As the archdiocese honed its narrative of Catholic history, other parties began to draw on their own experiences of the era. For all, English became a simple stand-in for a variety of points that the archdiocese, different Catholic communities, and the media hoped to make about the English Mass. These normative worlds were "shorn" from one another, using an element of Robert Cover's U.S. legal theory, establishing accounts of liturgical codes that were equally successful as narratives but had unequal

influence on religious or civil institutions. Both Cover and Bourdieu illuminate an emphasis on religious complementarity to political worlds which suggests a longer tradition of theoretical tensions between religion and state into which both implementation and analyses of the English Mass entered.

Throughout this dissertation I have incorporated insights from Furey, Bell, Bourdieu and Cover in order to organize my sources. Relationships, ritualization, habituation, and narrative offer key points of intersection between the long liturgical movement history spanning 1940s *Orate Fratres* articles, 1950s Boston liturgical programming, and 1960s bureaucracies of reform in Chicago. To work on the Mass was to work on the relationships through which the Mass came into being. The community that liturgical activists wished to see emerge was more important than the particular linguistic strategies they believed would help it to do so. When those strategies were implemented, in Boston and elsewhere, however, they acted in complicated social worlds, worlds in which the Mass was both wholly other than and inextricably meshed with other strands of Catholic life. Ritualizing the Mass, setting it apart from entertainment, education, and civic engagement, offered liturgists an opportunity to comment on those other arenas as well as on the particular ways that a wholly other Mass could form Catholics for a holistic life that included them.

The Council and its well-publicized reforms provided dioceses with both an obligation and an opportunity to reach into the lives of every practicing Catholic in an area. Chicago's thorough reforms required collaboration from local laity explicitly, demonstrating and explaining the various steps in liturgical reform that would become their new liturgical responsibility. They made clear and direct appeals to the manner by which Catholics would be habituated to the new Mass and the new U.S. Catholic Church that it enabled and realized. As the contentious debates of the 1940s would suggest, archdiocesan efforts resulted in a several different outcomes. Two narratives

emerged within Catholic communities: the triumphal story of progress embraced by the main Catholic population, and the story of bureaucratic insensitivity told by Catholics like those at Assumption. These organizing stories shared the Mass with a larger public conversation about the new place of Catholics, and of religion generally, in U.S. culture. The Mass was central to many narratives and controlled by none.

Chicago Latin Masses After 1974

1974 did not actually mark the last Latin Mass in Chicago, or even the last Tridentine Latin Mass. Over the next few decades permission from the Vatican and the enthusiasm of a few Chicago Catholics brought this “pre-conciliar” liturgy back into circulation, countering the completion narrative of liturgical reform. In 1984 and then 1988 Pope John Paul II granted then encouraged use of an Indult, or special permission under special circumstances, to celebrate Tridentine Masses.⁸⁷⁵ These permissions were highly regulated by the local bishop. The Indult meant “liturgically conservative” parishioners who wanted Latin Mass could use a papal document when lobbying their own bishops, but significant barriers remained until Pope Benedict XVI's 2007 *Summorum Pontificum* decreed that the pre-1962 Latin Mass should be made available to any Catholic community that requested it, drastically limiting the “special circumstances” hurdle. Benedict's decision emphasized that his policy was meant to provide comfort to those devoted to the Tridentine Mass. His pastoral framing echoed that of Assumption pastor Ferrazzi thirty-three years earlier.

⁸⁷⁵ “Pope authorizes limited Use of Latin Mass Banned in '63,” *New York Times*, October 16 1984, <http://www.nytimes.com/1984/10/16/world/pope-authorizes-limited-use-of-latin-mass-banned-in-63.html> accessed June 12 2017; John Paul II, *Ecclesia Dei* motu proprio, [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/motu_proprio /documents/hf_jpii_motu-proprio_02071988_ecclesia-dei.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/motu_proprio/documents/hf_jpii_motu-proprio_02071988_ecclesia-dei.html) accessed June 12 2017.

In the 21st century the term Latin Mass is richly imprecise. Pope Benedict XVI designated two forms of Mass in his 2007 Apostolic Letter *Summorum Pontificum*. He used “ordinary” to describe the *novus ordo* Mass promulgated by Pope Paul VI in 1969, composed in Latin and immediately translated into vernacular languages. This Mass may be celebrated in Latin but is normally a vernacular rite. Benedict’s “extraordinary form” of Mass was the Tridentine rite, which is celebrated primarily if not exclusively in Latin. But as I show in Chapters One and Two, this form incorporated varying amounts of vernacular in the decades before the Second Vatican Council, and as discussed in Chapters Three and Four, was celebrated using a mixture of Latin and vernacular for several years immediately after the Council. Yet the Canons Regular of St. John Cantius, a clerical order in Chicago that trains priests to offer both the ordinary and extraordinary forms of Mass, offers “tutorials on the Latin Mass for clergy and laity,” and the same phrase occurs throughout scholarly and popular sources.

