VATICAN II

EVENT AND MANDATE

VOLUME 5

Vatican II in North America, Australia, and Oceania

PEETERS

VATICAN II IN NORTH AMERICA, AUSTRALIA, AND OCEANIA

VATICAN II – EVENT AND MANDATE
5

Vatican II in North America, Australia, and Oceania

Edited by

Catherine E. Clifford – Massimo Faggioli – Richard Lennan – Ormond Rush

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VATICAN II – EVENT AND MANDATE

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THEIR RECEPTION AND ORIENTATION FOR CHURCH AND THEOLOGY

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TABLE OF CONTENT

INTRODUCTION 1

PART A
ECCLESIAL, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS
ON THE EVE OF VATICAN II

The Cultural Context of United States Catholicism at the Time of Vatican II 15
Stephen SCHLOESSER, SJ

Context of Church, Theology, and Society on the Eve of the Council in English-Speaking Canada 39
Michael ATTRIDGE

The Situation in Society and the Catholic Church in Oceania and Australasia on the Eve of the Council 57
Michele A. CONNOLLY, RSJ

PART B
THEOLOGICAL AND ECCLESIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO VATICAN II

Post-Vatican II in the USA: The Pursuit of Shared Responsibility in a Conflicted Church 67
Bradford E. HINZE

The Opposition to Vatican II in North America: Phases, Actors, and Issues from the Late 1960s to the Early 21st Century 83
Massimo FAGGIOLI

The Reception of Vatican II by the Episcopal Conference of the Pacific: The First Three Decades 101
Mikaele PAUNGA, SM†

Vatican II's Gift for Indigenous and for All Australians: Open Windows, Fresh Air? 119
Sherry BALCOMBE and Robyn REYNOLDS, OLSH †

Three Little Windows into the World Church: The Anglophone Caribbean and Vatican II. 137
Anna KASAFI PERKINS

Vatican II and Canada's First Nations: The Medicine Wheel Practice of the Anishnaabeg People and the Path to Inculturation 161
Eva SOLOMON, CSJ

Black Catholic Reception of Vatican II 175
Joseph S. FLIPPER

The Reception of Vatican II Among US Latinax Catholics. 191
Nancy PINEDA-MADRID

From Asia to America: Vatican II and Asian Catholics in North America. 209
Anh Q. TRAN, SJ

The Reception of Vatican II by Women in Australia and Oceania 227
Michele A. CONNOLLY, RSJ

PART C
THE FINAL DOCUMENTS.
CONTRIBUTIONS, RECEPTION, PRESENT AND FUTURE OF VATICAN II
IN NORTH AMERICA, AUSTRALIA, AND OCEANIA

Dei Verbum *on Revelation, Tradition, and Scripture: Reception in North America and Oceania* 243
Gerald O'COLLINS, SJ †

The Development of the Institutional Proposals of Vatican II in Canada and in the United States of America 259
Gilles ROUTHIER

Lay Ecclesial Ministry in the United States after Vatican II 275
Edward P. HAHNENBERG

Lay Persons and the Exercise of the Power of Governance: Perspectives from the United States 295
Sharon A. EUART, RSM

The Liturgical Movement and Liturgical Reform in North America 309
Anthony RUFF, OSB

Scripture in the Liturgy: Developing the Post-conciliar Lectionary. A View from Australia 329
Clare V. JOHNSON

The Australian Reception of Gaudium et Spes*, Part I* 347
James Gerard MCEVOY

"*Joys and Hopes, Griefs and Anxieties" in Australian Catholicism* 361
Sandie CORNISH

Gaudium et Spes*, Part II: 'Problems of Special Urgency' in North America* 377
Christine FIRER HINZE

The Eastern Catholic Churches and the Reception of the Second Vatican Council in North America and Australia 395
Jaroslav Z. SKIRA

The Reception of Unitatis Redintegratio *in Canada* 415
Catherine E. CLIFFORD

Reception of the Decree on Ecumenism in the United States Context 429
Susan K. WOOD

The Reception of Vatican II's Decree on Ecumenism in Australia 447
Gerard KELLY

Framing the Reception of Nostra Aetate *in North America* 463
Darren J. DIAS, OP

Religious Freedom: Development and Reception of Vatican II's Dignitatis Humanae *in the United States* 485
David HOLLENBACH, SJ

Assessing the Reception of Ad Gentes *in the United States* 507
Margaret Eletta GUIDER, OSF

Priesthood and Formation for Ministry in the United States: The Situation Shortly Before and After Vatican II and Urgent Needs in the Present Context. 527
Katarina SCHUTH, OSF

Catholic Education: Crisis and Creativity. Evaluating Gravissimum Educationis *in Contemporary North America* 545
Kevin AHERN

Gravissimum Educationis *and Catholic Education in Australia* . 563
Peta GOLDBURG, RSM

The Reception of Inter Mirifica *in the United States Context* 581
Daniella ZSUPAN-JEROME

ABBREVIATIONS 595

BIBLIOGRAPHY 597
Church Documents 597
Further Literature 606

INDEX. 653
Index of Names 653
Index of Vatican II Documents. 661

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS 665

INTRODUCTION

1. Vatican II in North America, Australia, and Oceania: History and Geography

As part of the intercontinental project "Vatican II – Event and Mandate", we, a group of scholars from North America, Australia, and Oceania, mostly historians and theologians—have the pleasure of presenting this volume. It explores the relationship between the Second Vatican Council, the most significant event in Catholicism in the last four centuries, and the political-cultural, social, economic and especially religious life of this immense region.

This volume gathers essays on the role of Vatican II in the churches and society in North America, Australia, and Oceania. This grouping is more than the fruit of a marriage of convenience, the result of the exclusion of what is not as clearly defined by geography, as can be Europe, Africa, Latin America, and Asia (with very evident limits and internal subdivisions within each continental area). This particular mapping covers from the easternmost point of Canada in Newfoundland to the westernmost point of Australia (Perth, Western Australia, one of the largest dioceses in the world, with an area of 471,118 km sq): across two continents, with the vastest ocean in between. It covers 11 time zones, 18,000 kilometres, and 67 degrees of latitude.

It is a gargantuan task to capture in a volume the contribution to and reception of Vatican II in such a vast area, especially with a limited number of specialists with different specializations and methodologies. We are conscious of the fact that this volume cannot do justice to the enormous diversity of this area that is not a single continent, unlike the focus of the other volumes in this series. In this sense, this volume offers a series of examples that represent, without exhausting, the great variety of religious, theological, and cultural relations with Vatican II of Catholics in North America, Australia, and the Pacific.

North America, Australia, and the Pacific are made of a sub-continental area, North America, and of another part that approximates more the concept of a continent. North America is grouped together in this volume:

the United States with Canada and the English-speaking Caribbean.[1] Oceania, in turn, is divided between Australia and New Zealand, on the one hand, and Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia[2] on the other.

This grouping could turn out to be temporary in the long run of global religious history, but it is founded on important common features that the countries and the peoples that inhabit them share. It is part of the Anglosphere, not just geographically but also historically. From the point of view of modern global history, North America, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific were part of the Anglo colonies. These colonies were imagined as a transcontinental cultural system with an architecture of political and diplomatic relations, economic ties, and geopolitical and military alliances that still run deep and reach the Pacific after crossing Europe, Africa, and Asia. It was also the economic and political centre of the world after the Second World War and the collapse of European empires.

These lands and oceans (Atlantic and Pacific) can be considered a single entity for purposes of an analysis of post-Vatican II Catholicism. There is a generally shared sense of belonging to 'Western' culture as well as the defining stream of European immigration to North America and Australia. The experience of World War II and its aftermath, including the prosperity and 'baby boom' throughout these lands, reshaped its theological and ecclesial landscape and generated energy for the council when it was called by Pope John XXIII. If the Cold War led to the division into First, Second, and Third worlds, North America and Australia—together with the Old Continent—were one: the 'First World,' of which the US was also the cultural, economic, and military leader.

This transoceanic region was also one of the major sources of theological energy behind Vatican II: not just a satellite of European Catholicism and an extension of it through its clerical and missionary networks, but also its theological frontier, especially when it was about ecumenical relations, interreligious dialogue, religious liberty, missionary activity, and Catholic education, with its vast network of Catholic schools, colleges, and universities for its population of recent immigrants.

[1] North America: Canada, Bermuda (United Kingdom), Greenland (Denmark), St. Pierre et Miquelon (France), United States.

[2] Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia: American Samoa (USA), Cook Islands (New Zealand), Easter Island (Chile), Fiji, Guam (USA), Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Northern Mariana Islands (USA), Nauru, New Caledonia (France), Niue (New Zealand), Palau, Papua New Guinea, Pitcairn Islands (UK), Polynesia (France), Samoa (New Zealand), Solomon Islands, Tokelau (New Zealand), Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Wallis and Futuna (France).

Along with and side by side with Latin, this region was united (and not just separated, as the joke goes for the relations 'across the pond' between the US and the UK) by a common language, English, so important in mediating religious culture. With the important exception of Francophone Quebec (once the dominant presence of Catholicism in Canada), North America, Australia, and the Pacific is a particular area within the Anglosphere, that part of the world where English is dominant as a first language—very different from its use as a *lingua franca* or as the medium of instruction in other areas of the world. This 'new Latin' and the empire(s) with which it may be associated originated in a Protestant cultural context as the centre of what was the world's largest colonial power and the Cold War superpower bulwark opposed to atheistic communism in the 20th century.

The ideological clash with Communism during the Cold War served throughout this area also as a way to forget, if not to justify, the intimate relationship between the missionary project of the Christian churches and the colonial project of the settlers exporting a civilization to lands that were not empty but had in fact been inhabited by Indigenous and First Nations peoples for tens of thousands of years before the arrival of the explorers from Europe. The churches in North America, Australia, and the Pacific are younger churches, compared to Europe, but they share what has been called a particular national original sin: colonization, slavery, indentured labour, and racist oppression from the 16th to the 20th centuries. On the other hand, North America, Australia, and the Pacific do not have shared historical-theological narratives of the Vatican II and post-Vatican II period as we can find them among the churches in Western or Eastern Europe or in Latin America.

The Catholic Churches in this area also share a similar history of recent immigration of the faithful, from Europe, and later from Latin America, the Middle East and Asia, to lands where Protestantism was the dominant religion (except Quebec in Canada and some areas of the southern US) and a pillar of the social and political establishment in a new form of Christendom. A particular characteristic of the history of the churches in this vast area in the last century is also that they become a destination for diasporas of Eastern Catholics but also of Jews from Europe and Russia, thus making of these countries a mix of religious coexistence that had disappeared from many European countries in the wake of World War II.

The churches in this area tend to be wealthier ones and have sufficient resources to create a vast network of Catholic schools, colleges, and

universities—which allowed after Vatican II, for the first time in church history, the recruitment of cohorts of professional lay Catholic theologians in complex and diverse patterns of relations with the institutional Church. This is one of the distinctive features of this area compared to others, as well as to Europe.[3]

2. A Problematic Moment and Issues of Reception in This Area

All these distinctive features are relevant when considering the participation of the region's bishops at Vatican II, as well as the post-conciliar reception (positive or negative) of the council and its documents by the local churches in the region.

According to the official attendance figures for the four years the council met, there was a total of 100 bishops from Canada, 247 from the US, and 74 from Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific). During those four years, the contribution of these bishops to the conciliar process varied considerably. Not all spoke before the assembly (on average, only about 15 per cent of the world's bishops did that, and certainly that percentage was true, for example, for the Australian bishops). Putting one's signature to a written submission was a much more common way of making one's voice heard. Voting, of course, was a way in which every bishop contributed. There were also informal ways of engaging in the conciliar dynamic; for example, bishops from different countries often came together unofficially to deliberate on their regional perspective regarding issues being discussed in the council hall. We do know what some bishops thought about these topics, through the diaries they kept or the letters they wrote to their home dioceses or to individuals. As in all continental regions, there was a spectrum of 'progressive' and 'conservative' viewpoints among the bishops. However, despite this wide range of views, in the end the vast majority of the world's bishops voted in favour of the final 16 documents. There is no way of knowing how each individual bishop voted on each document during the whole process. But it can be presumed that, once the council concluded, a majority of bishops of the region under review here would have returned to their dioceses with a clear sense of mandate: to promote and realize the vision of the council.

[3] See *Secularization and Religious Innovation in the North Atlantic World*, eds. David Hempton and Hugh McLeod (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

The post-conciliar 'reception' of both the council's historic significance and the vision encapsulated in its 16 promulgated documents can be evaluated in various ways, including the element of resistance or 'non-reception.' Important questions in that regard emerge in this study, such as: Who are the agents of reception, the 'actors/protagonists' in the story of the reception of Vatican II in North America and Oceania? Of course, this story includes the bishops returning from the council, but also their successors. Then, there is the rest of the 'People of God' in a particular area: priests, religious, lay women, and lay men. How did the faithful overall appropriate the renewed spiritual vision that the council was calling for? According to the conciliar vision, all of these are, as it were, 'commissioned' by Vatican II to appropriate its vision for renewal. But the matter of the 'reception' of the council goes beyond the baptized believers of the Catholic Church. Just as the council called Catholics to open their Catholic imagination to other Christians and, indeed, other believers, so, too, narrating the history of the reception of Vatican II in this region includes how those 'non-Catholics' and 'non-Christians' found positive (or negative) affirmation in the conciliar vision, a vision that saw creating 'a more human world' as essential to God's plan for the Church. An important aspect of this reception history has been the emergence of the non-human world in the story: humanity's relationship with the whole of God's creation. Within the Catholic Church, academic scholars and educational institutions have an important part to play in helping faith communities appropriate the vision for renewal that the council was promoting.

Another question relevant to tracing the history of the council's vision is this: What themes emerge as particularly significant in the shifting contexts of the region after the council? These issues may have received only minor or no attention during the council, but call for a response in the light of the council's whole vision (such as colonialism, the place of women in the Church, and environmental issues). Throughout this volume, rather than just treating the reception of each of the 16 conciliar documents, particular issues have been selected which have been of most significance in the reception or non-reception of Vatican II and its documents in the region.

3. Methodology and Structure of the Volume

One of the most significant and enduring contributions of Vatican II is the council's recognition that the Church differs radically from a timeless,

context-free institution. Far from depicting the Church as floating, like a Platonic form, above history, the council took seriously the ecclesial community's historical existence as part of its pilgrimage to the fullness of life in Christ. In its structure and emphases, the present volume affirms and echoes the council's commitment to the relationship between grace and history. To realize this commitment, the volume begins with an exploration of the 'pre-history' of the council in North America and Oceania, proceeds to examine some specific cultural issues significant for the council's reception, and concludes with an overview of each of the council's texts, focused specifically both on how those texts have shaped the life of local communities in the decades since the 1960s and on challenges that remain for local churches to address.

To lay the foundation for the volume's engagement with the council, the first three chapters of this text explore the socio-cultural context of the United States, Canada, and Australia at the beginning of the council. These chapters are important as a reminder that the council itself did not occur in a vacuum. The bishops who attended the council were formed not merely by their theological studies and pastoral ministry but by the circumstances, struggles, and hopes of the contexts from which they came. Equally, understanding the contours of local churches at the beginning of the council can help to illuminate the dynamics of the council's reception in those same local churches. Just as the bishops at the council were not blank sheets, free from the effects of their own history, so the local churches that were to implement Vatican II's documents did not receive those texts against an empty background.

The middle section of this volume examines several overarching themes connected to the council's reception but not linked exclusively to individual documents. This section has three main emphases: (1) conflict in the Church in the United States that particular interpretations of the council often exacerbate; (2) the impact of the council on both Indigenous communities that had been marginalized in the era of colonialism and, in the case of African Americans, had been often disregarded or subjected to discrimination and injustice for much of their history as members of the Catholic Church; and (3) the coincidence of the council's reception with both movements of migration and efforts to further the full participation of women in society and ensure that women have more equitable access to positions of influence. Each of these three themes brings into relief the irreducible connection between the Church's place in history and the reception of the council. Each of them also underscores that the process of reception is anything but complete;

rather, reception takes place within an ever-changing social and cultural landscape.

The final, and longest, section of the volume engages directly with many of the council's 16 documents while providing different perspectives on some of the texts by reviewing their reception in more than one context. As in the previous section, what is evident in these chapters is that reception is neither a completed process nor one that is essentially simple. Indeed, the chapters make abundantly clear that while the council's teachings have reshaped Catholic life in ways unimaginable before Vatican II, it remains urgent that local churches continue to engage the council's documents as the social situation of ecclesial communities remains in flux.

4. Future Paths of Research

This research project is part of a renewed effort to consider the unique ways that the Second Vatican Council has shaped the life of the Church in the vast regions of North America and Oceania. In the process of preparing these studies, we have become more aware of how few scholars in our region are sufficiently schooled in the methods and sources of conciliar history or of the histories of ecclesial life that attend to the particularities of our diverse contexts. Theology and religious studies in our area have been affected by recent historiographical trends that accepted a post-modern regime of historicity where *memory* is often preferred to *history*, as an instrument for 'presentism,' our modern habit of weighing or using the past against the social concerns and moral categories of the present.[4] This presentism is one of the causes of a crisis in the historical and theological studies on Vatican II, either because the council is perceived as irrelevant 60 years later or because of a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* causal connection between the council and the problems of the post-conciliar period (the persistence of racism, clericalism, secularization, etc.).

Much work remains to be done to develop a body of research that is less universalizing and more deeply rooted in local cultures. Our theologies continue to be both colonized and colonizing. The emergence of

[4] See Enzo Traverso, *Singular Pasts: The 'I' in Historiography*, trans. Adam Schoene (New York: Columbia University Press, 2022; original French ed. 2020); François Hartog, *Regimes of Historicity: Presentism and Experiences of Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015; original French ed. 2003).

movements of Black Catholic theology among African Americans, the Latina/o theologies of Hispanic Americans, Caribbean theologies, and the Indigenous theologies of North American, Australian, and Pacific peoples reflect significant efforts to articulate the experiences of marginalized peoples, whose voices and cultural riches have too often been sidelined by European settler peoples within Church and society.

In a recent interview, the American ecclesiologist Joseph Komonchak reflected on the challenge of thinking of the role culture plays in shaping the life of local churches. In many contexts today, particularly in large urban centres, there simply is no single culture that can be said to define the character of the local Church. In the regions of North America, Australia, and the Pacific, the local context has been shaped by a mix of diverse Indigenous peoples and wave upon wave of immigration, which continues at an accelerated pace today. This awareness has compelled Komonchak to give a greater place to the role of history in shaping the unique 'character' of the local Church. 'What is the historical moment?' he asks. 'And what is the challenge that needs to be met by these people who are existing right here and now? In the midst of what historical challenge are people making the decision of faith?'[5] These questions must guide future studies of the council and its reception in our regions.

Toward the end of his life, French-born and later naturalized US citizen George Tavard (1922–2007), the distinguished theologian and peritus to the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity at Vatican II, observed: 'As the council recedes into remote memory, and as it will soon pass into unremembered history, the context in which it took place will be more and more elusive.'[6] The work of reconstituting the history of the council and its reception, he insisted, would be of great importance for the life of the Church going forward. The relative ignorance of the council, its teaching, and its continuing role as a touchstone for the life of the Church today should raise serious questions concerning the nature of theological education and seminary training. In particular, the anti-Vatican II profile of recent seminary graduates, many of whom remain largely ignorant and skeptical of the council's teaching, doubt its authority, or have fallen prey to a new wave of divisive traditionalism

[5] Kenneth L. Woodward, 'The Conciliar Church, Past and Present,' *America* 225, no. 5 (2022): 8–17, at 15. Joseph A. Komonchak edited the English version of the five-volume *The History of Vatican II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1995–2006).

[6] George Tavard, 'The Decree on Ecumenism, Forty Years Later,' Lecture given to the Forum for Ecumenical Dialogues organized by the Life and Witness Commission of the Canadian Council of Churches, 4 October 2004, Ottawa. Unpublished text. 29 pp.

is a worrying sign of a Church that has lost touch with both the letter and the spirit of the council.