I first encountered the Latin Mass at a 12:30pm Mass in the extraordinary form, celebrated by a priest specially trained for this liturgy and a congregation that had come from all across the region to join him in it. The church, St. John Cantius, is located just West of downtown Chicago.⁸⁷⁶ It offers four Masses every Sunday: two Tridentine Latin Masses and two *novus ordo* Masses, one each in English and Latin.⁸⁷⁷ I had chosen an eventful day for my visit. During the brief homily that afternoon I learned that someone from local schismatic organization the Fatima Movement had interrupted one of the morning Masses during communion, the climactic moment of Catholic

⁸⁷⁶ The Church was built in a “polish cathedral” style in 1898 for the second Polish parish founded in Chicago.

⁸⁷⁷ In 2017, seven Chicago churches offer one or more Masses in Latin. Fifteen offer American Sign Language liturgies, and 125 offer Mass in Spanish. <http://parishdirectory.archchicago.org/ParishSearch.aspx>, accessed June 11, 2017. As of 2011, two of the Latin Mass parishes were staffed by Canons Regular priests: St. John Cantius in Chicago’s River West and St. Peter’s in Volo, IL. Priests at Saint John Cantius are members of the Canons Regular of Saint John Cantius, a religious order founded in 1998. www.canons-regular.org/go/about/ accessed June 11, 2017.

communal worship. During communion they had entered the nave and distributed flyers claiming the Catholic Church had become corrupted and was hiding important spiritual truths from the faithful.⁸⁷⁸ They invited Cantius parishioners to join the Fatima Movement instead.

The Fatima Movement opposes any use of the *novus ordo* liturgy, attributing its composition to demonic forces, and insists that only the Tridentine Mass is a legitimate and effective sacred ritual. That St. John Cantius offers Tridentine Masses would seem to appeal to the movement. But they read its celebration in such close proximity to *novus ordo* Masses, and in a parish which accepts the authority of the Catholic hierarchy, as a corrupted horror. St. John Cantius was a target of the Fatima Movement's recruitment efforts precisely because of the threat of conflating their two very different uses of a Latin Mass. The Fatima Movement was the target of a St. John Cantius priest's displeasure for the same reason.

The priest's short homily that afternoon stressed that St. John Cantius was a mainstream church at the center of American Catholicism and that parishioners were responsible for carefully preserving that center. The priest contrasted Cantius with the "marginal" conservative group that had threatened to confuse their position a few hours earlier.⁸⁷⁹ The priest, very irate, was adamant that his congregation not mistake this and similar groups for real Catholicism.⁸⁸⁰ In a conversation

⁸⁷⁸ The Fatima Movement website asserts that the third Fatima secret revealed the true third person of the trinity to be Mary and that this fact was hidden by the corrupt Catholic Church. Movement founder "Mr. Nobody" credits his mission with the, "Many miracles . . . including stopping Freemasonry's Third World War, the destruction of the Washington Monument (the world's largest Illuminati monument) and the U.S. Capitol Dome in 2011, the destruction of Mecca in Saudi Arabia on Sept. 11, 2015 . . . and of course, stopping of the end of the world." www.fatimamovement.com accessed June 11, 2017. The introduction of Mary into the trinity does not entail any move towards gender egalitarianism. In an October 4, 2013 editorial about "Vatican II wives" Mr. Nobody writes, "Since you bowed down to her when you proposed to her for marriage, she is now under the impression that she is your god. In her boss manager type mind, your life's purpose is to obey *her* orders, not to be saying the Rosary to Our Lady." Mr. Nobody disagrees vigorously with this impression.

⁸⁷⁹ Author's field notes, July 31, 2011.

⁸⁸⁰ The organization gleefully projects the schismatic tone of both progressive and mainstream-conservative nightmares: "Remember, there is no salvation outside of the Catholic Church. Since the Church has been destroyed from within via 2000 years of Illuminati subversion and Sacramental invalidation, it doesn't take a genius to realize the world is damned, ready for the dead in Christ to rise (commonly known as the Zombie Apocalypse)."

with Cantius priest Dennis Kolinski earlier that summer, I was reproved for calling the parish “conservative” because this referred to a different kind of Catholic altogether.⁸⁸¹ Kolinski's suggestion to use “reverent,” “faithful,” or “traditional” instead directed me to understand the whole parish as the unproblematic center of an authentic Catholic spirituality. In a later interview, Kolinski stated that much academic work has portrayed the Catholic Church inaccurately. The result of this “shoddy scholarship” seems to be a confused geography, or at least a map on which Kolinski cannot or will not locate his own parish.⁸⁸² The fear of the homilist, and Kolinski's anxiety about terminology, both derive from the particular history of Catholic liturgy and cultural polarization that had begun to emerge by Cody's 1974 decision to end Latin Masses at Assumption.