Several chapters of this volume highlight the significant development of new lay ecclesial ministries on the regions of North America and Oceania, making a vital contribution to the diversification of ministries in the universal Church. These new ministries, while they have been widely embraced, have yet to be fully integrated in many regions as stable, instituted ministries within the pastoral and ministerial structure of the diocese. Women, who constitute the majority of lay ecclesial ministers, occupying more than 80 per cent of these positions, continue to encounter a deeply clericalized culture. Similar concerns might be raised concerning the resistance to implementing the structures for lay participation envisioned by Vatican II (diocesan and parish pastoral councils, diocesan synods, provincial councils) in a consequential manner. The slow response to the continuing crisis of clerical sexual abuse and its coverup by bishops is another symptom of a persistent clerical culture. While the extent of sexual abuse was first laid bare in Canada at Mount Cashel, Newfoundland, more than 40 years ago (1981), then in the United States, leading to the 'Dallas Charter' (2002) and the reports of the John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York (2004 and 2011), and more recently by the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse in Australia (2013–2017), the Church has yet to draw the necessary lessons from this history so as to restore confidence in the institution and its leaders. Future studies must help us to understand the deep theological, sociological, and psychological causes of clericalism if it is to be fully uprooted. If Vatican II did not identify these precise challenges, it provided important orientations for restoring the dignity and co-responsibility of all the Christian faithful, both theologically and in practice. Future paths of research should include the relationship between the reception of Vatican II and the phenomenon of abuse in transnational areas with a comparative perspective,[7] as well as studies on the transnational networks of transmission of conciliar theology (intellectual and academic circles, publishing houses, and ecclesial movements) between this area and other continents.[8]

[7] See *Ecclesial Abuses in the Latin American Catholic Church: An Evolving Crisis at the Core of Catholicism*, eds. Veronique Lecaros and Ana L. Suarez (New York: Routledge, 2024).

[8] For a comparison with the previous period, see Colin Barr, *Ireland's Empire: the Roman Catholic Church in the English-Speaking World, 1829–1914* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

Finally, in our day, we are more deeply conscious than were the bishops of Vatican II of a history of institutional complicity with colonial and state powers with devastating effects. In North America and Australia, Catholics are increasingly confronted with a dark side of past missionary efforts, including collusion in the practice of slavery and active participation in systems aimed at suppressing Indigenous cultures and their peoples. The recent (2023) repudiation of the 'Doctrine of Discovery' following Pope Francis's pilgrimage of repentance among the First Nations, Métis, and Inuit of Canada ought to be seen as an invitation to Catholics everywhere to a critical re-examination of their history.[9] Everywhere there is need for true repentance for the moments in our history where, blinded by misguided zeal and a will to power, the methods employed to accomplish the Church's evangelizing mission betrayed the very values of the Gospel. They did great harm to whole peoples whose cultures and spiritual traditions—though bearers of God's own gifts of truth and wisdom—were ignored, denigrated, or suppressed. Today, we have a new opportunity to learn from and receive from those gifts and to let them enrich the catholicity of the wider Church.

5. Acknowledgments

The chapters published in this volume were presented in seminars organized in two different moments and modalities. The first was a seminar hosted at Villanova University (5–7 December 2019). The second, during the long interruption of in-person gatherings due to the COVID-19 pandemic, consisted of a series of webinars held via Zoom between October 2020 and February 2022.

Our heartfelt thanks go to Raskob Foundation and GHR Foundation for the generous financial support they gave for the organization of the in-person seminar at Villanova University. Their commitment to the assistance of our research on Vatican II has been encouraging for us even when, during the pandemic, the timeline of the project was not so clear. We also thank Anne Louise Mahoney for her help in copy-editing the chapters.

[9] See 'Joint Statement of the Dicasteries for Culture and Education and for Promoting Integral Human Development on the "Doctrine of Discovery",' 30 March 2023, https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2023/03/30/230330b.html.

At our in-person meeting at Villanova University of December 2019, Fr Joachim Schmiedl, ISch (1958–2021) was also present, who was one of the main initiators of the whole project for an intercontinental commentary of Vatican II. One of the presenters in the series of Zoom meetings was Fr Mikaele (Mika) Paunga, SM, who died on 3 September 2022 in Fiji. During the COVID-19 pandemic, Fr Paunga had to experience a two-year-long, Odyssey-like peregrination from the Island of Wallis 'Uvea' (the smallest diocese in the Pacific, a French territory), where he was on retreat when the lockdowns were imposed, to New Caledonia (another French territory), trying to reach Fiji via New Zealand or Australia. In those two years of trial, Fr Paunga continued to serve in pastoral ministry to the people on the island he could not leave. We are honoured to publish Mika's chapter in this volume. Not just his writing, but also his experience during the pandemic, told us who were participating in the seminars important things about the geographical vastness and the infinite complexity of the area we were studying. As the preparation of this volume was in its final stages, Fr. Gerald O'Collins, SJ (1931-2024), one of the contributors, died. Fr. O'Collins had dedicated his life to theology and the church, especially to the formation of generations of scholars in the tradition of Vatican II.

In the final stages of the work on the volume, news also arrived of the death of Sr. Robyn Reynolds, OLSH, who had dedicated an important part of her life to the ministry among Aboriginal Catholic Ministry.

We are grateful to Michael Rost for facilitating the last stages of the production of the volume with great patience and we thank Aaron Debusschere, for his work on the indices. We would also like to thank Peeters Publishers (Leuven) for including it in their publishing program. This volume is very much the product of a collaborative endeavour, the result of group work that took place over a number of years. The concrete shape of the book developed through a large number of discussions and online meetings.

Catherine E. Clifford
Massimo Faggioli
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PART A

ECCLESIAL, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS ON THE EVE OF VATICAN II

THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF UNITED STATES CATHOLICISM AT THE TIME OF VATICAN II

STEPHEN SCHLOESSER, SJ

The Cold War was the fundamental element in the cultural context of US Catholicism at the time of Vatican II. Although the nation's customary isolationism had resisted entering World War II until the December 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the US emerged from the conflict somewhat paradoxically as one of the globe's two remaining superpowers. The Soviet Union (USSR) was quick to act, and on 5 March 1946, less than a year after the German surrender in May 1945, Winston Churchill delivered his famous speech in Fulton, Missouri, warning that 'an iron curtain has descended across the Continent.'[1] One year later, Charles E. Bohlen, US ambassador to Moscow, could write, 'Instead of unity among the great powers—both political and economic—after the war, there is complete disunity between the Soviet Union and the satellites on one side and the rest of the world on the other. There are, in short, two worlds instead of one.'[2] The division of the world into a binary of two competing ideological blocs—capitalist democracies in the West and communist 'democratic republics' in the East—deeply affected every aspect of the American post-war era: geopolitics, decolonization, military deployment, domestic politics, civil rights, religious identity, education, and gender relations.[3]

[1] Philip White, *Churchill's Cold War: The Iron Curtain Speech that Shaped the Post-war World* (London: Duckworth Overlook, 2012).

[2] John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin, 2005), 83; quoting Bohlen memorandum, 30 August 1947.

[3] Victoria M. Grieve, *Little Cold Warriors: American Childhood in the 1950s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: New Press, 2013); Jennifer A. Delton, *Rethinking the 1950s: How Anticommunism and the Cold War Made America Liberal* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Andrea Carosso, *Cold War Narratives: American Culture in the 1950s* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2012); Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Lisle A. Rose, *The Cold War Comes to Main Street: America in 1950* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999).

For US Catholics in particular, this new context came as sudden and unexpected validation of their century-old position.[4] Throughout the period of the 'immigrant church' (ca. 1845–1945), Catholic immigrants to the US were being formed as liberal democratic citizens, especially in schools, both parochial and public.[5] In theory, this conflicted with the Church's magisterium, which steadfastly opposed liberal democracy, expressed most directly in the *Syllabus of Errors* (1864). The highwater mark of this conflict had been the 'Americanism' heresy addressed by Pope Leo XIII in *Testem Benevolentiae Nostrae* (1899).[6]

However, World War II effected radical change. In 1943, the French philosopher Jacques Maritain published his *Christianisme et démocratie* with the Éditions de la Maison française. (The French publishing house in New York City was for those like Maritain and his Jewish wife, Raïssa, living as exiles from the Vichy regime.) One year later, it appeared in English translation as *Christianity and Democracy*.[7] Soon after, in his Christmas Message radio broadcast on 24 December 1944, Pope Pius XII issued the first ever magisterial endorsement of democracy.[8] It was

[4] For broad surveys, see Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *American Catholics: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020); James M. O'Toole, *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008); John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003).

[5] James T. Fisher, *Communion of Immigrants: A History of Catholics in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Jay P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815–1865* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); O'Toole, 94–144; see also Kyle B. Roberts and Stephen Schloesser, eds., *Crossings and Dwellings: Restored Jesuits, Women Religious, American Experience, 1814–2014* (Boston: Brill, 2017).

[6] Leo XIII, *Testem Benevolentiae Nostrae* (1899), https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/la/letters/documents/hf_l-xiii_let_18990122_testem-benevolentiae.html; see also Thomas McAvoy, *The Americanist Heresy in Roman Catholicism, 1895–1900* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963).

[7] Jacques Maritain, *Christianisme et démocratie* (New York: Éditions de la Maison française, 1943); Maritain, *Christianity and Democracy*, transl. by Doris C. Anson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944). For context, see Stephen Schloesser, SJ, 'History as Revelation: Léon Bloy, Flannery O'Connor, and Symbolist Exegesis of the Commonplace,' in *Revelation and Convergence: Flannery O'Connor and the Catholic Intellectual Tradition*, eds. Mark Bosco and Brent Little (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2017), 10–50, at 32–34.

[8] Stephen Schloesser, SJ, 'Against Forgetting: Memory, History, Vatican II,' in *Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?*, David G. Schultenover, SJ, ed., (New York: Continuum, 2007), 92–152, at 118; and Stephen Schloesser, 'Reproach vs. *Rapprochement*: Historical Preconditions of a Paradigm Shift in the Reform of Vatican II,' in *50 Years On: Probing the Riches of Vatican II*, ed. David G. Schultenover, SJ (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2015), xi–l, at xlvii. The correct year is 1944, not 1945, as cited in Colman J. Barry, ed., *Readings in Church History*, rev. ed. (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, [1960–65] 1985), 1220–25.

published the next day (on Christmas day) in *The New York Times* under the title 'Official English Translation of Pope Pius XII's Christmas Message, Broadcast to World.' Early the next year, as Allied forces were bringing the war to an end, the message was published in pamphlet form for wide distribution and group discussion. The Paulist Press edition's title was *Pius XII and Democracy*. The National Catholic Welfare Conference bundled it with the US 'Bishops' Statement on International Order' and included a discussion outline.[9] As US Catholics entered a new post-war and post-immigrant era—the post-1945 'church of Catholic Action'—they were not only members of a newly emergent superpower representing liberal democracy;[10] their Church had finally endorsed and validated those values and, in doing so, their formerly ambiguous identity. They were now firmly *both* faithful Catholics *and* democratic citizens.[11] They were also firmly anti-Communist.

1944–50. The stage for the 1950s was set in the immediate post-war years.[12] In June 1944, shortly after the D-Day landing, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed into law the 'G.I. Bill' (Servicemen's Readjustment Act).[13] Benefits for returning veterans included financial assistance for housing, business loans, and education. Over the next dozen years, 2.2 million veterans used the educational benefits to attend colleges or universities. The effects on Catholic institutions of higher education were profound, as schools quickly expanded to accommodate the demand.[14]

[9] Pope Pius XII, *Pius XII and Democracy: Christmas Message of Pope Pius XII, December 24, 1944* (New York: Paulist Press, 1945); Pius XII, *1944 Christmas Message of Pope Pius XII. Addressed to the People of the Entire World on the Subject of Democracy and a Lasting Peace* (Washington, DC: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1945). See also Pius XII, *Foundations of Renewal: Four Great Encyclicals of Pope Pius XII. With Christmas Message of 1944: Democracy and Peace; and the Allocution: The World Community and Religious Tolerance. Discussion Club Outlines by Gerald C. Treacy* (Glen Rock, NJ: Paulist Press, 1961).

[10] For periodization of 'The Immigrant Church' and 'The Church of Catholic Action,' see O'Toole, 94–144 and 145–98. For Catholic Action, see also Jeremy Bonner, Mary Beth Fraser Connolly, and Christopher Denny, eds, *Empowering the People of God: Catholic Action Before and After Vatican II* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014); and Stephen R. Schloesser, SJ, '1918—1968—2018: A Tissue of Laws and Choices and Chance,' *Theological Studies* 79, no. 3 (2018): 487–519, at 506–10.

[11] R. Scott Appleby and Kathleen Sprows Cummings, eds., *Catholics in the American Century: Recasting Narratives of U.S. History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012).

[12] Joseph P. Chinnici, *American Catholicism Transformed: From the Cold War Through the Council* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).

[13] Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, *The GI Bill: A New Deal for Veterans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[14] Philip Gleason, *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); William P. Leahy, *Adapting*

The broader social benefits included a decade of prosperity and suburbanization in what one historian has termed 'a consumer's republic.'[15] The now-classic 1946 film *It's a Wonderful Life*, directed by the Italian-born American Catholic filmmaker Frank Capra, poignantly framed the issues at stake.[16] If the fictional family-owned Bailey Building and Loan bank does not survive, the prosperity of post-war ethnic families will be endangered. The G.I. Bill played a major role in Catholic assimilation into mainstream culture and the transition from an 'immigrant church' to a 'church of Catholic Action.'

Two events in 1948 would have long-term consequences.[17] On 14 May, President Harry S. Truman was the first world leader to officially recognize Israel as a legitimate Jewish state—just minutes after its creation. This new state, formed during the aftermath of the Holocaust, provided a radically new context for Jewish identity. Two months later, on 26 July, Truman signed Executive Order 9981 calling for the racial desegregation of the US Armed Forces. The action catalyzed what would soon become a powerful African American civil rights movement.

Even before the war, Jesuits William Markoe and John LaFarge had challenged Catholic thinking on race.[18] In 1932, Markoe's *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle*, the semi-official publication of the Federated Colored Catholics,

to America: Catholics, Jesuits, and Higher Education in the Twentieth Century (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1991).

[15] Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004); Stephen M. Koeth, *Crabgrass Catholicism: How Suburbanization Transformed Faith and Politics in Postwar America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2025, forthcoming); see also Stephen M. Koeth, 'Crabgrass Catholicism: U.S. Catholics and the Historiography of Postwar Suburbia,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* 37, no. 4 (Fall 2019): 1–27; and Koeth, 'The Suburban Church: Catholic Parishes and Politics in Metropolitan New York, 1945–1985' (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2020).

[16] For Capra, see Richard Aloysius Blake, *Afterimage: The Indelible Catholic Imagination of Six American Filmmakers* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2000). For the film, see Michael Willian, *The Essential It's a Wonderful Life – 75th Anniversary Edition: A Scene-by-Scene Guide to the Classic Film*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Kerpluggo Books, 2021). See also: https://michaelwillianbooks.com/?books=the-essential-its-a-wonderful-life-a-scene-by-scene-guide-to-the-classic-film and https://search.worldcat.org/title/1290323080.

[17] See Harry S. Truman Library & Museum: 'Recognition of Israel,' https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/education/presidential-inquiries/recognition-israel; 'Desegregation of the Armed Forces,' https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/online-collections/desegregation-of-armed-forces.

[18] For this and following, see Roy Brooks-Delphin, '*Jamaica Triumphant* (1937): Daniel Lord, Pageantry, and the Foundations of Jamaican National Theater,' in *Crossings and Dwellings*, eds. Roberts and Schloesser, 454–95. See also John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

changed its title to *Interracial Review: Official Organ of the National Catholic Federation for the Promotion of Better Race Relations*. In 1934, LaFarge, the executive editor of the Jesuits' weekly *America* magazine, founded the Catholic Interracial Council of New York (CICNY) with *Interracial Review* as its educational outreach. Three years later, LaFarge published the book *Interracial Justice: A Study of the Catholic Doctrine of Race Relations*.[19] The following year, he was secretly tasked by Pope Pius XI to draft an encyclical denouncing 'racism' in all forms, including anti-Semitism.[20] However, Pius died before this 'Hidden Encyclical' could be published.

During the second year of US involvement in the Second World War, LaFarge published a revised and enlarged version of his earlier book, now entitled *The Race Question and the Negro: A Study of the Catholic Doctrine on Interracial Justice*.[21] In 1944—the year of the G.I. Bill—the Jesuit Saint Louis University became the first predominantly white institution of higher learning in a former slave state to desegregate.[22] In sum: Truman's 1948 actions recognizing Israel and desegregating the military were the culmination of previous efforts and a catalyst to future developments in the area of 'race'—both Jewish and African American.

The year 1948 also marked the passage of the Marshall Plan.[23] This monumental effort to assist European post-war economic recovery was aimed at limiting Soviet Communism's spread. In April 1948, elections were held in Italy's newly formed 'First Republic.' With American assistance from the CIA, and partly mobilized by fear after a Communist coup in Czechoslovakia only weeks earlier, Christian Democrats won a sizeable majority.[24] They would dominate Italian politics for a half century, in opposition to the Italian Communist Party. On 15 July 1948,

[19] John LaFarge, *Interracial Justice: A Study of the Catholic Doctrine of Race Relations* (New York: America Press, 1937).

[20] Georges Passelecq and Bernard Suchecky, *The Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI*, transl. by Steven Rendall (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1997).

[21] John LaFarge, *The Race Question and the Negro: A Study of the Catholic Doctrine on Interracial Justice* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1945). See also David W. Southern, *John LaFarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism, 1911–1963* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996).

[22] Ángel Oscar Flores Fontánez, '"They Feared No Man": The Desegregation of Saint Louis University 1911–1947' (MA thesis, Saint Louis University, 2021).

[23] Benn Steil, *The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018).

[24] Mario Del Pero, 'The United States and "Psychological Warfare" in Italy, 1948–1955,' *The Journal of American History* 87, no. 4 (2001): 1304–34; James E. Miller, 'Taking Off the Gloves: The United States and the Italian Elections of 1948,' *Diplomatic History* 7, no. 1 (1983): 35–55. See also Schloesser, 'Reproach vs. *Rapprochement*,' xlviii.

L'Osservatore Romano published a decree excommunicating those propagating Communism. Other condemnations soon followed, including membership in Communist parties (1949).[25] In the United States, as elsewhere, the 1948–49 arrest and show trial of Hungarian Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty in Budapest created 'a controversial anti-Communist martyr.'[26]

The decade ended with a bang. First, from June 1948 to September 1949, America's Berlin Airlift countered the Soviet attempt to starve out the isolated Western zone. The formation of the Federal Republic of Germany in May 1949 gave a geographical foothold for the Marshall Plan to counter Soviet expansion. In response, the German Democratic Republic ('East Germany') was founded five months later as an independent opposed state. Second, the USSR's detonation of its first atomic weapon ended the US's nuclear monopoly. Third, Mao Zedong's Communist victory in China led to years of foreign policy haunted by the question 'Who Lost China?'[27] A new conflict immediately erupted, and China's involvement in the Korean War (1950–53) forced the recently elected President Dwight D. Eisenhower (in one historian's words) to end the hostilities 'with an armistice no one liked and everyone desperately wanted.'[28]

1950–54. Events in the late 1940s catalyzed the 'Red Scare,' a period of heightened anti-Communist fears at home.[29] From 1950 to 1954, Joseph R. McCarthy, the Catholic junior senator from Wisconsin, became

[25] Frank J. Coppa, 'Pope Pius XII and the Cold War: The Post-war Confrontation between Catholicism and Communism,' in *Religion and the Cold War*, ed. Dianne Kirby, Cold War History Series (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 50–66; see also John Pollard, 'Pius XII: Communism and the Cold War,' *The Papacy in the Age of Totalitarianism, 1914–1958*, Oxford History of the Christian Church (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 364–414.

[26] Eric Jarvis, 'The Creation of a Controversial Anti-Communist Martyr in Early Cold War America: Reactions to the Arrest and Show Trial of Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty of Hungary, 1948–1949,' *The Historian*, 78, no. 2 (Summer 2016): 277–308.

[27] John M. Schuessler, Adam R. Seipp, and Thomas D. Sullivan, eds., *The Berlin Airlift and the Making of the Cold War* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2022); Gerard J. DeGroot, *The Bomb: A Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 144–47; Kevin Peraino, *A Force So Swift: Mao, Truman, and the Birth of Modern China, 1949* (New York: Crown, 2017).

[28] Kevin Boyle, *The Shattering: America in the 1960s* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2021), 35.