The history of St. John Cantius is inextricable from the limitation and resurgence of Latin Masses. C. Frank Phillips, C.R. was assigned to Cantius on August 15, 1988.⁸⁸³ At the time, the parish was barely hanging on. The building was expensive to maintain and supported by a very small congregation, “a contingent of Faithful and thoroughly dedicated members small in number and mostly elderly.”⁸⁸⁴ Phillips suspected he had been sent there to close the parish. Instead, he drew on his musical background “to make St. John Cantius a viable parish for the future by promoting the richness of the liturgical tradition of the church, particularly the Latin Liturgy.” The parish began to offer the *novus ordo* Latin Mass in January 1989. The previous July, Pope John Paul II had issued his call for increased use of the 1984 Indult allowing for the celebration of the Tridentine Mass under appropriate conditions. In February 1989 Fr. Phillips said the first Indult

⁸⁸¹ Dennis Kolinski (Associate Pastor at St. John Cantius church), interview by author July 19, 2011 at St. John Cantius church rectory, Chicago, IL. Fr. Kolinski was somewhat skeptical that the term was useful in describing *any* actual Catholics.

⁸⁸² Dennis Kolinski, interview by author, June 21, 2012 at St. John Cantius church rectory, Chicago, IL.

⁸⁸³ *Celebrating 100 years*, 84.

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 85.

Mass at St. John Cantius, to be said weekly thereafter. It attracted Catholics from across the city, including some who had left the Church over liturgical changes. The parish yearbook celebrates the fact that "on December 8, 1992, a large group of faithful, who had formerly worshipped with the schismatic Society of Pius X ... began attending the Indult Mass at St. John's." In both its own parish history and in articles written by and directed at a more general Catholic audience, St. John Cantius parish has figured as an example of a Catholic church in which liturgical divisions and the cultural fragmentation they signify are resolved.

When I first contacted St. John Cantius parish about researching the liturgical environment they provided in downtown Chicago, I was directed to Kolinski, a priest with the Canons Regular of St. John Cantius who has served as a spokesman for the parish in several articles and interviews published over the past decade. He was quoted in a 2000 article in the *National Catholic Register* that the parish wants "to implement the directives of Vatican II to the fullest extent. We want to keep everything the Church has given us - 2,000 years of riches. We want the preservation of the old and the cultivation of what's good from now."⁸⁸⁵ Kolinski's invocation of Vatican II locates St. John Cantius parish directly in the center of the Catholic Church. It is not drifting towards the margins with the anti-conciliar schismatics, nor is it hijacking the center and pulling it out of history, in the way liberals, he suggests, have done. A 2002 article for *Crisis* magazine reported that "Father Phillips wants his parishioners to be familiar with the documents of the Second Vatican Council so they can engage in intelligent arguments about Church teaching and practice."⁸⁸⁶ Just like liturgical activists in of the 1940s, 50s and 60s, SJF instructs its parishioners

⁸⁸⁵ Jay Copp, "'Sense of Sacred' Draws Men to New Religious Community," *National Catholic Register*, Sept. 24-30, 2000.

⁸⁸⁶ John Burger, "A Renaissance in Chicago: How a Dying Parish Came Back to Life," *Crisis*. February 2002. Burger also notes that *The Coalition in Support of Ecclesia Dei*, a lay group "which has lobbied bishops in the United States to grant permission for more Tridentine Masses, was born in the midst of the rebirth of St. John Cantius." Cantius

that they are responsible for carrying the Catholic formation they derive from the Mass out into their homes and a society that includes other interpretations of the Church.

In our conversations, Kolinski confirmed the central place of particular liturgical experiences in the parish community there:

One of the big things that we've lost in the, not in the Church, we still have it in the Church, but in many places, is -- the liturgies are all very here and now ... but when you come here there is this sense of inescapable mystery, beauty and transcendence, you know that when you've attended a Mass here that it wasn't of this world.

Immense care and attention has been put into the details of Masses at St. John Cantius, whether that be rubrical precision of the Mass ritual or the provision of sacred art and music. Though some who attend Latin Mass accuse the parishes they left to do so of sloppy or irreverent liturgy, this care is unique neither to St. John Cantius or to Latin Mass parishes generally. The techniques which the archdiocese of Chicago used to implement liturgical reform are not entirely dissimilar to those which Cantius has used to transform itself into Chicago's flagship Latin Mass parish. Neither are the expectations of the laity in each instance. Parishioners are both formed and instruments of formation, their reverent postures and faithful attention contributing to the impression and the essence of the Mass for others in the worshipping community.