[29] Jonathan P. Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle Against Communism in the Early Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Patrick McNamara, *A Catholic Cold War: Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., and the Politics of American Anticommunism* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005).

notorious for his investigations into alleged Communist infiltrations of the government.[30] (The wave followed Representative Richard M. Nixon's 1949 investigations of the alleged former Communist Alger Hiss.) Although McCarthy was enormously popular among Catholics at large, he was steadily criticized by three liberal Catholic publications: the Jesuits' *America* (founded in 1909); the lay-run *Commonweal* (founded in 1924) under the editorial leadership of the outspoken James O'Gara; and *The Catholic Worker* (founded in 1933 by Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin).[31] McCarthy's eventual overreach brought his crusade to a stinging conclusion.

The year 1954 also set the preliminary stage for what would eventually become America's defining crisis.[32] After French colonial forces in Indochina were definitively defeated at the Điện Biên Phủ siege (March to May), Ngô Đình Diệm became the president of the newly created South Vietnam. Diem had spent time in American Catholic seminaries, and he had a fervent supporter in Francis Spellman, the powerful Cardinal of New York.[33] Diem was lionized in Thomas A. Dooley's *Deliver Us from Evil* (1956), and his regime received support from Catholic senators Mike Mansfield (Montana) and John F. Kennedy (Massachusetts).[34] For those paying attention, Graham Greene's novel *The Quiet American* (1955) gestured toward growing mid-1950s CIA involvement in Southeast Asia.[35] Meanwhile, on 1 March 1954, as the French were engaged in their final Indochina siege, the Americans tested a hydrogen device that yielded 750 times the power of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Soviet scientists issued their top-secret report on this event's significance: the

[30] Donald F. Crosby, *God, Church, and Flag: Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the Catholic Church, 1950–1957* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1978).

[31] For histories, see *America* website, 'History,' https://www.americamagazine.org/history; *Commonweal* website, 'A Brief History of Commonweal,' https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/about/history; Catholic Worker Movement website, 'History of the Catholic Worker Movement,' https://catholicworker.org/about-the-catholic-worker-movement/history-of-the-catholic-worker-movement.

[32] Ted Morgan, *Valley of Death: The Tragedy at Dien Bien Phu that Led America into the Vietnam War* (New York: Random House, 2010).

[33] Seth Jacobs, *Cold War Mandarin: Ngo Dinh Diem and the Origins of America's War in Vietnam, 1950–1963* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); Seth Jacobs, *America's Miracle Man in Vietnam: Ngo Dinh Diem, Religion, Race, and U.S. Intervention in Southeast Asia, 1950–1957* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); John Cooney, *The American Pope: The Life and Times of Francis Cardinal Spellman* (New York: Times Books, 1984).

[34] Thomas A. Dooley, *Deliver Us from Evil* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1956).

[35] Graham Greene, *The Quiet American* (New York: Viking Press, 1955).

detonation of just a hundred hydrogen bombs could 'create on the whole globe conditions impossible for life.'[36]

In that same spring of 1954, an explosion of a different sort came on 17 May in the US Supreme Court's landmark decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*.[37] Chief Justice Earl Warren surprised President Dwight D. Eisenhower (who had nominated him) and others when he delivered the unanimous Court's opinion that segregated 'separate but equal' facilities were in fact unequal and violated the 14th Amendment's equal protection clause. The ruling became a cornerstone of the civil rights movement.

Later that year, the 11 October 1954 issue of *Life* magazine provided a popular visual portrayal of Catholic culture. The cover feature, entitled 'The Jesuits in America,' was accompanied by abundant photographs of clean-cut young men in cassocks with rosaries in hand. Marian devotions like annual May crowning ceremonies and rosary processions were ubiquitous staples of Cold War Catholic piety, especially following the 1950 dogmatic declaration of the Assumption of Mary.[38] In the summer of 1950, 100,000 pilgrims travelled to Necedah (Wisconsin) following Mary Ann Van Hoof's reports of Marian apparitions beginning in 1949.[39] Going back several decades to the May–October 1917 Fatima apparitions—following that year's Russian Bolshevik February Revolution—Marian devotions were urged to counter Communism's advance in the wake of the Russian tsar's collapse.[40]

[36] Gaddis, *The Cold War*, 65; in Schloesser, 'Against Forgetting,' 99; see also DeGroot, *The Bomb*, 192–93.

[37] Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality*, rev. and expanded ed. (New York: Knopf, 2004).

[38] Thomas A. Kselman and Steven Avella, 'Marian Piety and the Cold War in the United States,' *The Catholic Historical Review* 72, no. 3 (1986): 403–24. For popular piety, see also Robert A. Orsi, *Thank You, St. Jude: Women's Devotion to the Patron Saint of Hopeless Causes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996).

[39] Sandra L. Zimdars-Swartz, 'Religious Experience and Public Cult: The Case of Mary Ann Van Hoof,' *Journal of Religion and Health* 28, no. 1 (1989): 36–57; see also Sandra Zimdars-Swartz, *Encountering Mary: From La Salette to Medjugorje* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

[40] Note the publication in the immediate post-war period from a major trade publisher: William Thomas Walsh, *Our Lady of Fátima* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947). For international perspective, see P.J. Margry, ed., *Cold War Mary: Ideologies, Politics, Marian Devotional Culture*, KADOC Studies on Religion, Culture, and Society (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2020); and 'The Cold War and the Marian Cult,' in Chris Maunder, *Our Lady of the Nations: Apparitions of Mary in Twentieth-Century Catholic Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 122–35.

Along with popular piety, a US Catholic literary revival paralleling those in France and England had also been taking place.[41] In 1948, Thomas Merton's *The Seven Storey Mountain* had become an unexpected post-war bestseller.[42] The autobiography of this young cosmopolite turned cloistered Trappist seemed to meet desires of what one scholar has called America's 'Fifties Spiritual Marketplace.'[43] That same year, Graham Greene—who had been a fixture in Catholic literary circles since *The Power and the Glory* (1940)—published his first post-war novel, *The Heart of the Matter* (1948). It was soon followed by *The End of the Affair* (1951).[44]

Next, 1952 stands out as an exceptional year. Dorothy Day, founder of the Catholic Worker movement two decades earlier, published her autobiography, *The Long Loneliness*. Day's account of her pilgrimage from young Communist through Catholic conversion was riveting in itself, but its appearance in the maelstrom of the McCarthy era—during which the senator publicly denounced both *The Catholic Worker* and *Commonweal*—only increased its timeliness. That same year, Flannery O'Connor's novel *Wise Blood* appeared and opened a prolific stream of publications, both fiction and prose.[45] O'Connor was associated with other Southern writers, including Allen Tate, Caroline Gordon, and Walker Percy, all converts to Catholicism.[46] Tate was located at Princeton with the Maritains and was instrumental in Jacques's selection as the inaugural lecturer in the newly established A. W. Mellon Lectures in

[41] Paul Elie, *The Life You Save May Be Your Own: An American Pilgrimage* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003); Paul Giles, *American Catholic Arts and Fiction: Culture, Ideology, Aesthetics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[42] Robert Giroux, 'Thomas Merton's Editor on the Surprise Success of "The Seven Storey Mountain,"' *America* (27 Feb. 2024), https://www.americamagazine.org/arts-culture/2024/02/27/robert-giroux-thomas-merton-1988-247380.

[43] Robert S. Ellwood, *The Fifties Spiritual Marketplace: American Religion in a Decade of Conflict* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997).

[44] Martyn Sampson, *Between Form and Faith: Graham Greene and the Catholic Novel* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2021).

[45] Dorothy Day, *The Long Loneliness: The Autobiography of Dorothy Day* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952); Flannery O'Connor, *Wise Blood* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952).

[46] Farrell O'Gorman, *Peculiar Crossroads: Flannery O'Connor, Walker Percy, and Catholic Vision in Postwar Southern Fiction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004); John M. Dunaway, ed., *Exiles and Fugitives: The Letters of Jacques and Raïssa Maritain, Allen Tate, and Caroline Gordon* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); Robert H. Brinkmeyer, Jr., *Three Catholic Writers of the Modern South: Allen Tate, Caroline Gordon, Walker Percy* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985); see also Schloesser, 'History as Revelation.'

the Fine Arts at the National Gallery in Washington, DC. Maritain's 1952 presentation was published the next year as *Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry*, the first volume in the Bollingen Foundation's 35th series.[47] Also in 1953, the Museum of Modern Art in New York exhibited a retrospective of the visual works of Maritain's compatriot and long-time friend Georges Rouault.[48] The exhibition catalogue featured an introduction by Maritain.[49] The transatlantic Catholic cultural exchange was augmented when François Mauriac's reception of the 1952 Nobel Prize in Literature spurred additional translations of his work for US distribution.[50] In 1954–55, William F. Lynch, Jesuit editor of the journal *Thought*, based at Fordham University, published two seminal essays on 'Theology and the Imagination.'[51] The essays established a beachhead in this burgeoning territory of US Catholic cultural revival.

An audience for this literary and cultural revival was fostered in part by ethnic Catholic social aspirations and the correlative rapid expansion of Catholic colleges and universities (thanks largely to the 1944 G. I. Bill).[52] In addition to growing student enrollments, increasing faculty hires, and enlarging physical plants, Catholic educators introduced graduate programs in the belief that they would enhance prestige. Responding to increased demand was also a means to ease institutional financial difficulties left over from the Depression and severely decreased wartime income. Additional tuition revenue, later augmented by government loans and grants, enabled debt reduction and significant improvements to infrastructure. However, federal assistance also facilitated dangerous overexpansion, an ongoing problem with long-term consequences. Another

[47] Jacques Maritain, *Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry*, Bollingen Series 35: The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953).

[48] Stephen Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar Paris, 1919–1933* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 213–44; see also Wallace Fowlie, *Jacob's Night: The Religious Renascence in France* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1947).

[49] Monroe Wheeler et al., *Rouault Retrospective Exhibition, 1953* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1953); see also Stephen Schloesser, ed., *Mystic Masque: Reality and Semblance in Georges Rouault, 1871–1958* (Chestnut Hill, MA: McMullen Museum of Art, 2008).

[50] The Nobel Prize website, "Award Ceremony Speech" (1952), https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1952/ceremony-speech.

[51] John F. Kane, *Building the Human City: William F. Lynch's Ignatian Spirituality for Public Life* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2016); Gerald J. Bednar, *Faith as Imagination: The Contribution of William F. Lynch, S.J.* (Kansas City, MO: Sheed & Ward, 1996).

[52] For this and following, see ch. 4 ('The Rise of the Laity in American Catholic Higher Education') and ch. 5 ('Catholics and Educational Expansion after 1945') in Leahy, *Adapting to America*, 93–122 and 123–54.

long-lasting aspect of the expansion was the surge in hiring lay faculty members. Focus on the professional expertise required especially in new graduate programs took priority over confessional considerations and commitments. In the end, post-war Catholic higher education provided at least two divergent but complementary results. On the one hand, it served as an environment for further assimilation into the broader culture; on the other, even as it broadened perspectives, it strengthened cultural and religious identity. It played an essential role in the ongoing development of lay participation in the 'church of Catholic Action.'

Parallel to rapid expansion at the collegiate level was growth in parochial schools across the country.[53] In 1949, Catholic elementary and secondary schools counted just over two million students. By the end of the 1950s, that number was 4.2 million. Although a new generation of 'builder bishops' tried to meet the demand, it was never enough. In Philadelphia, for example, Archbishop John O'Hara oversaw 133 new parochial school buildings and 20 new diocesan high schools. The total Catholic school population increased by over 102,000. Similarly, New York's Cardinal Spellman built 200 new elementary schools in the 1950s. However, despite monumental efforts, demand exceeded supply, and classrooms remained overcrowded. Moreover, since openings far outstripped the personnel resources of women's religious orders, the presence of lay teachers increased by as much as 400 per cent between 1950 and 1960. In some cases, quick temporary hires of poorly qualified teachers exacerbated problems. In fiscal terms, the shift in staff composition from religious to lay entailed significant increases in salary costs. In symbolic terms, the shift prodded questions about parochial school identity.

By the late 1950s, as diocesan school systems began to crack under the strain, Catholic education approached a critical point. However, the overwhelming surge in absolute numbers masked a more important figure. Ever since the Depression, the percentage of Catholic children attending parochial schools had in fact been decreasing—and this decline in proportion continued throughout the 1950s. Certainly, paying parochial tuition in addition to taxes for local public schools played a role in this trend. But the decline also suggests two other, deeper factors

[53] For the following, see Timothy Walch, *Parish School: A History of American Catholic Parochial Education from Colonial Times to the Present*, rev. and expanded ed. (Arlington, VA: National Catholic Educational Association, 2016), 123–30; Glen Gabert, *In hoc signo? A Brief History of Catholic Parochial Education in America* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1973), 92–97, 109–11, 115–16.

considering Catholics' increasing 'Americanization': a diminishing desire to preserve immigrant subculture and an end to anti-Catholicism in post-denominational (and perhaps now post-religious) public schools.

The year 1954 ended with *Life* magazine's 13 December front cover featuring Pope Pius XII following reports of his serious illness earlier that year: 'The Many-Sided Career of a Great Pope.' The same issue also reported on Joseph McCarthy's censure by the US Senate on 2 December, one of the few members ever to receive this discipline. Meanwhile, following Joseph Stalin's death in March 1953, Nikita Khrushchev had succeeded him as First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A second Cold War phase had begun.

1955–59. The year 1955 marks an important moment in American religious culture. Will Herberg, a Jewish social philosopher, sociologist of religion, and theologian, published a landmark book entitled *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology*.[54] Herberg proposed that these three 'great American religions' constituted the 'religions of democracy.' This vision of a 1950s 'Tri-Faith America' (to use one recent scholar's term) eroded earlier notions of the US as 'a Protestant nation.'[55] (To recover some of Herberg's novelty, recall the main objects of Ku Klux Klan hatred: African Americans, Catholics, and Jews.) Set within Cold War dynamics, Herberg constructed an American 'Judeo-Christian' religious identity over and against an 'atheistic' (or, in terms of the day, 'godless') Soviet one. Epic films like *The Ten Commandments* (1956) and *Ben-Hur* (1959) displayed this common faith on the big screen.[56]

Another marker of this generic 'religion' was Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen's weekly live television broadcast, *Life Is Worth Living*.[57] During

[54] Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1955).

[55] Kevin M. Schultz, *Tri-Faith America: How Catholics and Jews Held Postwar America to Its Protestant Promise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[56] Margaret Malamud, 'Cold War Romans,' *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 14, no. 3 (2007): 121–54; Geraldine Murphy, 'Ugly Americans in Togas: Imperial Anxiety in the Cold War Hollywood Epic,' *Journal of Film and Video* 56, no. 3 (2004): 3–19; Melanie J. Wright, 'Coming in from the Cold (War): Cecil B. Demille's *The Ten Commandments* (1956),' in *Moses in America: The Cultural Uses of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 89–127; Alan Nadel, 'God's Law and the Wide Screen: *The Ten Commandments* as Cold War "Epic,"' *PMLA* 108, no. 3 (1993): 415–30.

[57] S. Mark Massa, *Catholics and American Culture: Fulton Sheen, Dorothy Day, and the Notre Dame Football Team* (New York: Crossroad, 1999).

the show's first season, Sheen was featured on the cover of *Time* magazine's Easter weekend edition (14 April 1952) with the tagline 'No Easter without Good Friday.' The story inside—'Bishop Fulton Sheen: The First "Televangelist"'—was accompanied by an essay written by Sheen himself. 'Why can't the modern mind see there is nothing new in Communism?' asked Sheen. 'It is a groan of despair, not the revolution that starts a new age.'[58] The show attracted an audience far beyond Catholics and made it one of the country's most popular prime-time shows for several years.

From a sociological perspective, Herberg's study signalled that, at least for Catholics, the immigrant Church's ethnic distinctiveness had been eclipsed by assimilation. Liberal Catholics associated with *Commonweal* and the new quarterly *CrossCurrents* (established in 1950) spoke out against 'separatist' tendencies.[59] They urged Catholics to 'break out of the ghetto,' overcome their 'siege mentality,' and plunge into 'the mainstream of American life.'[60] This new context accounts in part for the explosive effect of Monsignor John Tracy Ellis's essay 'American Catholics and the Intellectual Life,' published in autumn 1955 in the journal *Thought* (as noted above, based at Fordham University and edited by the Jesuit William F. Lynch).[61] Ellis cited studies showing that Catholics were underrepresented in scholarly achievement and that their schools fell below national norms, resulting in 'a perpetuation of mediocrity.' The fault, concluded Ellis, 'lies with Catholics themselves. It lies in their frequently self-imposed ghetto mentality which prevents them from mingling as they should with their non-Catholic colleagues.'[62] Perhaps fittingly, Ellis's superiors forbade him to attend a European conference in 1955. That same year, John Courtney Murray's Jesuit superiors ordered him to stop writing on Church-state issues.[63]

[58] *Time*, LXI, no. 15 (14 Apr. 1952), https://content.time.com/time/magazine/0,9263,7601520414,00.html.

[59] Jerry Filteau, 'Cunneen, *CrossCurrents* Shaped US Catholicism for 50 Years,' *National Catholic Reporter* (10 August 2012), https://www.ncronline.org/news/cunneen-crosscurrents-shaped-us-catholicism-50-years.

[60] Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 285.

[61] John Tracy Ellis, 'American Catholics and the Intellectual Life,' *Thought* 30 (Autumn 1955): 351–88.

[62] Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 290; quoting Ellis, 'American Catholics and the Intellectual Life,' 385–86.

[63] Joseph A. Komonchak, 'Catholic Principle and the American Experiment: The Silencing of John Courtney Murray,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* 17, no. 1, Americanism and Americanization: Essays in Honor of Philip Gleason (Winter 1999): 28–44; Robert Nugent: *Silence Speaks: Teilhard de Chardin, Yves Congar, John Courtney Murray, and*

Meanwhile, racial strife continued to escalate.[64] In late August 1955, Emmett Till, a 14-year-old African American from Chicago, was tortured and lynched in Mississippi. After the mutilated remains were returned to Chicago for the funeral, Till's mother insisted on displaying the body to 'let the people see' the horror.[65] Four months later, Rosa Parks's refusal to give up her bus seat led to her arrest and the year-long Montgomery Bus Boycott, stretching until December 1956. In November 1956, the US Supreme Court's ruling *Browder v. Gayle* struck down bus segregation laws.[66] In September 1957, President Eisenhower ordered National Guard and US Army troops to escort the Little Rock Nine to school and ensure integration.[67] Three days later, he signed the Civil Rights Act of 1957. On 29 June 1958, Bethel Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, was bombed by Ku Klux Klan members. Several months later, on 14 November, the Catholic bishops of the United States issued their statement on 'Discrimination and Christian Conscience.' The bishops asked: '[C]an an enforced segregation be reconciled with the Christian view of our fellow man?' Their response: 'In our judgment it cannot.'[68]

Beyond the domestic stage, the Cold War also continued its geopolitical escalation. Fall 1956—three years after Khrushchev's assuming power—coupled the ruthless Soviet repression of the Hungarian Revolution with a USSR threat against Britain and France to send '"rocket weapons" if they did not immediately withdraw their forces' from the Suez Canal.[69] In October 1957, the USSR successfully launched *Sputnik 1*,

Thomas Merton (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2011). For revision, see Susanna De Stradis, 'Not Quite Silenced: Understanding the Censoring of John Courtney Murray,' *Commonweal* (9 Dec. 2021), https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/not-quite-silenced.

[64] For an illustrated overview, see Juan Williams, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954–1965*, 25th anniversary ed. (New York: Penguin, 2013).

[65] Elliott J. Gorn, *Let the People See: The Story of Emmett Till* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[66] Stewart Burns, ed., *Daybreak of Freedom: The Montgomery Bus Boycott* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

[67] Karen Anderson, *Little Rock: Race and Resistance at Central High School* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010); see also Boyle, *Shattering*, 99–102.

[68] Catholic Bishops of the United States, 'Discrimination and Christian Conscience' (14 November 1958); in Hugh J. Nolan and Patrick W. Carey, eds., *Pastoral Letters of the United States Catholic Bishops*, 6 vols. (Washington, DC: National Conference of Catholic Bishops, United States Catholic Conference, 1983–98), vol. 2 (1941–61), 201–206, at 204, https://search.worldcat.org/title/11443878.