St. John Cantius' argument about the telos of the liturgical reforms received a boost with Pope Benedict XVI's 2007 decision. But in a 2009 discussion of *Summorum Pontificum's* reception, Catholic theology scholar Steven A. Kiczek argued that Benedict's attempt to unify the Church by expanding access to the pre-1969 Latin Mass only added to liturgical partisans' polarization. "In general, people have reacted in a predictable way depending on their already

parishioners, dissatisfied with the lack of a coherent Episcopal plan to implement the 1988 papal liberalization of Tridentine rite beyond their parish, held meetings in the basement of their church with other concerned Chicago Catholics. Here they organized the production of appropriate missals for the Tridentine liturgy and discussed ways to publicize the Pope's Indult. Materials published by this organization are frequently among those provided to parishioners entering St. John Cantius for Mass.

established loyalties," he argued.⁸⁸⁷ For one Latin Mass parishioner Kiczek quoted, the Tridentine Rite takes "our minds off of ourselves ... there is a sense of worshiping together." But Catholics who had hoped for an end to this liturgy fear the "extreme individualism, the rejection of Vatican II, ... silence [and] de-emphasis on community."⁸⁸⁸ Both sides abjured individualism and embraced communalism in the Catholic liturgy. Latin Mass adherents claimed that their parish community had access to a more authentic liturgical experience; vernacular-only Catholics worried that a return to pre-1962 liturgical form was an attempt to subvert the last fifty years of change and would return U.S. Catholics to passivity. The similarity of the latter view to contemporary scholarly work on the Latin Mass in American Catholic history is not coincidental.

Catholics who encounter the physical and social environment at St. John Cantius react to it in two very different ways. Len Pacek's 2004 article for the *National Catholic Register* begins with an extended and loving description of the church interior. Pacek emphasizes the church building and sacred art, all of it lovingly maintained. He describes his visit as "a moving spiritual pilgrimage," then adds that "it is sometimes said by visitors that they have never experienced the Mass said with such care, reverence and attention to detail." He combines the two points in his description of the quality of silence that inhabits the church:

It is not the kind of dead quiet you find in some of the enormous, old churches of Europe - the decommissioned ones now presented to tourists as artifacts of a bygone age. No, the silence inside Chicago's St. John Cantius Church is *felt*. It's a palpable presence.... The history of the parish is alive in this silence, engaging all the senses.⁸⁸⁹

Pacek's report combines the human and the inanimate aspects of the space he encounters. Both contribute to the "palpable presence" of the parish and the sacred at a St. John Cantius Mass.

⁸⁸⁷ Steven A. Kiczek, "Pope Benedict XVI's *Summorum Pontificum*: Reconciling Conflicting Values," *Journal of Religious & Theological Information* 8 (2009), Abstract.

⁸⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 39, 41.

⁸⁸⁹ Len Pacek, "House of God, Gate of Heaven," *National Catholic Register*, January 4, 2004.

Other Catholics are far more alienated by the space, especially its social elements. In a 2007 article for the *New York Times*, Lawrence Downes tells the story of his first Tridentine Mass at St. John Cantius church.⁸⁹⁰ After admitting that he "felt sheepish, particularly because I was surrounded by far more competent flock," he continues,

I also felt shaken and, irrationally, angry. Catholics are told that the church is the new people of God, but from my silent pew, the people seemed irrelevant. This Mass belonged to Father and his altar boys, and it seemed that I could submit to that arrangement or leave. For the first time, I understood viscerally how some Catholics felt in the '60s, when the Mass they loved went away.

Downes sees in the gap between his own experience and that of the Cantius congregation a self-deprecating but no less ghastly prophecy for the Church they share:

It's easy enough to see where this is going; same God, same church, but separate camps, each with an affinity for vernacular or Latin . . . Smart, devout, ambitious Catholics - ecclesial, young Republicans, home-schoolers, seminarians and other shock troops of the faith - will have their Mass. The rest of us - a lumpy assortment of cafeteria Catholics, guilty parents, peace-'n'-justice lefties, stubborn Vatican II die-hards - will have ours. We'll have to prod our snoozing pewmates when to sit and stand; they'll have to rein in their zealots. And we probably won't see one another on Sunday mornings, if ever.

Here Downes illustrates the place Mass occupies in a collective imaginary. It is the ritual which knits the Catholic to their community, in which the two become legible to each other. But only if both sides can share the same Mass.

During my visit to St. John Cantius, my body did not move like the bodies that surrounded me. We both knew how to behave at Mass as a general category, but their knowledge fit our circumstances and mine was misaligned. I could channel Lawrence Downes and find in their still forms a passivity both alienating and disappointing; alienating because it did not acknowledge me by handing me a hymnal or turning to shake my hand, and disappointing because if it excluded me then it violated the intended purpose of the Mass. On the other hand, I could approach the

⁸⁹⁰ Lawrence Downes, "The Pope Reopens a Portal to Eternity, via the 1950s: Is the church ready for the Latin Mass? I'm not." *New York Times*, Jul 29, 2007, C9.

experience with Len Pacek as my model and find an atmospheric sacramentality in which I experienced myself as part of the group precisely because no one isolated me by attending to me in my individuality. I am loath to constrain the mechanics of musical, aesthetic and human resources at St. John Cantius, to argue that they more actually provoke one reaction or the other. They provoked both, depending on my own sense of what “active participation” or “sacred atmosphere” could mean and should be.