[69] Gaddis, *The Cold War*, 70. See also Victor Sebestyen, *Twelve Days: The Story of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006); David A. Nichols, *Eisenhower 1956: The President's Year of Crisis: Suez and the Brink of War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011).

the first artificial Earth satellite.[70] The event shocked Americans and triggered a massive governmental effort to improve science education and schools more generally. These federal dollars would augment the G.I. Bill money that had already vastly expanded Catholic schools. From 1957 on, emboldened by the momentary advantage, Khrushchev repeatedly threatened the West with nuclear annihilation.

Along with *Sputnik*, 1957 brought news of another revolutionary scientific breakthrough. Enovid, the brand name of the first progesterone pill to prevent ovulation, was approved by the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA) for use as a menstrual regulator. Six years earlier, on 29 October 1951, Pius XII had given his often cited 'Address to Participants in the Conference of the Italian Catholic Union of Obstetricians'—more commonly referred to as the 'Allocution to Midwives.'[71] The address might usefully be read within the context of the Marshall Plan and Italy's first democratic elections conducted three years earlier. The economic recovery plan was about to catalyze Italy's 'economic miracle' and for the first time raise its living standards to levels approaching those in other Western European nations.[72] Whatever might have been his personal reservations—and against vehement opposition from traditionalists like Alfredo Ottaviani (soon to be a Cardinal)—Pius seemed to intuit that the Church could not stand between Italians and their new economic possibilities. His allowance for the voluntary limitation of offspring via 'natural' methods redefined, wittingly or not, the traditional Catholic understanding of marriage. In 1958, the last year of his life, Pius declared that use of the progesterone pill to treat menstrual disorders was morally allowable. John Rock, the US Catholic physician who had helped to invent 'the Pill', believed it was only a matter of time before the Church would approve its use as a contraceptive.[73] A full 10 years would pass before another pope would defy that prediction.

On 19 May 1958, construction began on the new church for Saint John's Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota. Designed by Marcel Breuer, an early member of the 1920s Bauhaus and a leading architectural figure in the

[70] Paul Dickson, *Sputnik: The Shock of the Century*, illustrated ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019).

[71] https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/it/speeches/1951/documents/hf_p-xii_spe_19511029_ostetriche.html

[72] Niamh Cullen, *Love, Honour, and Jealousy: An Intimate History of the Italian Economic Miracle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

[73] Jonathan Eig, *The Birth of the Pill: How Four Crusaders Reinvented Sex and Launched a Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2014).

International Style, the building would be finished in August 1961 and consecrated later that fall—almost exactly one year before the opening of Vatican II.[74] The structure's bold, daring, even shocking appearance seemed to summarize a half-century of pioneering liturgical renewal at St. John's and elsewhere. In the same August that construction was concluded, Godfrey Diekmann, a Benedictine monk at St. John's, published *Come, Let Us Worship*.[75] Such publications were numerous. Along with lay study groups associated with Catholic Action, public school students in CCD (Confraternity of Christian Doctrine) classes and Catholic school students at every level—primary, secondary, and collegiate—had been studying the liturgy for nearly three decades with an aim toward greater understanding and participation. As early as 1936, work of the Austrian Augustinian Canon Pius Parsch began to appear in English translation: *The Liturgy of the Mass* (1936) and *Study the Mass* (1940). Both would be republished several times in later editions.[76] Two years later, the Jesuit liturgist Gerald Ellard published *The Dialog Mass: A Book for Priests and Teachers of Religion*. More soon followed.[77]

At a less scholarly level, popular pamphlets, booklets, and visual aids also flourished. In 1947, Diekmann's illustrated pamphlet *Mass Symbols* was accompanied by a series of 16 cardboard illustrations also published by the Liturgical Press: 'excellent aids in the classroom and among discussion groups.'[78] In 1951, bold lettering emphasized the title of Servite Hugh Calkins's reprint: *It's YOUR Mass Too*. Subtitled 'A Pamphlet

[74] Victoria M. Young, *Saint John's Abbey Church: Marcel Breuer and the Creation of a Modern Sacred Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); see also Catherine R. Osborne, *American Catholics and the Church of Tomorrow: Building Churches for the Future, 1925–1975* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

[75] Godfrey Diekmann, *Come, Let Us Worship* (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1961); see also Godfrey Diekmann, ed., *The Easter Vigil: Arranged for Use in Parishes* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1953); Godfrey Diekmann, ed., *The Masses of Holy Week and the Easter Vigil*, 2nd rev. ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1957); Godfrey Diekmann, *The Revival of the Liturgy*, ed. Frederick McManus (New York: Herder and Herder, 1963).

[76] Pius Parsch, *The Liturgy of the Mass*, trans. Frederic C. Eckhoff (St. Louis, MO: B. Herder, 1936); Pius Parsch, *Study the Mass*, trans. William Busch (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1940).

[77] Gerald Ellard, *The Dialog Mass: A Book for Priests and Teachers of Religion* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1942); Gerald Ellard, *The Mass of the Future* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1948); Gerald Ellard, *The Mass in Transition* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1956). See also J. Leo Klein, SJ, 'The Role of Gerald Ellard (1894–1963) in the Development of the Contemporary American Catholic Liturgical Movement' (PhD diss., Fordham University, 1971).

[78] Godfrey Diekmann and Joachim Watrin, *Mass Symbols* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1947).

Designed to Stimulate the Use of Missals by the Laity,' the 96-page booklet featured several black-and-white photographs illustrating various moments in the Mass.[79] In 1954, the Catechetical Guild of New York published a large format 'comic book' of graphic designs: *Know Your Mass*.[80] In sum: even as the spring 1958 ground-breaking for the ultra-modernist Breuer church at St. John's Abbey pointed ahead, it represented the triumph of past achievement.

And yet—*Things Fall Apart*.[81] The title of Chinua Achebe's now canonical 1958 work about colonialism's dying captured the moment. That was the year in which France's post-war Fourth Republic collapsed over the Algerian crisis. Although Charles de Gaulle's firm fatherly hand was called back to bring order to chaos, the result was utterly unexpected. De Gaulle brought France's imperial epoch to a quick close.[82] Meanwhile, Pope Pius XII died that October and was succeeded by the unpredictable John XXIII. Thomas F. O'Dea's *American Catholic Dilemma* (1958), a follow-up to John Tracy Ellis's 1955 bombshell, singled out five 'basic characteristics of the American Catholic milieu which inhibit the development of mature intellectual activity': formalism, authoritarianism, clericalism, moralism, and defensiveness. The times, concluded O'Dea, 'demand[ed] a considerable reorientation of Catholic Life.'[83] Finally, although no one could have realized it at the time, 1958 marked the peak in the number of American Jesuits. After that, the decline began, beginning imperceptibly but later developing into a steady stream.[84] In retrospect, coming just four years after *Life* magazine's lavishly illustrated 'The Jesuits in America,' the onset of membership decline can be seen as the sunset of post-1945 Catholic exceptionalism—a phenomenon owed largely to Cold War anti-Communism.

[79] Rev. Hugh Calkins, OSM, *It's Your Mass Too: A Pamphlet Designed to Stimulate the Use of Missals by the Laity* (Chicago: Perpetual Novena in Honor of Our Sorrowful Mother, 1951 [1939]).

[80] Dēmētrēs Manousos and Addison Burbank, *Know Your Mass* (St. Paul, MN: Catechetical Guild Educational Society, 1954).

[81] Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958).

[82] William R. Nester, *De Gaulle's Legacy: The Art of Power in France's Fifth Republic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Martin Thomas, *The French North African Crisis: Colonial Breakdown and Anglo-French Relations, 1945–62* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

[83] Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 292; see also Thomas F. O'Dea, *American Catholic Dilemma: An Inquiry into the Intellectual Life* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958).

[84] Joseph M. Becker, SJ, et al., 'Changes in U.S. Jesuit Membership, 1958–1975: A Symposium: Section I. The Statistics and a Tentative Analysis; Section II: Other Reactions and Explanations from Different Backgrounds,' *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 9.1 (Jan. 1977) and 9.2 (Mar. 1977).

In 1959, on New Year's Day, Fidel Castro's Cuban revolution triumphed. Just as in 1949, the momentous year exactly one decade earlier, Americans were shocked out of complacency. A Soviet-style Communist satellite nation now lay approximately 100 miles off the US mainland.[85] It signalled a brave new world. So, too, did the publication of the English translation that year of the Jesuit paleontologist Pierre Teilhard de Chardin's *The Phenomenon of Man*.[86] Teilhard, who had been forbidden to publish or teach since the mid-1920s, had died in 1955. Once he did, his books (long readied for publication) began rolling off presses in various languages on both sides of the Atlantic. In contrast to centuries of privileging eternal verities and changelessness, Teilhard instead embraced evolutionary change and development as fundamental attributes in a living universe. In the space age spurred by Sputnik and the consequent scramble for science education, the priest-scientist's writings and commentaries on them found a hungry audience. *The Phenomenon of Man*, the first of Teilhard's works to appear, might not have been accurately read or widely understood, but its significance lay in its symbolism. It represented the future.[87]

1960–63. In May 1960, following the publication of William F. Lynch's best-known work, *Christ and Apollo: The Dimensions of the Literary Imagination*, *Time* magazine hailed the author as 'one of the most incisive Catholic intellectuals in the US.'[88] The timing was not coincidental: this was the year in which Senator John F. Kennedy's candidacy for the US presidency resurfaced long-standing anxieties about Catholics in public life.[89] On 12 September, just a little under two months before the November election, Kennedy spoke to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association. He was briefed for the event by his campaign adviser,

[85] Richard E. Welch, *Response to Revolution: The United States and the Cuban Revolution, 1959–1961* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

[86] Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *The Phenomenon of Man*, transl. by Bernard Wall (New York: Harper & Row, 1959); orig. ed. *Le phénomène humain* (Paris: Seuil, 1955).

[87] Susan Kassman Sack, *America's Teilhard: Christ and Hope in the 1960s* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2019).

[88] 'Religion: Downward to the Infinite,' *Time* (23 May 1960), https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,827635-1,00.html; see also Robert Ellwood, *The Sixties Spiritual Awakening: American Religion Moving from Modern to Postmodern* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994).

[89] Thomas J. Carty, *A Catholic in the White House? Religion, Politics and John F. Kennedy's Presidential Campaign* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

John Cogley, a former executive editor of *Commonweal*.[90] The address quickly became a historical benchmark for its forceful distinctions between Church and state, personal beliefs and public governance. In a bit of historical irony, the FDA approved Enovid—'the Pill'—for contraceptive purposes that May. It went on sale on 23 June 1960.[91] The post-war era of what one historian has called the Cold War domestic 'containment' of women—'homeward bound'—was about to explode.[92] Eight years later, following the promulgation of the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, that explosion would rock the post-conciliar Church.[93]

During that same fall of 1960, Gustave Weigel, a Jesuit professor of ecclesiology at the Jesuits' Woodstock College, and Robert McAfee Brown, an ordained Protestant professor of systematic theology at New York's Union Theological Seminary, had participated in a series of ecumenical 'dialogue' discussions broadcast on the NBC radio network. Weigel and Brown had also just published *An American Dialogue: A Protestant Looks at Catholicism and a Catholic Looks at Protestantism*.[94] The foreword was contributed by Will Herberg, noted above as the author of *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (1955). On 8 November, Kennedy defeated Vice-President Richard Nixon and became the first Roman Catholic US president.[95] A month later, the cover of the 12 December edition of

[90] See two archival items in the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum: John F. Kennedy, 'Address to the Houston Ministers Conference, 12 September 1960,' https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/historic-speeches/address-to-the-greater-houston-ministerial-association; and John Cogley, 'Oral History Interview – JFK #1, 2/20/1968,' https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/jfkoh-joc-01.

[91] Eig, *Birth of the Pill*.

[92] Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, fully rev. and updated 20th anniversary ed. (New York: Basic Books, [1988] 2008).

[93] See Schloesser, '1918—1968—2018,' 514–18; see also Stephen Schloesser, '"Dancing on the Edge of the Volcano": Biopolitics and What Happened after Vatican II,' in *From Vatican II to Pope Francis: Charting a Catholic Future*, ed. Paul G. Crowley (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2014), 3–26, at 8, n. 13; Stephen Schloesser, 'Biopolitics and the Construction of Postconciliar Catholicism,' in *A Realist's Church: Essays in Honor of Joseph Komonchak*, eds. Christopher Denny, Patrick Hayes, and Nicholas Rademacher (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2015), 147–66; Peter Cajka, *Follow Your Conscience: The Catholic Church and the Spirit of the Sixties* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021).

[94] Robert McAfee Brown and Gustave Weigel, *An American Dialogue: A Protestant Looks at Catholicism and a Catholic Looks at Protestantism*, foreword by Will Herberg (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960); see also Paul G. Crowley, 'Jesuit Ecumenism in Three Acts: Lessons from the Life of Robert McAfee Brown,' in *Crossings and Dwellings*, eds. Roberts and Schloesser, 693–724.

[95] Shaun A. Casey, *The Making of a Catholic President: Kennedy vs. Nixon 1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Time magazine featured Weigel's close Jesuit associate, John Courtney Murray. The cover banner read 'US Catholics & the State'; the inside feature essay was titled 'To Be Catholic and American.'[96] Earlier that year, Murray, whose Jesuit superiors had forbidden him in 1955 to write on matters of Church and state, had ended his silence with the publication of *We Hold These Truths: Catholic Reflections on the American Proposition*.[97] The 'proposition' was *E pluribus unum*: One out of many. Murray's reflections included one on 'Civil unity and religious integrity.'

The year 1961 began with Kennedy's inauguration on 20 January. The president and his wife, Jacqueline, represented a vital new age in US Catholicism. Both were young and wealthy, photogenic and telegenic, refined and educated—he at Harvard, she at Vassar and George Washington University (with a study-abroad year in France). They embodied the aspirations of a post-immigrant American Catholicism. That same January, the United Nations resolved to make the 1960s the 'Decade of Development.'[98] On 1 March, Kennedy responded to this global call by establishing the Peace Corps, an enduring legacy of the new decade's youthful hope and idealism.[99] However, Cold War challenges not only persisted but escalated as the youthful president faced the seasoned Khrushchev.[100] The disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba (17–20 April) was quickly followed by the sudden (and shocking) construction of the Berlin Wall (13 August). Domestic crises also intensified. Between 4 May and 10 December, Freedom Riders bus trips transported interracial teams to assist with desegregation efforts in the Deep South.[101] When the first two buses arrived in Alabama, riders were greeted with firebombs and physical violence.

Just two weeks after the first Freedom Riders, Pope John XXIII issued his encyclical *Mater et Magistra* (Mother and Teacher) on 15 May 1961.[102]

[96] 'To Be Catholic and American,' *Time* magazine (12 Dec. 1960), https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,871923-1,00.html.

[97] John Courtney Murray, *We Hold These Truths: Catholic Reflections on the American Proposition* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960).

[98] United Nations, *The United Nations Development Decade: Proposals for Action—Report* (New York: United Nations, 1962).

[99] Stanley Meisler, *When the World Calls: The Inside Story of the Peace Corps and Its First Fifty Years* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011).

[100] Richard Reeves, ed., *The Kennedy Years: From the Pages of the New York Times* (New York: Abrams, 2013).

[101] Raymond Arsenault, *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[102] John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*, On Christianity and Social Progress (15 May 1961), https://www.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_15051961_mater.html.

In response to the pope's progressive stances, the phrase '*Mater, si; Magistra, no*'—a play on '*Cuba si, Castro no*'—was coined by Garry Wills (a former Jesuit) during a telephone conversation with William F. Buckley, Jr. The phrase was then published in Buckley's *National Review*. The Jesuits at *America* magazine responded with speculations about future lay anticlericalism in the US.[103] Wills and Buckley, both Catholics, represented a 1950s conservative movement that would eventually come into power three decades later.[104] However, at this early moment, on the eve of Vatican II's opening, the quip foreshadowed the polarized divisions that would mark the council's eventual reception. On 30 October, the USSR detonated the 50-megaton 'Tsar Bomba' ('Tsar's Bomb') with a yield 'ten times the combined total of all the explosives used during the Second World War.' It was 'not a weapon but a political gesture designed to frighten the Americans and to underline Soviet disgust with arms control and test ban negotiations.'[105]

One year later, on 11 October 1962, the Second Vatican Council opened its first session. Five days into it, the 'thirteen days' of the Cuban Missile Crisis (16-18 October) began. The world discovered what it meant to be only minutes from the nuclear annihilation of millions.[106] On 25 October, John XXIII gave an unscheduled noon speech broadcast delivered in French and addressed to 'all men of good will.' The following day, the *New York Times* gave front-page coverage to the pope's words and published the speech in full. The same day, *Pravda* also published an account of the speech. 'To be well-inclined to these negotiations and to commence them,' judged *Pravda*, 'this would be a sign of wisdom and cautiousness that would be blessed by heaven and earth.'[107]

[103] The exchange between *America* and *National Review* was summarized in '"America" Raps "National Review",' *The Catholic Advocate* 10, no. 34 (17 Aug. 1961), https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org/?a=d&d=ca19610817-01.2.14. For a retrospective view, see Mollie Wilson O'Reilly, 'Editorial Follow-up: From the Archives,' *Commonweal* (6 Apr. 2009), https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/editorial-follow-archives. One historian observes: 'The *Mater et Magistra* controversy was, though it was not obvious at the time, a signal that the American Catholic community, as a unified community, was about to take its leave from the anticommunist coalition.' Richard Gid Power, 'American Catholics and Catholic Americans: The Rise and Fall of Catholic Anticommunism,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* 22, no. 4 (2004): 17–35, at 30.

[104] D. G. Hart, *American Catholic: The Politics of Faith During the Cold War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020).

[105] DeGroot, *The Bomb*, 253, 254; see also Schloesser, 'Against Forgetting,' 98–99.

[106] DeGroot, *The Bomb*, 260–64. See also Serhii Plokhy, *Nuclear Folly: A History of the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2021).

[107] Gerald P. Fogarty, 'Vatican II and the Cold War,' in *Vatican II Behind the Iron Curtain*, ed. Piotr H. Kosicki (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2016), 27–49, at 36–37; see also Fogarty, 'The Council Gets Underway,' in *History of*

Six months later, his *Pacem in Terris* (11 April 1963) boldly stated: 'it is hardly possible to imagine that in the atomic era war could be used as an instrument of peace.'[108] When John XXIII died shortly thereafter (on 3 June), a Soviet freighter in Genoa harbour flew its flag at half-mast.[109]

The traumatic year of 1963 opened hopefully on 14-17 January with the first National Conference on Religion and Race in Chicago, a watershed event for Catholics in the civil rights movement.[110] A month later, on 19 February, Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*.[111] A landmark moment in 'second-wave feminism,' Friedan's work heralded an unprecedented epoch in the history of gender relations. On 26 June, just days after Pope Paul VI's succession to the papacy, President Kennedy delivered his historic speech at the Berlin Wall.[112] On 16 July, in a moment both prophetic and foreboding, Catholic Workers Thomas (Tom) Cornell and Christopher (Chris) Kearns led the first recorded (and nationally televised) protest against US assistance to the South Vietnamese regime.[113] On 28 August, Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his historic 'I Have a Dream' speech during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.[114] On 20 September, in his speech to the 18th General Assembly of the United Nations, President Kennedy returned to the 'Decade of Development' program, listing advances already made and outlining future goals.[115] On 7 October, Kennedy signed a partial nuclear test ban

Vatican II, vol. 2, The Formation of the Council's Identity: First Period and Intersession, October 1962–September 1963, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1997), 69–106, at 94–104; see also Schloesser, 'Against Forgetting,' 99–100.

[108] John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*, On Establishing Universal Peace in Truth, Justice, Charity, and Liberty (11 Apr. 1963), https://www.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_11041963_pacem.html.

[109] Fogarty, 'Vatican II and the Cold War,' 45.

[110] The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, 'National Conference on Religion and Race, January 14, 1963 to January 17, 1963,' https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/national-conference-religion-and-race. For the following, see Schloesser, 'Dancing,' 3–7.

[111] Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963).

[112] John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, 'Remarks of President John F. Kennedy at the Rudolph-Wilde-Platz, Berlin, June 26, 1963,' https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/berlin-w-germany-rudolph-wilde-platz-19630626.

[113] Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up? American Protest Against the War in Vietnam 1963–1975* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985), 12–13.

[114] The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, 'I Have a Dream' (28 Aug. 1963), https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/i-have-dream.

[115] John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, 'Address Before the 18th General Assembly of the United Nations, September 20, 1963,' https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/united-nations-19630920.

treaty with Moscow. 'For the first time,' he said, 'we have been able to reach an agreement which can limit the dangers of this age.'[116] Nineteen days later, on 26 October, President Diệm of South Vietnam was assassinated. Less than a month later, on 22 November, President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas.

The president's funeral was held on 25 November.[117] The main celebrant of the Latin Requiem Mass sung for the nation's slain first Catholic president was Boston's Cardinal Richard Cushing. Two weeks later, on 4 December, Pope Paul VI promulgated *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy.[118] US Catholic priests would soon be facing their congregations and presiding in vernacular English, not Latin. Vatican II's second session adjourned.

1964. The year 1964 marked a radical inflection point in the Cold War that would frame US Catholics' reception of the council, concluding the following year. The ominous 12 June 1964 cover of *Life* magazine featured American ground troops with the caption 'Ugly War in Vietnam.' Two weeks later, on 2 July, President Johnson signed the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964.[119] Although the legislation had been proposed by President Kennedy a year earlier, it had languished due to filibuster. However, following Kennedy's assassination, grief and tribute assisted in the act's eventual revival, passage, and enactment. It remains a high-water mark of the civil rights movement and President Johnson's 'Great Society' domestic dream.[120]

And yet, almost immediately afterward, race riots exploded in cities including Chicago, Jersey City, New York (Harlem), and Philadelphia. The summer eventually came to be known as the 'long, hot summer' as

[116] John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, 'Nuclear Test Ban Treaty,' https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/jfk-in-history/nuclear-test-ban-treaty; John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, 'Legislative Summary: Treaties,' https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/legislative-summary/treaties.

[117] See John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, 'State Funeral of President Kennedy: Requiem Mass at St. Matthew's Cathedral and burial at Arlington National Cemetery,' https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/jfkwhp-1963-11-25-b#?image_identifier=JFKWHP-AR8255-2X.

[118] *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (4 Dec. 1963), https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html.

[119] Robert D. Loevy, ed., *The Civil Rights Act of 1964: The Passage of the Law that Ended Racial Segregation* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997).

[120] Randall B. Woods, *Prisoners of Hope: Lyndon B. Johnson, the Great Society, and the Limits of Liberalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2016).

the worst racial urban unrest since 1919 spread over the coming weeks.[121] Meanwhile, on 7 August, Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in response to alleged North Vietnamese attacks on US warships several days earlier. The resolution authorized President Johnson to 'take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression' by the Communists.[122]

Rapid escalation in US military involvement in Vietnam's ongoing civil war inaugurated a distinctly new and ultimately tragic Cold War chapter. The explosion of the antiwar movement, additionally fuelled by racial unrest, brought Johnson's presidency and 'Great Society' aspirations to an unexpectedly swift end.[123] 'The Sixties' had begun in earnest, and bitter polarizations would endure for decades. This was the cultural context of US Catholicism in which Vatican II would be received.[124]

[121] Ann V. Collins, *The Dawn Broke Hot and Somber: U.S. Race Riots of 1964* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2019). For 1919, see Cameron McWhirter, *Red Summer: The Awakening of Black America* (New York: Henry Holt, 2011).

[122] National Archives, 'Tonkin Gulf Resolution (1964),' https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/tonkin-gulf-resolution. See also Edwin E. Moïse, *Tonkin Gulf and the Escalation of the Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

[123] Michael H. Hunt, *Lyndon Johnson's War: America's Cold War Crusade in Vietnam, 1945–1968* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996).

[124] Helen M. Ciernick, 'A Matter of Conscience: The Selective Conscientious Objector, Catholic College Students, and the Vietnam War,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* 26, no. 3 (2008): 33–50; Joseph G. Morgan, 'A Change of Course: American Catholics, Anticommunism, and the Vietnam War,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* 22, no. 4 (2004): 117–30; Penelope Adams Moon, '"Peace on Earth: Peace in Vietnam": The Catholic Peace Fellowship and Antiwar Witness, 1964-1976,' *Journal of Social History* 36, no. 4 (2003): 1033–57; Michelle M. Nickerson, *Spiritual Criminals: How the Camden 28 Put the Vietnam War on Trial* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2024).

CONTEXT OF CHURCH, THEOLOGY, AND SOCIETY ON THE EVE OF THE COUNCIL IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADA

MICHAEL ATTRIDGE

I acknowledge the land on which I am writing is the traditional territory of many nations including the Mississaugas of the Credit, the Anishnabeg, the Chippewa, the Haudenosaunee and the Wendat peoples and is now home to many diverse First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples. I also acknowledge that Toronto is covered by Treaty 13 with the Mississaugas of the Credit and I am honoured to be able to work on this land.[1]

I was invited to contribute to this project by offering an essay on the context of Church, theology, and society in Canada on the eve of the Second Vatican Council. In the brief amount of space available, it would be impossible to cover adequately all of Canada—that is, both Francophone and Anglophone/Allophone Canada.[2] The former is associated with French colonialism, concentrated in what is now known as the province of Quebec but with continued presence in other places throughout the country. The latter is associated with British colonialism and is found throughout the rest of Canada, changing after the Second World War as the country's awareness of its own multiculturalism emerged. Those who are familiar with the story of Canada know the difficulties and pitfalls of attempting to address in a singular way this complex history. Therefore, in what follows, unless otherwise indicated, I deal only with Anglophone/Allophone Canada. The rich, unique, and complex socio-cultural, political, and religious history of Quebec—especially in the 1950s and early 1960s, as the so-called Quiet Revolution began—deserves its own treatment. Finally, in this chapter I have tried to follow, broadly speaking, those

[1] The traditional land acknowledgement statement for Toronto, Canada: https://www.toronto.ca/city-government/accessibility-human-rights/indigenous-affairs-office/land-acknowledgement.

[2] In Canada, the term 'Allophone' ('speaking a different language') is used for those whose language is other than the country's two official languages: English and French. Approximately 20 per cent of Canadians report speaking a language other than English or French at home.

categories that would form the conciliar agenda: ecclesiology, society and Church–world relations, the laity, liturgy and religious education, and ecumenism. In this way, I hope readers are more easily able to see how Vatican II might have shaped the Canadian Church and society.

1. Canadian Society in the Post-war Period

According to census data, as Vatican II was getting under way, 18.2 million people lived in Canada—a country with the second-largest land mass in the world.[3] Given that the area of Canada is almost 10 million square kilometres, this averaged 1 square kilometre for almost every two people. A century earlier, when Canada became a country, the population was only 3.1 million. On the eve of Vatican II, 11.5 million Canadians lived in the two central provinces of Ontario and Quebec. In Western Canada, 3 million lived in British Columbia and Alberta, and in Eastern Canada, 1.9 million lived in the Atlantic provinces of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. The remaining 1.8 million lived in the prairie provinces and in the northern territories. In other words, in 1961, the population of Canada was small relative to the size of its land mass, and almost two thirds of the population lived in the country's two central provinces.

The 1961 census provided 21 categories of religious identity: 15 were Christian denominations, and the remaining ones were Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormon, Christian Science, Confucian and Buddhist, and Jewish. The final category was 'Other,' with around 462,000 (or a little more than 2.5 per cent) of Canadians identifying as such. In 1961, 8.3 million Canadians called themselves Roman Catholic: 4.6 million lived in Quebec, whose total population was 5.2 million, and almost 1.9 million lived in Ontario. Thus, the largest concentration of Catholics also lived in these two provinces in central Canada.

The five largest religious groups in Canada outside of Roman Catholicism were Anglicans, Baptists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, and the United Church of Canada.[4] They represented 8.1 million people, with the vast majority being Anglicans (2.4 million) and members of the United

[3] 'Religious Denominations in Canada,' *Census of Canada*, 1961, Tables 11-22 to 11-27.

[4] The United Church of Canada was formed in 1925 through the union of three Protestant churches in the country: the Methodist Church in Canada, the majority of the congregations of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, and Congregationalists.

Church (3.6 million). As indicated above, the majority of members of the Protestant churches lived outside of Quebec. Around 9.89 million Canadians identified their religion as something other than Catholic, and around 9.27 million of these lived in the other provinces and territories (4.63 million lived in Ontario). In other words, in 1961, Quebec was a province of Roman Catholics, whereas the rest of the country was comprised mainly of Protestants, almost half of whom lived in Ontario.

While a statistical snapshot of Canada's religious groups in 1961 shows one thing, it does not account for another: namely, the rapid growth in secularization. Sociologists Bryan Wilson, Peter Berger, and Thomas Luckman have theorized that 'as societies become more advanced—that is, more industrialized, more complex in organization, and more individualistic,' people become more 'this worldly' and less religious.[5] This describes well the situation in Canada in the post-World War II period. Although in absolute numbers those declaring no religion in Canada between the end of the war and the early 1960s was small, the rate of increase was exponential. In 1951, those declaring 'no religion' represented less than one half of 1 per cent of total population. Within 20 years, this number had grown by 800 per cent, a trend that has not stopped. Today, almost one in four Canadians identifies as having no religion at all.

Following World War II, Canadian society boomed. In places and situations where people still struggled, the government began to create a social safety net to support the unemployed, the sick, the elderly, and the disabled. In 1951, it started a program to send support cheques to people over the age of 70. In 1956, it created a program of unemployment insurance to assist employable people who had lost their jobs. The following year, the groundwork for a national social health care plan was put in place to provide basic universal health care for all Canadians. During the 1960s, these social programs became normalized as other ones, such as the Canada Pension Plan, emerged. In short, the newly created post-war welfare state in Canada was slowly replacing the social support that the churches had historically offered. Greater prosperity and the emergence of government assistance programs created a peace-of-mind philosophy that made the role of the Church appear increasingly irrelevant.[6] Moreover, many had come to see the government services as

[5] Brian Clarke and Stuart Macdonald, *Leaving Christianity: Changing Allegiances in Canada since 1945* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 13.

[6] LAC, Canadian Council of Churches fonds, MG 28, I 327, 'Biennial Meetings – Minutes, 1960, 1962,' vol. 1, file 4, *Record of Proceedings of the Thirteenth Meeting, 3-7 November 1960*, 90. See also Daniel C. Goodwin, 'The Canadian Council of Churches:

essentially the same as those offered by the churches, so there was little perceived benefit in what the churches provided.

Finally, it is worth noting the religious plurality in Canada in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Although the vast majority of Canadians were Christian, either Roman Catholic or Protestant, a sizeable number of people belonged to other religions. Most significantly, they were located in the urban areas of the country, where they would have had a distinct presence. In 1961, the census reported that 16,700 Canadians declared themselves as belonging to Confucian and Buddhist religions.[7] While that number was less than 0.1 per cent of the total population, 13,699 of them lived in Canada's cities, where their presence would have been well known. Likewise, in 1961, there were 254,368 Jews in Canada, representing 1.4 per cent of the total population: 251,942 of them—that is, 99 per cent—lived in Canadian cities. The Jewish population was highest in Montreal (102,724), Toronto (88,648), Winnipeg (19,376), Vancouver (7,301), and Ottawa (5,533). Once again, their presence would have been well known.

2. English-speaking Bishops and Faculties of Theology

Months after John XXIII announced his intention to hold an ecumenical council, plans were under way to solicit agenda items from Catholic bishops and prelates, faculties of theology, seminaries, and theologates around the world. Theologian Michael Fahey analyzed the responses of the English-speaking Canadian bishops and the four Canadian faculties of theology that made submissions; he concluded that the ones from the faculties of theology demonstrated a much greater awareness of 20th-century scholarship than those of the bishops.[8] Each of these groups, though, offers insight into the state of Catholicism on the eve of the council—the former with respect to the interests of the Church's leaders in English-speaking Canada and the latter with respect to higher education.

Its Founding Vision and Early Years, 1944–1964,' *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 41, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 147–48.

[7] 'Religious Denominations in Canada,' *Census of Canada*, 1961, Tables 11-26 and 11-27.

[8] See Michael A. Fahey, 'A Vatican Request for Agenda Items Prior to Vatican II: Responses by English-Speaking Canadian Bishops,' in *L'Église canadienne et Vatican II*, ed. Gilles Routhier (Quebec: Fides, 1997), 61–71; and 'A Vatican Request for Agenda Items Prior to Vatican II: Responses from Canadian Faculties of Theology,' in *L'Église canadienne et Vatican II*, ed. Gilles Routhier (Quebec: Fides, 1997), 73–80. For the responses from the Quebec bishops, see Gilles Routhier, 'Les vota des évêques des dioceses du Québec,' in *L'Église canadienne et Vatican II*, ed. Gilles Routhier (Quebec: Fides, 1997), 25–59.

2.1. *The Bishops*

Around 88 per cent of the more than 100 residential bishops in Canada responded to the ante-preparatory commission's call for agenda items. Their submissions are found in some 150 pages of the Council's *acta*.[9] Included among them is one from the country's Apostolic Delegate, Sebastiano Baggio, who was not a Canadian. Most of the submissions were only one or two pages long, and all of them were in Latin. According to Fahey, there is no evidence that the Anglophone bishops consulted the faithful or even any special advisers in preparing their responses.[10] This latter point might be one of the reasons why their contributions were so uninspiring and unimaginative. The quality of their contributions is also likely a reflection of their own seminary formation; similar to most seminaries in the Anglo-Saxon theological context of the time, it was defensive and ultramontane and held 'a non-historical account of Catholic doctrine typical of "Denzinger theology".'[11]

As Fahey observed, most of the submissions did not require an ecumenical council to resolve them, but instead 'could more appropriately have been settled by canonical or liturgical decree.'[12] Some examples of these kinds of requests include permission for clergy to wear a black suit and Roman collar on the street rather than a soutane, permission for them to recite the breviary in the vernacular, a request to reform the system of the Index of Forbidden Books, and requests to adjust fasting and abstinence.[13] One bishop, Joseph Langlois of Valleyfield, Quebec, expressed concern about the hairstyles of his priests and asked for strict adherence to the practice of requiring a tonsure.

The bishops by and large showed little concern for ecumenism, despite the fact that Anglophone Canada was primarily Protestant. In his submission, Bishop John MacDonald of Edmonton, Alberta, suggested that there be new ways of preaching to 'heretical Protestants who were, after all, just unbelievers (*potius infidels*).' Except for Lutherans, he added, most Protestants 'didn't really know what they believed.' For them, 'faith in the strict sense is of little value.'[14] The bishop of Kingston, Ontario,

[9] Cf. *Acta et Documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II Apparando*: Series I: *Antepraeparatoria*. Volumen II: *Consilia et Vota Episcoporum ac Praelatorum*. Pars VI: *America Septentrionalis et Centralis* (Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1960).

[10] Fahey, 'English-Speaking Bishops,' 63.

[11] Fahey, 'English-Speaking Bishops,' 65–66.

[12] Fahey, 'English-Speaking Bishops,' 67.

[13] See Fahey, 'English-Speaking Bishops,' 67.

[14] Fahey, 'English-Speaking Bishops,' 69.

Joseph O'Sullivan, called Protestants 'fanatics.' The Vatican's representative in Canada, Sebastiano Baggio, referred to Protestants as 'dissidents' and expressed his wish that they might return 'to the bosom of the Church' (*in sinum Ecclesiae*).[15]

Similarly, the bishops showed little understanding of the history of Eastern Catholic churches and their ecclesiological relationship with the Roman Catholic Church. According to Fahey, some of them wrote that Eastern Catholics should 'conform to the "Canadian way" of doing things.' Vancouver's Archbishop William Duke and co-adjutor Archbishop Martin Johnson said that it should be easier for them 'to become Roman Catholics.'[16]

While most of the submissions of the English-speaking prelates were generally of the same low calibre, some expressed important insights. Bishop Joseph Berry of Halifax, Nova Scotia, proposed an improvement to seminary education as well as greater attention to the laity and to Christian family life.[17] The most profound contribution came from the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of Toronto, Isidore Borecky, whose response was in six sections. He complained about the overcentralization of the Church and expressed a 'remarkable vision' for the future reunion of the Church with Orthodox churches. As Fahey concludes, it is 'amazing to observe how so many of his comments actually were adopted in one way or another in the final decrees of Vatican II.'[18]

2.2. *Faculties of Theology*

In the same way that the bishops' contributions point to the state of the Catholic leadership on the eve of the council, the contributions from the faculties of theology tell us something about the state of theology.[19] Fahey's analysis includes both French-speaking and English-speaking schools: two in Quebec and two in Ontario. Only four Canadian schools made submissions: Université de Montréal, Université Laval, the University of Ottawa, and the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. Gregory

[15] Fahey, 'English-Speaking Bishops,' 68.
[16] Fahey, 'English-Speaking Bishops,' 68.
[17] Fahey, 'English-Speaking Bishops,' 68.
[18] Fahey, 'English-Speaking Bishops,' 69.
[19] Cf. *Acta et Documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II Apparando*: Series I: *Antepraeparatoria*. Volumen IV: *Studia et Vota Universitatum et Facultatum Ecclesiasticarum et Catholicarum*. Pars II: *Universitates et Facultates extra Urbem* (Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1961).

Baum, who was on faculty at St. Michael's College in Toronto, would soon be assigned as an expert to the council's preparatory body, the Secretariat for Christian Unity.[20] It is unknown why other schools, such as Regis College in Toronto or the Collège dominicain in Ottawa, did not submit any agenda items. In any case, as Fahey writes, 'unlike the rather lack-luster response from the bishops, some of the responses from the academic institutions are remarkable for their creative visions. Their concerns coincide much more closely with the eventual agenda of the Council.'[21]

The Université de Montreal submitted three reports: one each from the Faculty of Theology, the Faculty of Political-Social Sciences, and Commercial Studies.[22] The report from the Faculty of Theology called for, among other things, clarification of five issues relating to the Church's teaching on Revelation, including the relationship between Scripture and Tradition. It asked that issues of family life be addressed, especially in light of modern economic times. As for the report from the Faculty of Political-Social Sciences, Fahey calls it 'remarkable,' especially for how it reflects the influence of papal social encyclicals and the best scholarship coming out of Europe at the time from theologians such as Gustave Thils.[23] He concludes that in many ways, the report can be seen as one of the precursors of *Gaudium et Spes*, as well as sections of *Lumen Gentium* and *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, with their calls for holiness in the laity. The third report, from Commercial Studies, focused mainly on non-theological issues. It mentioned things such as socio-cultural, economic, political, and racial factors as operative among different communities of Christians. It suggested that the membership of the council's preparatory theological commission be expanded to include experts from these disciplines as well as broader representation from regions of the world such as the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. All three documents, in Fahey's evaluation, are 'on a par with some of the finest theological reflection underway in Europe at that time especially in France and Belgium.'[24]

The submission from the University of Ottawa contained four sections: on ecclesiology, Catholic teaching, reform of the liturgy, and canonical

[20] Unfortunately, Baum did not retain any of his own files from this period.

[21] Fahey, 'Canadian Faculties of Theology,' 73.

[22] For a more detailed description of the contributions, see Fahey, 'Canadian Faculties of Theology,' 74–76.

[23] Fahey, 'Canadian Faculties of Theology,' 75.

[24] Fahey, 'Canadian Faculties of Theology,' 76.

reform.[25] Unlike the contributions of the bishops, the report showed a concern for Christian unity. It argued that the unfinished work of Vatican I had had a negative impact on ecumenical efforts, and it questioned the identification of the Roman Catholic Church with the Mystical Body of Christ. In terms of ecclesial relationships and authority, it asked for clarification on the roles of the hierarchy and the laity in the Church and on what is the proper function of the magisterium. With regard to an issue that was especially important for Canada and the United States, it asked about the proper relationship between Church and state. On liturgical reform, the report requested that at least the parts of the liturgy that pertained to the laity be celebrated in the vernacular. Finally, it called for a simplification of canon law. As Fahey notes, it is interesting that the report felt that canon law could be revised only by an ecumenical council and not simply by a committee established by the pope.[26]

Université Laval submitted two reports: one from the Faculty of Theology and one from its Pastoral Institute.[27] The former addressed issues of ecclesiology and sacraments, whereas the latter focused on liturgy and rubrics. The theology faculty's report is brief but focuses on important areas. In terms of ecclesiology, it asked for a 'clarification of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ … of the relationship between papal primacy and episcopal autonomy' and of 'the sacramental character of episcopal ordination.'[28] It also called for greater attention to a theology of the laity. In terms of sacraments, it sought an elaboration on the meaning of participation in the Eucharist between the celebrant and the Christian people. The Pastoral Institute's report, according to Fahey, was much more modest in comparison. It asked, for example, that a Scripture reading during the liturgy be allowed to be read twice, if necessary, and in the vernacular. It also asked that the canon be permitted to be read out loud and not recited as a secret prayer.