The two need not be mutually exclusive. Downes understands “his” Catholic community to be defined by the relevance of the people, but it seems strange to accuse the parishioners who come to St. John Cantius of considering themselves irrelevant to their church or Church.⁸⁹¹ Pacek understands the silence at St. John Cantius to be defined by the “palpable presence” of the sacred realized in silence, but it would be very odd to accuse parishioners elsewhere of flocking to Masses where they could use the noise to drown out God. An approach to the Catholic Mass that allows scholars to avoid both accusations would be particularly useful.⁸⁹²

The Catholic Church in the U.S., laity and clergy, overwhelmingly support vernacular liturgy. But even that consensus leaves room for intra-communal tensions. David R. Maines and Michael J. McCallion’s 1997 study highlight the new opportunities for tension and conflict that were introduced when actively participating laity disagreed, with each other and with the archdiocese, over the direction reforms should take.⁸⁹³ In 1977 Joseph Champlin wrote of his “enthusiastic support” for the call to active lay participation that mobilized liturgical reforms after

⁸⁹¹ In my conversations with parishioners after Mass or at one of several workshops on the liturgy I attended during the same period, they expressed a sense of closeness to the Mass that would have been at odds with Downe’s criticism that it merely “belonged to Father and his altar boys.”

⁸⁹² Richard Kieckhefer makes a similar point about the relationship between a particular church architecture and a particular reaction to it in “Immanence and transcendence in church architecture,” *Koinonia: The Journal of the Anglican & Eastern Churches Association* 54.

⁸⁹³ Parishioners participated in the new Church by actively choosing pre-conciliar forms of liturgy, disentangling calls for participation with justifications for liturgical change. Maines and McCallion, *Transforming Catholicism*, 79.

the Second Vatican Council. But he also insisted that pre-conciliar Catholics who attended Mass in Latin “did pray at Mass, and an atmosphere of reverence, awe and mystery tended to prevail.”⁸⁹⁴ Thomas Day grappled with a similar point in his 1990 book, *Why Catholics Can't Sing*.⁸⁹⁵ Day believed that “Roman Catholicism ... is moving away from a ritual which simply *takes place* (the historic method) to something that is presented to a constituency.”⁸⁹⁶ “‘Liturgical Renewal,’ ‘postconciliar,’ and ‘participation,’” he continues, “once noble ideals, are on the verge of becoming symbols of coercion. The laity. . . who are not singing, quietly resent this.”⁸⁹⁷ Neither priest urges a return to the Latin Mass. But they saw liturgical reform as a still incomplete project.

The historiography of U.S. Catholicism in the post-conciliar period avoids Pacek’s excesses more successfully than it does Downes,’ in part because it leans on the story of liturgical reform to act as metonymy for a narrative of steady progress towards a fully vernacular liturgy. In his story of Catholics in America, historian James M. O’Toole describes an American liturgical movement centered primarily in the Midwest and confined to a small clerical elite. In the wake of the Second Vatican Council, he argues, this elite was finally joined by bishops who saw liturgical restoration as an opportunity to clear away customs that obscured an authentic celebration of the Mass. When the Church put an end to liturgical Latin in 1969, this was the culmination of a change both rapid and radical. Yet “[f]or some Catholics that change could not come too quickly.”⁸⁹⁸ From this point forward in O’Toole’s narrative, these are the normative American Catholic. The slogan “Restore Our Latin Mass” appears on a placard held by one of 150 parishioners picketing

⁸⁹⁴ Joseph M. Champlin, *The New Yet Old Mass* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Ave Maria Press, 1977), 26.

⁸⁹⁵ Thomas Day, *Why Catholics Can't Sing: The Culture of Catholicism and the Triumph of Bad Taste* (New York: Crossroad, 1990).

⁸⁹⁶ Day, *Why Catholics Can't Sing*, 80.

⁸⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁸⁹⁸ O’Toole, *The Faithful*, 208.

St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1968 as part of the Catholic Traditionalist Movement, but otherwise the Latin Mass drops out of the American Catholic experience.⁸⁹⁹ O'Toole understands early efforts to change the Mass as top-down and elite-based. Yet he sees support for these changes moving swiftly and unproblematically into the bodies and theologies of U.S. Catholics.