Finally, the fourth report came from the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. As Fahey notes, it reflected the high-quality academic setting in which the Institute was situated as well as its commitment to scholarship.[29] With regard to the intellectual life of the Church, it urged that Catholic instructors be at least as well educated as their secular counterparts; that Catholic students should strive to publish their research and

[25] See Fahey, 'Canadian Faculties of Theology,' 76–77.
[26] Fahey, 'Canadian Faculties of Theology,' 77.
[27] See Fahey, 'Canadian Faculties of Theology,' 77–79.
[28] Fahey, 'Canadian Faculties of Theology,' 78.
[29] Fahey, 'Canadian Faculties of Theology,' 79.

scholarship; and that Catholic institutions should award degrees that are well respected in civil society. It also asked that students and faculty in Catholic institutions not be prevented from reading books on the Index. The second part of the report focused on priestly education and lay formation. It urged that priests be encouraged to understand the laity better so they can offer them pastoral care in accordance with their education and culture. In this respect, they ought also to have a level of education and culture at least equivalent to the laity. For their part, laity should be offered religious instruction that is of high quality.

3. Women Religious

In the century leading up to the council, men's and women's religious communities became more centralized as the Vatican's authority was applied more directly on them.[30] Women religious in particular were heavily regulated. Unlike the founders of the apostolic congregations who identified social needs and freely gathered other women together to address them, women religious in the pre-Vatican II period were canonically regulated 'by rules that were monastic in origin.'[31]

In Canada, many of the hospitals, social service organizations, and schools were founded by these apostolic religious communities, and the majority of women religious belonged to them.[32] By the mid-19th century, as Canada's political system was taking shape, ultramontanist forces pressured various levels of government to continue to allow the Church to control those various institutions. Among other things, it created an opportunity for direct contact with the Catholic faithful. According to Heidi MacDonald, a Canadian historian of women religious, through these institutions 'the Church could thus strengthen its relationship with its flock and impose certain values.'[33] In Canada at the time of Vatican II,

[30] Maryann Confoy, *Religious Life and Priesthood: Perfectae Caritatis, Optatam Totius, Presbyterorum Ordinis* (New York: Paulist Press, 2008), 180.

[31] Ellen Leonard, 'The Process of Transformation: Women Religious and the Study of Theology, 1955–1980,' in *Changing Habits: Women's Religious Orders in Canada*, ed. Elizabeth M. Smyth (Ottawa: Novalis, 2007), 231.

[32] Rosa Bruno-Jofré, Heidi MacDonald, and Elizabeth M. Smyth, 'Women Religious After Vatican II: Navigating the Turbulent Waters of the "Age of Fracture",' in *Vatican II and Beyond: The Changing Mission and Identity of Canadian Women Religious*, eds. Rosa Bruno-Jofré, Heidi MacDonald, and Elizabeth M. Smyth (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 8.

[33] Heidi MacDonald, 'Smaller Numbers, Stronger Voices: Women Religious Reposition Themselves through the Canadian Religious Conference, 1960s–1980s,' in *Vatican II*

there were more than 65,000 women religious in 183 congregations. This represented approximately 6.9 per cent of the female population of the country.[34]

From colonial times, women religious in Canada were well educated in state-accredited institutions. Article 93 of Canada's founding constitution, the 1867 *British North America Act*, specified that education was the jurisdiction of the provinces. Therefore, unlike in the United States, where education was a federal matter and thus allowed for the possibility of unregulated parochial systems, sisters in Canada were all required to be certified in state-run schools. Those who taught in education attended the teachers' colleges or 'normal schools,' as they were called, run by the province. Although not all sisters possessed a university degree, many did. Ellen Leonard, a Sister of St. Joseph of Toronto and former professor in theology at the University of St. Michael's College, writes, 'as early as 1911, sisters from St. Joseph's College and Loretto College were registered through St. Michael's and received their degrees from the University of Toronto.'[35] Initially, their classes were separate from St. Michael's, but in the 1950s, they became fully integrated. The women religious who were professors taught English, French, and Latin. Priests taught courses on religious knowledge. According to Leonard, theological education for women religious in Toronto was held on Saturday afternoons; lectures were given by Jesuit and Basilian priests of Regis College and St. Michael's College.[36] Women were not allowed to pursue doctorates in theology. Many instead did so in a roundabout way by doing doctorates in other subject areas but choosing topics related to theology. For example, Mary Malone, a member of the Faithful Companions of Jesus, studied classics at the University of Toronto; she wrote a dissertation entitled 'Christian Attitudes toward Women: Background and New Directions.'[37]

During the day, the sisters served as educators, health care practitioners, counsellors, and senior administrators working alongside their lay counterparts. At night, they returned to their convents and resumed their regulated lives. As Leonard wrote, 'the ideal was to carry out one's

and Beyond: The Changing Mission and Identity of Canadian Women Religious, eds. Rosa Bruno-Jofré, Heidi MacDonald, and Elizabeth M. Smyth (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 18.

[34] Elizabeth M. Smyth, 'Introduction,' in *Changing Habits: Women's Religious Orders in Canada*, ed. Elizabeth M. Smyth (Ottawa: Novalis, 2007), 7.

[35] Leonard, 'The Process of Transformation,' 232.

[36] Leonard, 'The Process of Transformation,' 232.

[37] Leonard, 'The Process of Transformation,' 233.

apostolic activity and then quietly return to the convent and a monastic, communal life.'[38] In May 1961, a Catholic newspaper called the *Canadian Register* ran an article entitled 'God's Career Woman.'[39] It outlined a typical day in the life of a Sister of St. Joseph of Toronto: from getting up at 5:15 a.m. to retiring at 9 p.m. when the 'Great Silence' began; lights went out at 10:30 p.m. Breakfast was at 7:15 a.m., and the sisters were on their way to work by 7:45 a.m. at the latest. Morning work hours were from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m.; dinner (lunch) was at 12:10 p.m., followed by recreation but no television. Work in the afternoon went until 5 p.m., followed by the Rosary. Supper was at 5:45 p.m., and recreation was from 6:45 to 7:00 p.m. Then came prayers, then study or preparation for the next day until 9 p.m. Summing up the pre-Vatican II lifestyle of women religious, American historian Jo Ann Kay McNamara said they were like 'Soldiers of God … their uniform dress, their disciplined manner, their common mess, and their barrack-like quarters – it set them apart from lay women and marked them as part of the clerical force.'[40]

4. Laity, Liturgy, and Religious Education

In general, the popular form of Catholicism in Canada leading up to Vatican II was the one shaped by the Council of Trent in the 16th century.[41] The pyramidal vision of Church that emerged had the bishops and the pope at the top; the laity, who were obliged to attend Mass, fast on Fridays, and practise personal piety—all for the sake of their own salvation—were at the bottom. According to historian Mark McGowan, 'Catholic leaders, both francophone and non-francophone, in British and French colonies that became Canada, would have recognized the decrees and devotional practices of the Council of Trent as the blueprint of their faith tradition in the New World.'[42]

[38] Leonard, 'The Process of Transformation,' 231.

[39] Archives of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto, *Annals of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Toronto (1956–1968)*, 13 May 1961.

[40] Jo Ann Kay McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 616.

[41] For an excellent overview of the history of Roman Catholicism and its ethnic and cultural diversity in Canada outside of Quebec, see Mark G. McGowan, 'Roman Catholics (Anglophone and Allophone),' in *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, eds. Paul Bramadat and David Seljak (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 49–100. For Francophone Roman Catholicism in Canada, see Solange Lefebvre, 'The Francophone Roman Catholic Church,' in Bramadat and Seljak, *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, 101–37.

[42] McGowan, 'Roman Catholics,' 64.

Until the middle of the 19th century, the religiosity of these Catholics was anything but uniform. Immigration meant that those coming from other countries brought their own versions of Catholicism with them. Many were uneducated. There was a shortage of clergy, a lack of churches, and no organized central ecclesial leadership. This situation changed in the latter half of the century with the emergence of ultramontanism in Canada. According to Terrence Murphy, ultramontanism came to Anglophone Canada through Ireland and produced 'a powerful movement for religious reform'[43] that was hierarchically structured and centred on Rome. Ignace Bourget, the bishop of Montreal from 1840 to 1876 and a strong proponent of ultramontanism, would say, 'Let each of us say in his heart, I hear my curé, my curé hears the bishop, the bishop hears the Pope, and the Pope hears Our Lord Jesus Christ.'[44] In addition to its focus on the papacy, ultramontane reform created such things as parish missions, popular devotional practices, and Catholic societies. These efforts helped create a distinctive Catholic culture in Canada by which a 'separatist mentality developed that reflected not only growing self-reliance, but also a suspicious, even hostile, attitude towards the outside world.'[45]

According to McGowan, in the century leading up to Vatican II, Canadian Catholics 'would be marked by a reverence for ecclesiastical authority, membership in a parallel Catholic social and symbolic universe, and the regular practice of personal piety marked by the saying of the rosary, praying novenas, and marking the rhythms of one's life by the distinctive calendar of feasts, saints' days, and holy days of obligation to attend the Mass.'[46]

Regarding the liturgy, the reform movement that had started in the early 20th century had not had much impact in English-speaking Canada. When John XXIII announced the council in 1959, there was some reaction at the local level, but little enthusiasm or interest. Bernard Daly reports that a week after the announcement, Halifax priests gathered to discuss how to increase participation in the liturgy.[47] A few weeks later, Archbishop Patrick Skinner of St. John's, Newfoundland, wrote in a pastoral letter

[43] Terrence Murphy, 'The English-Speaking Colonies to 1854,' in *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*, eds. Terrence Murphy and Roberto Perin (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 170.

[44] Ignace Bourget, *Mandements de Montreal*, Vol. 8, *Bourget's Circular*, S. 8, 299, 1 February 1876, as quoted in McGowan, 'Roman Catholics,' 65.

[45] Murphy, 'The English-Speaking Colonies,' 170.

[46] McGowan, 'Roman Catholics,' 65.

[47] Bernard M. Daly, *Beyond Secrecy: The Untold Story of Canada and the Second Vatican Council* (Ottawa: Novalis, 2003), 31.

that 'the training that is necessary [for the dialogue Mass] can best begin in our schools.' He then added, in regard to this training, 'I am prompted and indeed obliged to do so by an instruction from the Sacred Congregation of Rites.'[48] Finally, in Toronto, Cardinal James McGuigan wrote in June that 'it is the wish of the church that the laity become more active in participating with the priest in Mass.'[49] Despite these humble efforts, the liturgy remained much the same as it had for centuries. As Daly wrote, 'If someone like Samuel de Champlain could have walked into a 1950s Catholic Church, he would have felt pretty much at home: the priest at the altar with his back to the people, the Latin, the incense, the sanctuary bells.' It was 'a culture that seemed to stand outside time.'[50]

The religious education of schoolchildren in the pre-conciliar period also adhered closely to that which was prescribed by Rome—certainly in the province of Ontario and likely elsewhere throughout English-speaking Canada. Describing the religious education landscape in 1961, Emmett Carter wrote that 'one of the most astounding things about the Church in North America is its traditionalism.'[51] He said that visitors from Europe are often surprised. They expect the 'new world' to have rejected the teachings of Rome and to be doing things their own way. Instead, they discover by and large a 'strict adherence to and observance of even the minutiae of Church discipline' that is likely the strongest in the world.[52] Joseph Stafford has studied the catechetical books used in the elementary and secondary schools of the Archdiocese of Toronto in the decades

[48] Daly, *Beyond Secrecy*, 31.

[49] Daly, *Beyond Secrecy*, 31.

[50] Daly, *Beyond Secrecy*, 30.

[51] G. Emmett Carter, *The Modern Challenge to Religious Education: God's Message and Our Response* (New York: William H. Sadlier, 1961), 1. Carter was born in Montreal in 1912, attended the Grand Séminaire and was ordained to the priesthood in 1937. In 1939, he became the director of the Normal School that prepared English-speaking teachers in Quebec. Later, he became the English-speaking member of the Montreal School Commission. In 1962, before the opening of Vatican II, Carter was ordained bishop and appointed auxiliary of London, Ontario, Canada; in 1964, he became Ordinary of the diocese. He attended all four sessions of the council. In 1978, he was appointed Archbishop of Toronto and was made a Cardinal. Among the many things he is remembered for is his securing of full public funding of Catholic education in Ontario through to the end of secondary school. See Michael W. Higgins and Douglas R. Letson, *My Father's Business: A Biography of His Eminence G. Emmett Cardinal Carter* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1990). See also Michael Attridge, 'New Avenues of Research on Vatican II in Canada: Bishop G. Emmett Carter and the Implementation of the Council in the Diocese of London, Ontario,' in *Theologia semper iuvenescit*, eds. Michael Quisinsky, Karim Schelkens, and François-Xavier Amherdt (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2013), 99–125.

[52] Carter, *The Modern Challenge*, 1.

leading up to the council, and he agrees.[53] In the 1940s, the secondary school textbook was *Religion: Doctrine and Practice*; in the 1950s, it was *Quest for Happiness*. At the elementary level during the 1950s, the textbook was *Bible History*, a book originally published in 1881.[54] All of these, Stafford says, reflect the 'strict form' of neo-Thomism that was enforced during this time by the archdiocese in obedience to Rome.[55] The catechetical renewal movement that was sweeping through Europe in the early 20th century would not fully reach Canada until after Vatican II, even if its seeds were being planted beforehand.[56]

5. Ecumenism

Finally, relations between Roman Catholics and those of other Christian churches in Canada prior to Vatican II were, generally speaking, less than cordial. It did not begin that way, though. During the 18th and early 19th centuries, Christians in Upper and Lower Canada (the present-day provinces of Ontario and Quebec) often cooperated with one another. The area was still very much frontier land, and the practical challenges of social, ecclesial, and family life required settlers to put aside denominational differences and work together. As more people immigrated to the area and national Protestant denominations were formed and Catholic dioceses created, identities hardened and differences emerged. Ultramontanism was especially divisive. As Murphy writes, in the 19th century, 'ultramontanism fostered a spirit of intolerance and intransigeance among Catholics that helped to destroy the hitherto largely peaceful relations between Catholics and Protestants.'[57] The culture that emerged became deeply engrained in the laity and in the Catholic hierarchy in the century that followed, as we saw in the comments of the English-speaking bishops above.

[53] Joseph Stafford, 'Strict Neo-Thomism in the Catholic High Schools of the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1940–1960,' *CCHA Historical Studies* 83 (2016): 47–65.

[54] Stafford, 'Strict Neo-Thomism,' 55–57.

[55] Stafford, 'Strict Neo-Thomism,' 54.

[56] Myrtle Power and John van den Hengel, 'Religious Education: From Dogma to Method,' in *Vatican II: Expériences canadiennes – Canadian Experiences*, eds. Michael Attridge, Catherine E. Clifford, and Gilles Routhier (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2011), 448–75.

[57] Murphy, 'The English-Speaking Colonies,' 170.

The problem, though, was not only with Roman Catholics and their attitude toward Protestants. Protestants, too, were hostile toward Catholics. Stuart Macdonald writes that in Canada on the eve of Vatican II, 'the chasm between the traditions of Catholic and Protestant congregants was assumed, and one finds little evidence that any attitudes would change.'[58]

He examined the views of Presbyterians in Canada toward Catholics on the topic of mixed marriages and child rearing, and also on religious freedom; his research showed hostilities. In 1950, the Presbyterian Church distributed a pamphlet to young people who were thinking about marriage. It quoted from chapter 24 of the Westminster Confession, reminding them that they 'should not marry with infidels, Papists or other idolaters.'[59] Another pamphlet of the same period warned that mixed marriages were more likely to fail; it expressed concern about Catholic teaching on contraception.[60] An article of that period imagined a scenario where a Presbyterian woman married a Roman Catholic man.[61] It warned her that her husband and his Catholic family would take her child into their Church. She would have no part in her child's religious upbringing, she would experience a 'spiritual loneliness,' and her child would probably grow to resent her. The child would be raised Catholic, not Reformed, and therefore would likely have 'no real faith at all.'[62] Another warning for Presbyterians was around religious freedom. A flashpoint occurred in 1954, when a film entitled *Martin Luther* was banned in Quebec. The national Presbyterian newspaper, the *Presbyterian Record*, covered the story in two articles challenging the decision.[63] As Macdonald writes, 'at issue was not free speech – Presbyterians would gladly have banned any number of films they considered objectionable – but religious freedom,

[58] Stuart Macdonald, 'Canadian Presbyterians and Vatican II: A Silent Revolution,' in *Vatican II: Expériences canadiennes – Canadian Experiences*, ed. Michael Attridge, Catherine E. Clifford, and Gilles Routhier (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2011), 81.

[59] 'The Church of Jesus Christ' (Young People's Society, Presbyterian Church in Canada [Toronto]: 1950), 108. Presbyterian Church of Canada (PCC) Archives, 1973-1018-1-10, quoted in Macdonald, 'Canadian Presbyterians,' 81.

[60] 'If I Marry a Roman Catholic' (Commission on Marriage and the Home of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America), PCC Archives, 1982-1029-1-6, quoted in Macdonald, 'Canadian Presbyterians,' 82.

[61] James M. Singer, 'Will Your Children Be Roman Catholic?' *Presbyterian Record*, February 1958, 15.

[62] Singer, 'Will Your Children,' 15.

[63] 'Westmount Churchgoers See Banned Film,' *Presbyterian Record*, July–August 1955, 3. See also 'The Film that Quebec Banned!' *Presbyterian Record*, February 1954, 3, quoted in Macdonald, 'Canadian Presbyterians,' 84.

fairness, "national unity," and the power relationships between Roman Catholics and Protestants.'[64]

The issue of mixed marriages was also a concern for The United Church of Canada during this time. In the 1940s and 1950s, it issued a series of pamphlets to help its members learn more about Catholics in order to avoid marrying them. Some of the titles were 'What Protestants Believe and Why?'; 'Why Are We Protestants?'; 'The Mass or the Lord's Supper?'; and 'Mariology.'[65] In 1954, a longer booklet was produced by the United Church's Commission on the Christian Faith: entitled 'What's the Difference? Protestant and Roman Catholic Beliefs Compared,' it became a bestseller. According to John Young, although it was not as strongly anti-Catholic as the material produced in Canada and the United States in the 19th century, it certainly presented Roman Catholicism in a poor light. It contained sections that compared the teachings of the two churches on various subjects. These were always followed by an argument as to why the Catholic position was wrong. As Young writes, 'A document with a section or chapter entitled "What is wrong with the Roman Catholic teaching about salvation?" was hardly going to enhance United Church–Roman Catholic relationships.'[66]

The prejudice toward Catholics in the Church of England (later called the Anglican Church in Canada) went back to the early 17th century and extended into its liturgical life. Early Church of England settlers in Upper Canada would have joined those at home annually in a prayer of thanksgiving to God for the failure of the Gunpowder Plot—an unsuccessful assassination attempt by English Catholics against King James I. The liturgical service was commemorated every year on 5 November in the Book of Common Prayer until the 19th century. As Alan Hayes writes, 'this service of worship functioned as a liturgical declaration that the Church of England was "a church that stood opposed to, and by, Roman Catholicism".'[67] The annual Orangemen's Day event on 12 July was another example of a regular reminder of Protestant distaste for Catholics.

[64] Macdonald, 'Canadian Presbyterians,' 84.

[65] See John H. Young, 'Reaction to Vatican II in the United Church of Canada,' in *Vatican II: Expériences canadiennes – Canadian Experiences*, eds. Michael Attridge, Catherine E. Clifford, and Gilles Routhier (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2011), 110.

[66] Young, 'Reaction to Vatican II.'

[67] Alan L. Hayes, '"Hold Onto Your Hats": Vatican II and Aggiornamento in the Anglican Church of Canada,' in *Vatican II: Expériences canadiennes – Canadian Experiences*, eds. Michael Attridge, Catherine E. Clifford, and Gilles Routhier (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2011), 125; in this quote, Hayes cites Charles Hefling, 'The State Services,' in *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, ed. Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 73.