Precisely because so few American Catholics *do* attend Latin Masses, and those few often overlap with other protests against the post-conciliar Church, scholars of American Catholicism have associated this liturgy with a fundamental conservatism.⁹⁰⁰ In part, they do so by using the Latin Mass to distinguish conservatives, who might prefer an older liturgy but accept that it is gone, and traditionalists, who reject any Church that would deprive them of their right to worship in Latin. Latin Mass figures prominently in Mary Jo Weaver & R. Scott Appleby's 1995 edited volume about conservative U.S. Catholics, that "significant body . . . united in their opposition to *modernity*."⁹⁰¹ In his chapter on Latin liturgies, Americanist William D. Dinges stressed that conservative Catholic attempts to preserve the pre-conciliar liturgy had not been anti-conciliar or counter-Church, but notes that less than half of the U.S. sites where the Mass is celebrated using the 1962 liturgy operated under Roman Catholic authority.⁹⁰² The majority were associated with separatist groups. In the late 90s Sociologist Michael W. Cuneo agreed that conservative Catholics regretfully accepted the new vernacular ritual and traditionalist separatists rejected both post-

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid., 243.

⁹⁰⁰ Recently the issue of 'universal' language has returned to inflect the immigration debate, though this time without an explicit mention of Latin. In the question and answer portion of a 2016 talk theologian Kristin Heyer gave at the Institute for Catholicism and Citizenship at the University of St. Thomas (MN), Heyer and a member of the audience discuss opposition to immigration from white Catholics afraid that this will mean a change in liturgical language. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DwZ1bVr01iM>, accessed June 12, 2017. See 1:05:00 for beginning of discussion.

⁹⁰¹ Mary Jo Weaver and R. Scott Appleby, preface to *Being Right: Conservative Catholics in America*, eds. Mary Jo Weaver and R. Scott Appleby (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), vii. Despite positing that religion is "generically conservative," the authors accept that U.S. Catholicism during the last few decades of the 20th Century was not, and they worry that conservative Catholics might reverse this trend (viii).

⁹⁰² William D. Dinges, "'We Are What You Were': Roman Catholic Traditionalism in America" in *Being Right: Conservative Catholics in America*, ed. Mary Jo. Weaver & R. Scott Appleby (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), 242

conciliar Rome and its new Mass.⁹⁰³ “By the mid-seventies,” he argued, these Latinists “constituted a significant underground economy of ritual and sacrament within the broader world of American Catholicism.” Even when scholarship does focus on non-separatist Latin liturgical communities, scholars still place them outside of U.S. Catholic norms.⁹⁰⁴ Sociologist Jerome Baggett described a Latin Mass parish in his 2009 five-parish study of the American Catholic landscape.⁹⁰⁵ His description highlights the parish’s lack of interest in social justice or fellowship, traits Baggett’s analysis takes as otherwise normative for American Catholics.

Future Work

Attention to relationships, ritualization, habituation, and narrative to investigate Latin Mass at a place like St. John Cantius may help to steer scholarship between the Scylla of triumphal American progress and the Charybdis of reactionary pre-conciliar conservatism. Other theoretical approaches might usefully be applied in combination with this work. Peter Berger’s “fundamental dialectic process of society,” might propose that the Mass was “internalized” during the liturgical reform era through education and publication projects like those in Chicago, then “externalized” through the various rites and performances of the post-conciliar period, which finally became the once again “objectified” Mass encountered so differently by Archbishop Cody, the Assumption parishioners, and Bernstein’s audience in the early 1970s.⁹⁰⁶ Theologian Dale T. Irvin’s reflections

⁹⁰³ Michael W. Cuneo, *Smoke of Satan: Conservative and Traditionalist Dissent in Contemporary American Catholicism* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 90.

⁹⁰⁴ A 2013 comparison of two Chicago parishes chooses one “liberal” and one “conservative” case; the latter, she points out, does not go so far rightwards as to celebrate a Latin Mass. Mary Ellen Konieczny, *The Spirit’s Tether: Family, Work, and Religion among American Catholics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 14, 74.

⁹⁰⁵ Jerome P. Baggett, *Sense of the Faithful: How American Catholics Live Their Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁹⁰⁶ Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967), 4.

on the etymology of tradition might illuminate the tensions that arise from the necessary work of handing the Mass, with its all-encompassing set of beliefs and practices, down to a new generation that included Cody, Assumption, and Bernstein as equal parties.⁹⁰⁷

Perhaps the most promising direction is suggested by Matthew Engelke's argument about ambient faith at work in the outreach projects of his subjects in The Bible Society of England and Wales.⁹⁰⁸ Engelke's analyses offers a more dynamic account of the dynamic liturgical experience than something like Wuthnow's useful but somewhat flatter distinction between "seeker" and "dweller" oriented liturgies, which risks restricting local liturgies to pure forms of either.⁹⁰⁹ In her March 2017 article for the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Hillary Kaell picks up on Engelke's work to make an argument about Catholic devotional objects placed in the Quebec countryside.⁹¹⁰ Engelke's consideration of the ambient musician Brian Eno in deriving his category of ambient faith and his interest in exploring intersections between his own analyses and those of Charles Hirschkind's work on public religious soundscapes suggests an additional space for developing more nuanced analyses of the operation of liturgical music both in Catholic ritual and in public U.S. spaces.⁹¹¹

⁹⁰⁷ Dale Irvin, *Rendering Accounts: Christian Histories, Christian Traditioning* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1998), 36.

⁹⁰⁸ Matthew Engelke, "Angels in Swindon: Public religion and ambient faith in England," *American Ethnologist* 39, no. 1 (Feb. 2012). See also Matthew Engelke, *God's Agents: Biblical Publicity in Contemporary England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

⁹⁰⁹ Wuthnow, 9.

⁹¹⁰ Hillary Kaell, "Seeing the Invisible: Ambient Catholicism on the Side of the Road," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 85, no. 1 (March 2017).

⁹¹¹ See for example Charles Hirschkind, *The Ethical Soundscape: Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006). Lerone A. Martin, *Preaching on Wax: The Phonograph and the Shaping of Modern African American Religion* (New York: New York University Press, 2014) and Isaac Weiner, *Religion Out Loud: Religious Sound, Public Space, and American Pluralism* (New York: New York University Press, 2014) may provide important insights for adapting Engelke's argument to U.S. examples. See also Claudrena Harold, "'Lord, Let Me Be an Instrument': The Artistry and Cultural Politics of Reverend James Cleveland and the Gospel Music Workshop of America, 1963-1991," *Journal of Africana Religions*: 5, no. 2 (2017).

In both Engelke's original work and Kaell's adaptation, religious objects are placed in secular public spaces. For Pacek and Downs, religious objects are placed in religious public spaces.⁹¹² My own use of "ambient faith" draws attention to the divisions within religious communities and the way particular objects can create an atmosphere more aligned with one faction or the other. In this view, it is not that St. John Cantius creates ambient faith and Downes' more typical parish does not; rather, both parishes assemble an ambient faith aligned with the home community's Catholicism, and to be a member of the community is to obscure any ways these religious objects act on your neighbor to make them feel less at home. Where Engelke's English Protestants try to reclaim a secular public space from an attitude that religion has no place there, St. John Cantius church is trying to reclaim a sacramental symbol from a narrative that says there is only one way to understand its operation in the American Catholic Church.

A category of ambient faith structured by historical accounts of narrative shearing, habituation strategies, ritualized differentiation, and interdependent relationships provides an approach to a study of U.S. Catholic Mass that does not stumble over conciliar reforms. This model does not accept the post-conciliar vernacular Mass as liberation or the post-conciliar Latin Mass as a refusal to be liberated. Both liturgies can be evaluated through internal community dynamics, through the eternal impulse to approach perfection, and to the relative success with which particular liturgical communities can see their own narrative about the Mass aligned with the Mass as a public religious object.

⁹¹² Secularity's Christian genealogy frustrates any attempt to hold "secular" and "religious" as essentially distinct. Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

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Jennifer A. Callaghan

Curriculum vitae

EDUCATION

Ph.D. in Religious Studies, June 2018

Northwestern University, Evanston IL

M.A. in Comparative Religion, June 2009

The University of Washington Jackson School of International Studies, Seattle WA. Honors.

B.A. in English Literature, Religion, June 2001

Swarthmore College, Swarthmore PA. High Honors.

Teaching Certificate, June 2014

Searle Center for Advancing Learning & Teaching, Northwestern University, Evanston IL

Dissertation

Mass Public: God's Word, the People's Language, and U.S. Catholic Liturgical Reform 1940-74

Committee: Robert A. Orsi (Chair), Sylvester Johnson, Sarah McFarland Taylor, Cristina Traina

PUBLICATIONS

Article (Peer-Reviewed)

2015 "‘Not a fully homogeneous grouping’: Forming an Office of Worship in the Archdiocese of Seattle" in *U.S. Catholic Historian*, Volume 33, Number 2, Spring 2015, pp. 25-48.

Online Essays

2016 "He who sings prays twice," *Religion in American History*, August 31st

<http://usreligion.blogspot.com/2016/08/he-who-sings-prays-twice.html>

2015 "Sounding the Mass," *Religion in American History*, November 20th

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Interviews and Media

2016 "Q&A with Jennifer Callaghan on language in the liturgy after Vatican II,"

February 16th

<http://cushwa.nd.edu/news/64476/>

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

2017 George Bond Graduate Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, Department of Religious Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston IL

2015 – 17 Graduate Writing Fellow, The Graduate Writing Place, Northwestern University, Evanston IL

2016 John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Prize, American Catholic Historical Association

2012 – 15 Brady Graduate Fellow, The Brady Scholars Program in Ethics and Civic Life, Northwestern University, Evanston IL

GRANTS

- 2015 Research Travel Grant, Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame, South Bend IL
- 2014 Graduate Research Grant, Northwestern University, Evanston IL
- 2014 Dorothy Mohler Research Grant, The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C
- 2013 Conference Travel Grant, Northwestern University, Evanston IL