In 1944, the House of Bishops of the Church of England in Canada joined with other Protestants in a group called the Committee on Protestant–Catholic Relations. Far from being a body committed to dialogue and mutual cooperation, as the name might suggest, the committee issued pamphlets warning Protestants against the errors of Catholicism and complained to the Catholic Church about such issues as separate schools, missionary competition in Northern Canada, and mixed marriages.[68] Summarizing the situation on the eve of the council, Hayes writes, 'Before Vatican II, relations between Anglicans and Roman Catholics in Canada were marked by suspicion and, frankly, disrespect. As Pope John XXIII announced Vatican II, Anglicans had completed their fourth consecutive century of general hostility to Roman Catholicism.'[69]

6. Conclusion

To conclude, I offer three observations. First, ultramontanism was the backbone of English-speaking Canada at the time of the council. It strongly influenced the actions and attitudes of the hierarchy, shaping the liturgy and catechesis, religious life and formation, and the laity in their piety and popular devotional practices. It also impacted relations with other believers in the country.

Second, except for the theological schools, Catholics in English-speaking Canada would have generally been unprepared for Vatican II. However, given the high percentage of Protestants and Anglicans, and the fact that together they had more than a century of shared history, the council's teaching on ecumenism would have been welcomed more easily. The same is likely true, in the urban areas, of Vatican II's teaching on other religions.

Finally, the reception of the council would be shaped in large part by the socio-cultural context of English-speaking Canada, with its multicultural and multireligious dimensions and its strong support for social values and the common good in the post-war period. It would likely have meant that English-speaking Canadians welcomed quite easily the council's social teachings.

[68] As he writes in Hayes, '"Hold Onto Your Hats,"' 126, 'The reports of this committee to General Synod are included in the *General Synod Journal* for 1952, 1955, 1959, 1962, 1965, 1967. The reports of the Committee on Christian Unity and the Church Universal are also included in the *General Synod Journal*.'

[69] Hayes, '"Hold Onto Your Hats,"' 125.

THE SITUATION IN SOCIETY AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN OCEANIA AND AUSTRALASIA ON THE EVE OF THE COUNCIL

MICHELE A. CONNOLLY, RSJ

The modern history of the nations of Oceania and Australasia begins with the experience of colonization. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the imperial powers of northwest Europe, either of Great Britain, France, or Germany—and, in some instances, the United States of America—established colonies in the Pacific.[1] Christianity, including via the Roman Catholic Church, was brought to these lands by the imperial occupiers, sometimes in deliberate missionary activity and sometimes as an indirect consequence of northern hemisphere commercial activity. A significant difference between these countries in their ongoing relationship with the northern hemisphere colonial powers is the degree to which the Indigenous people of each place retained hold of their land and their way of life, their culture, and their languages.[2]

1. OCEANIA AND AUSTRALASIA

1.1. *Geographical location, size, population, and economy*

Given the vast range of territory and of human experience summed up under the heading 'Oceania and Australasia,' it is necessary to generalize about certain aspects of their stories, even though this may obliterate many important distinctions. The first significant reality that unites them is relationship to the southern Pacific Ocean. While Australia, New Zealand, and Papua New Guinea are large islands surrounded by the Pacific, the islands of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia are small outcrops in a vast area

[1] The term 'Australasia' refers to the lands of Australia and New Zealand.
[2] The statistics and names given in this chapter are 2019 data.

of ocean.[3] The island continent of Australia is 7.6 million square kilometres in size, very close to that of the Unites States. By contrast, the nation of Kiribati in the southeast corner of Micronesia consists of three separate island groups amounting to a total of 811 square kilometres of land that stretches across 3.5 million square kilometres of ocean.[4]

Population on the relatively tiny islands of Oceania is small: for example, Fiji, at its most recent census, has 926,276 people (around 40,000 in 1960); the Solomons, 660,121 (133,000 in 1960); and Kiribati, 109,367 (47,000 in 1960). The population of tropical and mountainous Papua New Guinea is just over 7 million (2 million in 1960), nearly twice that of New Zealand's 4.5 million (2.3 million in 1960),[5] while Australia has just over 25 million (10 million in 1960),[6] living mainly as coastal dwellers around an enormous arid desert centre.

The economies of these nations reflect the resources of their lands and the size of their populations, but above all the rate with which they have become integrated into the economic productivity of the West, especially in industry and technology. While Australia still relies on mining and agriculture, a larger proportion of its labour force works in industry (25.3%) and services (71.2%), which is similar to New Zealand, where 21.5 per cent of the labour force works in industry and 72.8 per cent in services. The International Monetary Fund 2023 ranked Australia 14th in the world; New Zealand had a world ranking of 53. Ranked 105, 152, and 173 (out of a total of 212 nations) by gross domestic product (GDP) in the world, respectively, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and the Solomon Islands have national incomes that are counted in the billions. At 186th, Kiribati has a GDP per capita of $1,842. In the smaller islands, the economies are largely subsistence, based on fishing and cultivation of local crops and the export of copra.

[3] See the description of I.C. Campbell in *Worlds Apart: A History of the Pacific Islands* (Christchurch, NZ: Canterbury University Press, 2003), 15: 'The Pacific Ocean occupies almost an entire hemisphere, a world of water, rimmed on the east by the continuous coast of the Americas, and on the west by the coasts of East Asia as far as the equator, with Australia blocking the southwestern corner. The view from space is one of empty blueness. The islands scattered across its tropical zones are so small as to be only faintly visible.'

[4] For geographical and demographic data, I rely on the detailed information available for each country in the *CIA World Factbook* at https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries.

[5] See the data provided by The World Bank, https://data.worldbank.org.

[6] See Australian Bureau of Statistics, https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/1301.0~2012~Main%20Features~Population%20size%20and%20growth~47.

1.2. *Society*

Social structures in these countries are very similar in Australia and New Zealand on the one hand and in Papua New Guinea and the islands of the Pacific on the other. Both Australia and New Zealand were settled by the British Empire: Australia in 1788, and New Zealand in 1840, after the Treaty of Waitangi.[7] The manner of occupation of the land has left each country with lingering issues with the original Indigenous occupants of the land. The British occupation of *Terra Australis* was made against the will of the Aboriginal people and with escalating violence, cruelty, and denial of basic human rights. Despite some progress in recent years over land ownership, Australia has significant unresolved issues about the status of Aboriginal peoples in governance, including the need to address health and social welfare disparities that adversely affect Indigenous people, and the serious degradation of Aboriginal culture under white rule. While relationships and efforts toward genuine reconciliation and justice are far from being fully effective, the Treaty of Waitangi has provided a basis on which to negotiate. Aboriginal people make up 3.0 per cent of the Australian population, while the Maori are 16.5 per cent of New Zealand.

The formal governance of both countries is conducted on the basis of the British Westminster system, ruling cultures that are Western in outlook. The education systems of Australia and New Zealand provide full primary and secondary education, with a high level of continuance on to post-school academic or technical education. Universal literacy is taken for granted. Women work in all levels and increasingly in high levels of the professions and governance; currently (after the elections of 2022), 38 per cent of the lower house of the Australian federal government and 57 per cent of the upper house is female.[8] Australia had one female prime minister, Julia Gillard (2010 to 2013); New Zealand had a female prime minister, Jacinda Ardern (2017 to 2023). English is the major language in both countries, although there are small percentages that speak primarily the language of the various countries from which they have migrated since World War II.

[7] For a critical history of the settlement of these two countries, see Donald Denoon and Philippa Mein-Smith with Marivic Wyndam, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), chapter 4, 'Depopulation and Immigration,' 72–94.

[8] For figures of the current parliamentary membership by gender, see https://handbook.aph.gov.au/StatisticalInformation/GenderCompositionOfParliament. There are no legislated quotas, but the Labor Party employs an internal quota specifying that 45 per cent of its candidates must be women, a quota that will rise to 50 per cent by 2025.

In Papua New Guinea and the islands of Oceania, the social structure tends to be tribal, especially where people live in villages. While there are some medium-sized cities in Oceania, Port Moresby in Papua New Guinea, at 364,145, is the only city above a quarter of a million.[9] Where the tribal structure is intact, social structures keep life stable; where they break down, as in cities like Port Moresby, social life easily descends into lawlessness and violence. Education, mainly at the primary school and then the technical level, was initially provided by churches but is now supported, at least in some places, by the island governments. However, Western-style education does not sit well with the oral cultures of the Pacific Islands, a fact that is significant for the reception of Vatican II, for example, by women in these islands. I.C. Campbell sums up the social structure across the three large divisions of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia as patrilineal in Polynesia, matrilineal in Micronesia, and a combination of both in Melanesia.[10] However, within the more than 10,000 islands that make up Oceania, there are more than 1,200 languages in Melanesia alone, along with socio-political structures of great complexity often related to geography and economy.[11] As I.C. Campbell writes, 'The peoples of the Pacific have the most heterogeneous collection of cultures and languages in the world relative to the size of their populations; they colonised the most remote pieces of land on Earth, across an ocean that covers a third of the globe, an undertaking quite without parallel in human history.'[12]

1.3. *European settlement and Catholic Church entry into the lands of Oceania*

Modern European discovery of the Pacific Islands dates back at least to the 16th-century Pacific journeys of the Spanish. Except for Australia, Christianity was brought to these islands by missionaries before any

[9] Other major cities in ascending order of population are Honiara, Solomon Islands, with 84,520; Lae in Papua New Guinea with 100,677; Papeete in French Polynesia at 136,771; Suva in Fiji with 172,399; and Noumea in New Caledonia at 179,509. For these figures, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_cities_in_Oceania_by_population.

[10] See Campbell, *Worlds Apart*, 30–31, Table 3: Comparative table of Oceanic cultures.

[11] See Campbell, *Worlds Apart*, 'Chapter One: The People of Oceania,' 15–33, for a detailed discussion of the cultures and politics of Oceania. See also Steven Roger Fischer, *A History of the Pacific Islands* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 42–43, 53–65, for similar treatments of these matters.

[12] Campbell, *Worlds Apart*, 33.

European attempt at colonization.[13] In Australia, the Catholic faith was brought by the Irish convicts who made up as much as one quarter of those transported to the colony of New South Wales as criminal punishment, beginning in 1788. Two of the earliest Catholic priests were convicts; only in 1820 were two Irish chaplains appointed to Sydney, with indifferent results. It was not until 1831 that Rome changed its approach, appointing an English Benedictine to Sydney; this led to a period of stability, although the 'Benedictine Dream' for the new colonies did not ultimately succeed.[14] In New Zealand, which was claimed as a British colony in 1840 after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Catholic Christianity was preached by French Marist priests who used New Zealand as an administrative base for missions in the wider Pacific region.[15] In Oceania, missionary conversion travelled from east to west, beginning with the Protestant conversion of the king of Tahiti in 1815.[16] Catholic missionary work began in Tahiti in the late 1830s under French religious priests (the Congregation of the Sacred Heart) and then in the 1840s by French Marist priests in the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands. Different parts of Papua New Guinea were claimed by German traders (the northeast part) and by the British government (the southeast section) in the mid-1880s. Missionaries from Germany, France, and Australia operated in the areas of Oceania that were under the control of their respective nationalities.

By the beginning of the 20th century, Christianity was established across these Pacific Islands, although less strongly in the west, such as Papua New Guinea, where the rugged geographical terrain and the complexity of cultural and linguistic patterns made communication difficult. Socially, churches had become the centre of village life; following the

[13] On this point, see Geoffrey Troughton, 'Australia, New Zealand, and Oceania,' in *History of Global Christianity*, eds. Jens Holger Schjørring, Norman A. Hjelm, and Kevin Ward, trans. David Orton (Boston: Brill, 2017–2018), 423.

[14] See Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia: A Short History, 1788–1967* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1969), 11–39, for an account of the tumultuous early years before the appointment of the Benedictine John Bede Polding as Australia's first bishop.

[15] Ian Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 48–51, discusses the early work of the Marist Fathers who established bases in New Zealand from which to seek to convert the Maori peoples and to expand into Polynesia.

[16] See Troughton, 'Australia, New Zealand, and Oceania,' 423, and Campbell, *Worlds Apart*, 80–81, on the Tahitian prince, and Fischer, *A History of the Pacific Islands*, 106–107, and Troughton, 'Australia, New Zealand, and Oceania,' 423, 425, on travel from east to west—but less in the west than in the east.

existing gender patterns of most of these cultures, in which male and female spheres of influence were strongly distinguished, control of village Christian life was very much in the hands of males, who acquired high status as a result.[17] In Australia and New Zealand, Christianity was publicly respected, and levels of churchgoing across the churches were high. However, Graeme Davison notes that in the wake of World War I, Australian males were showing signs of being alienated from organized Christianity, preferring instead a kind of 'civil religion' based on rituals celebrating Australia's wartime feats, particularly at Gallipoli but also on the Western Front.[18] As this subtle shift occurred, it was left to women, under the rubric of motherly care, to get the family to church or Sunday school, to support overseas missions, and to note the needs of Indigenous Peoples. Davison notes that 'more heroic still was the sacrifice of the thousands (11,245 in 1950) of unpaid, unmarried women … who prayed, taught, nursed and served in the kitchens and laundries of Catholic religious orders.'[19]

1.4. *From World War II to the 1970s in Australia and New Zealand*

World War II and its aftermath had a significant impact on the societies and Christian churches of these countries. Some Pacific Islands in particular found themselves caught up in the war itself. After the war, there was a strong drive for their independence from colonizers; while this occurred later than in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean, it has been argued that Vatican II supported Catholic missionaries in promoting the local leadership that made the push for independence possible.[20] In both Australia and New Zealand, a modest post-war affluence meant a rising standard of living as ordinary families began to own motor vehicles and, in the late 1950s, television sets. The new mass media of entertainment in television, film, and popular music exposed Australians to a wider cultural experience than the largely British worldview that had prevailed well into the 1950s.

[17] See Troughton, 'Australia, New Zealand, and Oceania,' 424, 435–36, on these points.

[18] See Graeme Davison, 'Religion,' in *The Cambridge History of Australia, Vol 2: The Commonwealth of Australia*, eds. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 2015), 224–26.

[19] Davison, 'Religion,' 227.

[20] Troughton, 'Australia, New Zealand, and Oceania,' 430, and Katharine Massam, 'Christian Churches in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific, 1914–1970,' in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 9, World Christianities c.1914–c.2000*, ed. Hugh McLeod (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2103), 256–57, discuss these matters.

International travel was not to become common for some decades, but from the early 1950s to 1970, when the first impact of Vatican II was being felt, a succession of important international visitors toured Australia and New Zealand. Beginning in the political realm, Queen Elizabeth II toured New Zealand and Australia in January and February 1954, covering thousands of miles across every state of Australia, and in one estimate being seen by as much as 70 per cent of Australia's then population of ten million. As the first reigning monarch to visit these countries for whom she was the Head of State, her sheer majesty was a massive drawing card.[21] Reflecting a major shift in Australia's post-World War II political outlook was the whirlwind visit of US President Lyndon Johnson to New Zealand and Australia in October 1966 to encourage these two nations' support of the US in the Vietnam War.[22] The local Sydney newspaper reports that Australians flocked to see the president in the same kind of numbers as they had done for the Queen.[23] Religiously, Australians and New Zealanders also flocked in large numbers to hear celebrities from both the evangelistic and Catholic worlds. Both traditions used the language of 'crusade.' In 1953, Fr Patrick Peyton brought the International Rosary Crusade to Australia and New Zealand with the slogan 'The family that prays together, stays together.' Katharine Massam reports that 'over 90% of churchgoing Catholics committed themselves to pray daily against the prospect of a third world war and the rise of "atheistic materialism".'[24] In the same year, Pastor Billy Graham led an evangelistic crusade from mid-February to the end of May through major cities of New Zealand and Australia, attracting a total well in excess of three million people to his rallies, where 130,000 people 'decided for Christ.'[25] Finally, Pope Paul VI visited Sydney for four days, from 30 November to 3 December 1970, celebrating Mass on the occasion of

[21] For reports on this state visit to Australia and New Zealand, see https://www.parliament.nz/en/get-involved/features/on-this-day-in-1954-queen-elizabeth-ii-opens-new-zealand-parliament and https://www.smh.com.au/national/we-did-but-see-her-20040207-gdib5u.html.

[22] This visit began a larger Asia-Pacific tour, which ended in Seoul, Korea. See https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/travels/president/johnson-lyndon-b.

[23] For the comment that 'Sydneysiders gave Lyndon Baines Johnson the royal treatment when, in October 1966, he was the first incumbent US president to visit Australia – a five-city three-day sort of thank-you visit for our then emphatic support for the war in Vietnam,' see https://www.smh.com.au/national/lbj-came-all-the-way-but-few-followed-20111111-1nbrg.html.

[24] Massam, 'Christian Churches in Australia,' 260.

[25] See Ian Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia*, 315–16, for a description of the perceived value of this crusade for Protestants of the time.

the bi-centenary of the British landing in Australia by Captain James Cook in 1770. The event was so well attended that it had to be held at a local racecourse to accommodate the crowds.[26]

It would appear that leading up to and beyond Vatican II, religion in Australia and New Zealand, and especially in the Catholic tradition, was strong and buoyant, but there were some points of concern. Approaching Vatican II, the Catholic Church in Australia had been preoccupied with internal political concerns about a perceived Communist threat invading trade unions.[27] Political responses to this threat lead to strife and enduring mistrust within both the Catholic Church and the secular political realm.[28] There was ongoing strife between the Church and the Australian federal and state governments over the financing of the large system of Catholic schools in Australia; post-war immigration into Australia from Mediterranean and middle European countries ravaged by war increased the Catholic population, putting pressure on parishes and schools and adding to a developing Australian tendency to turn away from Ireland as a valued source for clergy.[29] Nevertheless, at the turn into the 1960s, the numbers of Catholic priests and religious in Australia were high, enabling them to run parishes, schools, hospitals, and social services throughout the country and to supply missionaries to Oceania.

[26] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia*, 411–12.

[27] One of the most influential lay Catholics in Australia at that time was B.A. ('Bob') Santamaria (1915–1998), an anti-Communist and socially conservative political activist and journalist: see Ross Fitzgerald, *The Pope's Battalions: Santamaria, Catholicism and the Labor Split* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2003).

[28] See O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia*, 392–403, for a detailed treatment of this combination of issues.

[29] See O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia*, 403–405, for a succinct overview of these features of the pre-Vatican II church in Australia. John Luttrell, *Norman Thomas Gilroy: An Obedient Life* (Strathfield, NSW: St Paul's Publications, 2017), 192–296, treats all these matters with reference to the Church in Sydney under Archbishop and then Cardinal Gilroy, 1940–1971.

PART B

THEOLOGICAL AND ECCLESIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO VATICAN II

POST-VATICAN II IN THE USA: THE PURSUIT OF SHARED RESPONSIBILITY IN A CONFLICTED CHURCH

BRADFORD E. HINZE

It is widely acknowledged that the Council of Nicaea, held in 325 CE, was the first ecumenical council that articulated the bedrock of the Christian faith. However, the doctrinal formulation that was reached at that council was contested for at least 50 years before it was widely received by the Church and codified in the formulation of the Nicene Creed at the Council of Constantinople in 381 CE.[1] Thus far, certain doctrines from the Second Vatican Council have been disputed for at least that long, with no end in sight. This chapter explores this ongoing agonistic reception of this council focusing on the Dogmatic Constitution of the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, in the United States.[2]

This chapter will examine central doctrines in *Lumen Gentium* that received attention during three commonly distinguished historical periods. The first extends from the end of the council in 1965 to the end of Paul VI's pontificate in 1978. The second period covers the papacies of John Paul II and Benedict XVI, between 1978 and 2013. The third phase considers the reception of the council during the papacy of Francis from 2013 to 2022.

[1] John Henry Newman claimed it took almost 60 years to receive the Council of Nicaea in 'On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Faith,' *The Rambler* (1859): 198; and also 'The Catholic people, in the length and breadth of Christendom, were the obstinate champions of [the Nicene] Catholic truth, and the bishops were not….': *Arians of the Fourth Century* (1897), 445, no. 1. Yves Congar wrote, 'The creed of Nicaea was "received" *in toto* only after fifty-six years of contentions punctuated by synods, excommunications, exiles, and imperial interventions and violence': Congar, 'Reception as an Ecclesial Reality,' in *Election and Consensus in the Church*, *Concilium*, Vol. 77 (New York: Herder and Herder, 1982), 43–68, at 47.

[2] See Joseph P. Chinnici: e.g., 'Reception of Vatican II in the United States,' *Theological Studies* 64 (2003): 461–94; and 'A Pluriform Unity: A Historian's View of the Contemporary Church,' in *The Future of Catholicism in America*, eds. Patricia O'Connell Killen and Mark Silk (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 186–234.