PAPERS & PRESENTATIONS

Conference Papers

- 2018 "Experimental Conditions: Local liturgies in the Archdiocese of Chicago and the experimental parish of San Miguelito, 1962 – 1967." American Catholic Historical Association Annual Meeting, January (pending).
- 2017 "Preferential Option for the Structurally Violated: Mapping the enabling constraints of Chicago's Catholic Experiment in Panama." University of Toronto Department for the Study of Religion Graduate Symposium, April 28th
- 2016 "Revolutions Per Minute: Mass Music and 1960s Chicago Liturgical Reforms." University of Virginia Graduate Colloquium, May 6th
- 2016 "'Our Pulpits Propose it for them': the politics of language in Chicago's liturgical reforms, 1963 – 1969." Boston College Biennial Conference on the History of Religion, April 2nd
- 2016 "'Dramatic but Thoroughly Appropriate': The Demonstration Mass and American Active Participation Ten Years before the Council." American Catholic Historical Association Annual Meeting, January 9th
- 2014 "'Not A Fully Homogenous Grouping': The Formation of the Seattle Office of Worship." The Lived History of Vatican II Conference at the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame, April 26th
- 2013 "Activity and Ambience: The Extraordinary Formation of the Latin Mass." Ways of Knowing: Graduate Conference on Religion, Harvard Divinity School, October 26th
- 2008 "Tradition and the Modern Mind: Telling Treason in American Catholicism." Communicating the Sacred, Interdisciplinary Conference on Religion, University of Washington, April 18th

Research Presentations

- 2017 "Both Authorized and Meaningful: Implementing Liturgical Reforms in the Archdiocese of Chicago 1964-1967." Newberry Library Urban History Dissertation Group, February 12th
- 2016 "Critical Mass: The Fall and Rise of Latin in the Long U.S. Catholic Liturgical Movement." University of Heidelberg Center for American Studies Spring Academy, March 16th
- 2015 "Mass Demonstrations and the Limits of the English Language." North American Religions Workshop, Northwestern University, October 9th
- 2013 "Partisan Participation: The Latin Mass and American Catholicism." North American Religions Workshop, Northwestern University, February 8th

Workshops

- 2017 “Mapping the Territory: Reading and Noting Strategies for Large Writing Projects in Religious Studies.” Department of Religious Studies, Northwestern University, February 9th
- 2015-2016 “Reading and Note-Taking Strategies for Academic Writing.” Graduate Writing Place, Northwestern University, November 17th
- 2016 “Teaching Writing for Religious Studies Courses.” Department of Religious Studies, Northwestern University, February 10th
- 2015 “Writing for Websites and Blogs: Special Considerations for the Academic Study of Religion.” Graduate Writing Place, Northwestern University, January 12th
- 2015 “‘No Need for Fear and Trembling’: Strategies for Common Teaching Dilemmas in Religious Studies.” New Teaching Assistant Conference, Northwestern University, September 17th
- 2015 “Designing Policies for Productive Learning Environments.” New Teaching Assistant Conference, Northwestern University, September 17th

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Instructor

- 2016 “Introduction to Religion.” Northwestern University, Evanston IL, Summer Quarter
- 2015 “The Catholic Mass and U.S. Religious Practices, WWII – Present.” Northwestern University, Evanston IL, Spring Quarter

Teaching Assistant/Grader

- 2016 - 2017 “MBA Strategy,” Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University, Evanston IL
- 2011 – 2015 “American Religion I & II,” “Introduction to Judaism,” “Introduction to Buddhism,” “Introduction to Islam,” & “Introduction to Christianity.” Northwestern University, Evanston IL
- 2006 – 2009 “Introduction to World Religions: Western Traditions,” “Introduction to Judaism,” & “Cultural Interactions in an Interdependent World.” University of Washington, Seattle WA

Guest Lecturer

- 2015 “The Catholic Left, The Catholic Right, and What’s In-Between,” University of Illinois Chicago, Chicago IL, April 24th
- 2014 “American Christian Social Movements,” Northwestern University, Evanston IL, May 22nd
- 2014 “The Catholic Left, The Catholic Right, and What’s In-Between,” University of Illinois Chicago, Chicago IL, April 14th

Facilitator

- 2016 Interdisciplinary Writing Group, Graduate Writing Place, Northwestern University, Evanston IL

TEACHING COMPETENCIES & INTERESTS

Academic Writing
 American Religious History
 20th/21st Century U.S. Catholicism
 Religious Studies (Methods, Theories, Historiography)
 Ritual Theory

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

2014 – 2016 North American Religions Workshop Coordinator, Northwestern University, Evanston IL.
 2012 – 2014 GSA Treasurer, Department of Religious Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston IL.
 2010 – 2011 Conference Committee, Department of Religious Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston IL.
 2007 – 2008 Colloquium Coordinator, Department of Comparative Religion, University of Washington, Seattle WA.

LANGUAGES

German (reading and speaking)
 Latin (reading)
 French (reading)

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Catholic Historical Association
 American Historical Association
 American Academy of Religion