This chapter treats the contentious mixture of receptions and interpretations of the council. Each phase will be explored in terms of (1) central ecclesiological issues and pastoral ramifications; (2) shifting cultural dynamics; and (3) selected historical examples that illustrate each period.

1. Enthusiasm, Experimentation, Disorientation: 1965 to 1985

The first phase covers the dissemination and implementation of the official teachings and policies of Vatican II in the United States at local, regional, and national levels by bishops, priests, religious, and lay people. During this period, the receptions, interpretations, and implementations of the conciliar texts and policies took place in myriad ways as all the People of God tried to comprehend what the council documents might mean for them and for their experience of the Church. As to be expected, there were diverse attitudes toward the results of the council, just as there was a minority of bishops at the council who resisted major changes that were agreed upon by most of the bishops attending the council. We can easily imagine that many in the US were eager to learn what the council had produced and to implement its results, whereas others were more methodical in seeking to comprehend the results and clarify what was entailed in implementing them, while a smaller percentage of people were apprehensive, suspicious, and resistant in following through on applying the teachings and policies of the council.

The dynamics in the US church that took place over these years can be broadly described as a mixture of excitement and enthusiasm, confusion and disorientation, and defiance and opposition. Generational, cultural, and geographical differences influenced these receptions.

The excitement and enthusiasm in the aftermath of the council is best illustrated by the life and work of Cardinal John F. Dearden from Detroit, Michigan.[3] Dearden attended the council and participated in two pivotal sub-commissions: one on *Lumen Gentium* and a second on *Gaudium et Spes*. He worked with a group of bishops and theologians, notably Yves Congar, on retrieving the image of the Church as the People of God, an ancient biblical and early Christian motif that captured the historical and eschatological character of a people on pilgrimage, a people anointed and

[3] Various aspects of Cardinal Dearden's achievements are treated in Bradford E. Hinze, *Practices of Dialogue in the Roman Catholic Church: Aims and Obstacles, Lessons and Laments* (New York: Continuum, 2006), 44–88.

gifted by the Holy Spirit through baptism for discipleship and mission.[4] This crucial motif of the People of God laid the groundwork for many of Dearden's subsequent pastoral endeavours.[5] No less momentous was Dearden's involvement in the sub-commission that developed a theology of marriage, with the debates about the use of artificial birth control swirling about among council fathers.[6] It has been reported that Dearden underwent a profound conversion during the council; he had a reputation before the council as a moderate prelate and effective administrator who over time became a champion and advocate of evangelical concerns for lay-centred involvement with priests and religious in the interest of promoting justice along with concern for the poor and the marginalized.

After the council, Dearden became the founder and first president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) (1966–1971). He also convened the first post-Vatican II Archdiocesan Synod in the world, just four months after the conclusion of the council. The Synod was designed to promote the reception and implementation of the council by the People of God in Detroit through a dialogical process, which culminated with a final assembly in 1969. Dearden pledged to those involved in the parish program that 'I will be guided by the thinking of the majority of our people … especially in those areas where I have the authority to act,' without denying his canonical obligation that 'it is my responsibility to make the final decision for the Synod.'[7] Parishioners were encouraged to participate in 'Speak Up' sessions that crafted individual proposals for the full assembly.

[4] Alberto Melloni, 'The Beginning of the Second Period: The Great Debate on the Church,' in *History of Vatican II*, Vol. 3, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2000), 77–82, 110, n. 437. For details, see Yves M.-J. Congar, 'The Church: The People of God,' in *The Church and Mankind*, *Concilium* 1 (Glen Rock, NJ: Paulist Press, 1964), 11–37; and 'The People of God,' in *Vatican II: An Interfaith Appraisal*, ed. J.H. Miller (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), 197–207.

[5] Samuel J. Thomas, 'Empowering the People of God: John Cardinal Dearden's Church of Tomorrow,' in *Empowering the People of God: Catholic Action before and after Vatican II*, eds. Jeremy Bonner, Mary Beth Fraser Connolly, and Christopher Denny (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 250–73.

[6] Norman Tanner, 'The Church in the World (*Ecclesia Ad Extra*),' in *History of Vatican II*, vol. IV, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004), 306–12; and Peter Hünermann, 'The Final Weeks of the Council,' in *History of Vatican II*, vol. 5, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2005), 400–402.

[7] Hinze, *Practices of Dialogue*, 45.

Dearden's synodal aspirations extended beyond his archdiocese to include a desire to develop a national pastoral council. This idea was discussed among members of the advisory committee of the NCCB in 1971. A member of this committee, Sr. Marie Augusta Neal, a trained sociologist and college professor, proposed conducting a preliminary experiment in shared responsibility that would foster an extracanonical national consultation about recent official teachings on justice in both Paul VI's 'call to action,' *Octogesima Adveniens* (1971), and the statement from the 1971 Synod of Bishops on justice in the world. Bishop James S. Rausch, the general secretary of the NCCB, supported Neal's idea and advocated a national convention, designated Call to Action, to take place in conjunction with the occasion of the Bicentennial of the US Constitution. Dearden led this endeavour. This event resembled a Plenary Council or a National Synod comparable to the General Synod of West Germany, held in Würzburg from 1971 to 1975. The US bishops thus experimented in collaboration with lay people and theologians during this process.

Initially, a more didactic process was proposed by a theologian of public life, Fr. Bryan Hehir, which was aimed at adopting policy statements that could be applied in the US. This approach was revised in favour of a more open consultative grassroots process influenced by Msgr. Jack Egan and Msgr. Geno Baroni, who employed community organizing methods using the see-judge-act model of Catholic Action. Call to Action thus ratified the pastoral mandate of Vatican II.

The Call to Action Conference captured the enthusiasm and excitement of this period and pioneered a model of group discernment and decision making involving bishops, theologians, other academics, and lay people.[8] There were 1,340 voting delegates and 1,500 observers. The process began with small parish conversations followed by larger diocesan discussions in the early phases of the process. This was followed by seven regional meetings held across the country; they employed a public hearing format on separate domestic topics and one meeting on global issues beginning in February 1975, with the last meeting held in July 1976. These led to proposals in eight topic areas that were finalized during the final convention held in Detroit on 20-23 October 1976.

[8] Francis Butler, 'Call to Action,' in *Belonging: One Catholic's Journey* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2020), 42–55; Anthony J. Pogorelc, 'Social Movements within Organizations: The Case of Call to Action and U.S. Catholic Bishops' (PhD diss., Purdue University, 2002).

The chosen format used during the regional hearings was fine-tuned after the first round of hearings so that one person gave expert testimony and another would offer the witness of Catholics at the grassroots struggling to promote justice in their everyday lives—such as sugar cane workers, farm workers, illegal migrants, textile mill workers, and Native Americans. Bishops or other panellists raised questions to those giving testimony, and brief dialogical exchanges occurred. Eight topics were treated: (1) the role of humankind and women in terms of justice in the Church; (2) nationhood and the concerns of Spanish-speaking populations; (3) land, rural life, and Native Americans pertaining to justice in the Church; (4) family issues; (5) work and labour issues; (6) racism and ethnicity; (7) global issues; and (8) international issues.

These hearings were followed by the work of eight writing committees, each of which prepared a statement on one of the themes. Each group had eight to 15 members and was chaired by a bishop who was joined by scholars, activists, and pastoral ministers. Among the more influential theologians involved in the writing committee on the Church were Bishop John Quinn, Sr. Agnes Cunningham, Fr. Avery Dulles, and Fr. David Tracy. They formulated recommendations that were discussed, revised, and voted upon at the national conference.

These proposals were based on Catholic tradition and experience and followed nine criteria. The recommendations were addressed to different levels of church authority—parish, school, diocese, NCCB, and church members. Each of the eight groups met with about 165 delegates, which were broken down into three or four smaller groups with about 30 to 40 delegates each. This resulted in discussion and debate about the recommendations and voting on revised resolutions. Each of the eight groups received an hour and fifteen minutes for voting. After three days of deliberation, 29 general recommendations were agreed upon. Many Catholic beliefs were affirmed concerning the dignity and sacredness of life and offering support for pro-life issues. Marriage and family life were also affirmed. Certain hotly disputed issues were recommended for further discussion, including birth control, women's issues, homosexuality, male and celibate priesthood, divorce, and remarriage.

Call to Action emphasized the need for ongoing dialogue in the Church and the continuing participation of lay people in discernment and decision making in the Church with bishops and priests in areas of financial matters, pastoral practices, policy making, and administration. These issues were repeatedly raised in the aftermath of the assembly.

This initiative provided an important illustration of the shifting ethnic, racial, and cultural dynamics of US Catholics during this period, and with considerable clarity it surfaced issues that received ongoing attention by Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Asians.[9] It heralded the end of the dominance of the white population of European descent in the US Catholic Church and more openness to diverse populations and cultures; at the same time, it highlighted the ongoing impact of the legacy of racism and white supremacy among roughly half of Catholic voters.

The conference results received negative responses in the US by sociologist priest Andrew Greeley and Archbishop Joseph Bernardin of Cincinnati. Greeley offered a dismissive response, arguing that the Call to Action was identified with radical peace and justice liberation theology advocates and activists. He was convinced that the conference made no room for dialogue. In the immediate aftermath of the conference, Bernardin raised two major concerns. First, Call to Action had tried to do too much on too many issues. Second, he believed that special-interest groups devoted to certain progressive courses of action had undermined any attempt to listen to the spectrum of voices among the Catholic faithful—bishops, theologians, and lay people. Some concluded that Call to Action contributed to polarization among Catholics, whereas others believed that this breakthrough event, for all its flaws, had provided an opportunity for people to speak out on contentious issues and had promoted a productive discernment process that could contribute to an expanding consensus.

The Call to Action convention captured the open discussion and debate about crucial issues facing the Church both during Vatican II and in its aftermath. It accentuated the desire of lay people to be actively involved with bishops and theologians in discernment and decision making on a wide range of issues in the Church. While Bernardin challenged certain results of Call to Action on disputed issues in the years that followed the convention, he sought ways to mediate disputed issues in the Church through his Catholic Common Ground Initiative, which in turn elicited an unprecedented protest by four US Cardinals.[10]

Even though Bernardin raised serious questions about the outcome of the Call to Action method, the communication process pioneered there influenced the approach used in the preparation of pastoral letters by

[9] Shannon Dee Williams, *Subversive Habits: Black Catholic Nuns in the Long African American Freedom Struggle* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2022).

[10] On the Catholic Common Ground Initiative, see Hinze, *Practices of Dialogue*, 112–30.

the US Episcopal Conference on peace approved in 1983, on economic justice approved in 1986, and on the role of women in the Church and in society, which began in 1972 and was voted down by the bishops in 1992. These three pastoral letters were concluded during the pontificate of John Paul II, but they were initiated during the first period this chapter explores. The promise of this methodology was widely acknowledged, but the pioneering work on the pastoral letter on women revealed long-standing dysfunctions in the Church and contributed to new wounds concerning the inability to address core issues of conflict in the Church.

2. Contestation, Centralization, Polarization: 1979 to 2013

The second phase in the reception of Vatican II is associated with contestation on specific theological and moral issues in the Church and the implementation of an ecclesial policy of centralization and a heroic vision of priesthood. These contributed to increasing polarization in the Church. This escalating opposition in the Church is often associated with events in the 1980s and correlated with the rise of the culture wars in US politics. In fact, this phenomenon can be traced back twenty years earlier to the reactions to Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae Vitae* in 1968 and the US Supreme Court's ruling in 1973 defending the freedom of pregnant women to have an abortion without restrictions by the government. There is also compelling evidence that polarizing patterns surfaced in the US, including within the Church, after World War II, during the rise of the Cold War.[11]

For our purposes, we can return to the voting patterns at the council itself. The conservative minority of council fathers often represented less than 5 per cent of the total vote, with the progressive majority voting over 90 per cent in support of the major facets of council documents. A few among the minority were vocal critics of conciliar trends. They relentlessly made appeals for support to Pope Paul VI, constantly defended the authority of the pope in relation to the College of Bishops, and were critical of a greater openness to the world, other Christian churches, other religions, and other worldviews. Many US council fathers, such as Dearden, often sided with the majority, but there were those who sided

[11] This argument has been demonstrated by Joseph P. Chinnici in *American Catholicism Transformed: From the Cold War Through the Council* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).

with the minority, including Cardinal Francis Spellman from New York. The influential US peritus at the council, John Courtney Murray, who addressed Church–state relations and religious freedom in his writings, was vehemently opposed by other US periti, including Joseph Fenton and Francis Connell.

After the council, the most prominent international critic of Vatican II was Marcel Lefebvre, the Superior General of the Holy Ghost Fathers in Africa and archbishop of Dakar, Senegal; he was ultimately excommunicated in 1988 for consecrating new traditionalist bishops without the approval of the Holy See. Theological periti such as Henri de Lubac and Joseph Ratzinger criticized specific positions advanced on the liturgy and on the Church in the modern world yet remained loyal to the dogmatic core of the council texts.[12]

Most US bishops and theologians were supportive of the approved documents of Vatican II and their pastoral implications. However, grumblings about the messiness of the reception of the council among certain cardinals in central Europe came to full expression during the pontificates of John Paul II and Benedict XVI. Even though these bishops had different cultural backgrounds and theological visions, the two figures shared intersecting complaints about the council and concerns about its reception. Both Wojtyla and Ratzinger raised questions about optimistic trends in documents and problems in implementing the council in the liturgy and concerning increased experimentation in decision-making processes in local churches, episcopal conferences, and the Synod of Bishops. They promoted a personable, judicious, and firm style of leadership in teaching and governance in the papacy and curia, and they valued the loyalty of bishops.

Both John Paul II and Benedict XVI were critical of certain trends in theology and in pastoral theology, such as in sexual ethics and Latin American liberation theology. Both were staunch defenders of the male celibate priesthood and opponents of open discussion of the ordination of women and married men; both were outspoken critics of homosexuality in the Church, including among clergy and in society. Most important, both popes advocated a particularly Roman-centred eucharistic ecclesiology of hierarchical communion, offered a heroic view of male celibate clergy, and placed restrictions on the exercise of the collegiality of the

[12] Joseph A. Komonchak, 'Interpreting the Council: Catholic Attitudes toward Vatican II,' in *Being Right: Conservative Catholics in America*, eds. Mary Jo Weaver and R. Scott Appleby (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996), 17–36.

bishops, silencing discussion on certain issues at assemblies of the Synod of Bishops and episcopal conferences, such as on birth control, women priests, and married priests. They rarely accentuated the ecclesiology of the People of God developed in chapter 2 of the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*.[13]

This second period became associated with an ecclesiology of recentralization in Church doctrines and policies that accentuated a Eurocentric, papal, and curial vision of Catholic universality around the world. While John Paul II and Benedict XVI acknowledged the importance of the 'affective collegiality' of the bishops as a legitimate interpretation of Vatican II teachings, they questioned and restricted the teaching authority of the College of Bishops, spoken of in terms of 'effective collegiality.'[14] Questions were raised about the appropriateness of applying the principle of subsidiarity as it developed in Catholic social teachings to local, regional, and national churches. The social imaginary of these two popes is embedded in many official documents they approved and championed.[15]

This period of contestation became especially prominent in the US beginning in the first phase of reception after the council with the reactions to the teachings of Pope Paul VI on birth control and the reaffirmation of a male celibate clergy. John Paul II built on these positions with an outspoken pro-life agenda and a militant critique of homosexuality and gay marriage, associated with what became known as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) issues. During this period, many prominent theologians working at the frontiers of theology in sexual ethics, liberation theology, ecclesiology, and religious pluralism were

[13] Two years after the 1985 Synod of Bishops, which focused on the ecclesiology of communion in *Lumen Gentium* and virtually ignored the People of God, John Paul II gave considerable attention to the People of God motif in the Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Christifideles Laici*, On the Vocation of the Lay Faithful in the Church and in the World (1988).

[14] See several articles by Joseph A. Komonchak: 'The Synod of 1985 and the Notion of the Church,' *Chicago Studies* 26, no. 3 (Nov. 1987), 330–45; 'Introduction: Episcopal Conferences under Criticism,' in *Episcopal Conferences: Historical, Canonical, and Theological Studies* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1989), 1–22; and 'The Roman Working Paper on Episcopal Conferences,' in *Episcopal Conferences: Historical, Canonical, and Theological Studies* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1989), 178–204.

[15] See the revised *Code of Canon Law* (1983), 'The Final Report of the Extraordinary Synod of Bishops' (1985), the Apostolic Constitution *Pastor Bonus* tightening up policies in the Roman Curia (1988), the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1992), and the statement by Cardinal Ratzinger and the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith entitled 'Some Aspects of the Church Understood as Communion' (1992), motu proprio *Apostolos Suos: On the Theological and Juridical Nature of Episcopal Conferences* (1998).

investigated and, in several cases, disciplined by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, with Cardinal Ratzinger as prefect. Eventually, doctrinal committees were established in episcopal conferences to identify suspect theological trends and problems; this resulted in the promotion of a culture of surveillance, fostering paranoia and self-censoring among theologians who sought to advance the development of Catholic doctrine in these contested areas. Several individuals were disciplined by these committees.

The most widely read and respected US ecclesiologists publishing during this phase were supportive of both the People of God ecclesiology and communion ecclesiology, but increasingly they raised reservations about how the latter doctrine was being formulated in papal and curial documents and implemented by curial officials. The most influential Catholic theologians in the US defended Vatican II on the Church, led by Avery Dulles (1974), Patrick Granfield, OSB (1973), Richard McBrien (1969 and 1973), and Joseph A. Komonchak, who is recognized as the foremost interpreter of Vatican II documents in the English-speaking world.[16] Moral theologian Charles E. Curran was a critic of facets of *Humane Vitae*; he defended the legitimate role of dissent in the Church and was disciplined by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.[17] A small but vocal cadre of moral theologians and public intellectuals became outspoken defenders of papal and curial teachings on sexuality and contributed to the polarized climate in the Church.[18]

John Paul II and Benedict XVI selected a significant number of bishops for US dioceses who were loyal adherents of the policy of centralized papal authority, curial control of theologians, and heroic and paternalistic

[16] Avery Dulles, *Models of the Church* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974); Patrick Granfield, OSB, *Ecclesial Cybernetics: A Study of Democracy in the Church* (New York: Macmillan, 1973); Richard McBrien, *Do We Need the Church?* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969) and *The Remaking of the Church: An Agenda for Reform* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973); Joseph A. Komonchak, *Who Are the Church?* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2008).

[17] Charles E. Curran, *Faithful Dissent* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1986) and *Loyal Dissent: Memoir of a Catholic Theologian* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2006).

[18] Germain Grisez, *The Way of the Lord Jesus*, 3 vols (Cincinnati, OH: Franciscan Press, 1983, 1993, 1997); William E. May, *Moral Absolutes: Catholic Tradition, Current Trends, and the Truth*. The Pere Marquette University Lecture in Theology (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1989). Michael Novak and George Weigel became outspoken defenders of John Paul II when Ronald Reagan was president. For a more thorough analysis of these trends, see Massimo Borghesi, *Catholic Discordance: Neoconservativism vs. the Field Hospital Church of Pope Francis*, trans. Barry Hudock (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press Academic, 2021).

approaches to clerical pastoral ministry. This also contributed to greater polarization in theological and pastoral circles in the US.

This episcopal stance became more pronounced with New York Cardinal Timothy Dolan's 2012 announcement—in the aftermath of President Barack Obama's 2011 US Department of Justice Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) and the US Health and Human Services Affordable Care Act—of the US bishops' Fortnight of Freedom Campaign to denounce same-sex marriage and civil unions. This initiative was presented by the US bishops as a non-partisan and confessional defense of the freedom of Catholics to defend their moral and political choices against discrimination but was susceptible to the interpretation that it was partisan and reflected the US culture wars.

As centralized hierarchical and clerical power and authority in the Church was bolstered, and polarization in the US escalated, a constellation of issues in *Lumen Gentium* received resilient appreciation and growing attention: namely, the efficacy of the Holy Spirit in the baptism of the faithful, which anoints people to participate fully and actively in the priestly, prophetic, and kingly offices of Jesus Christ. The prophetic office of the faithful received increasing attention for framing and warranting the conciliar teaching on the sense of the faith of all the faithful, by means of which 'the People unfailingly adheres to the faith, penetrates more deeply into that same faith with right judgment, and applies it more fully in daily life' (LG 12). This growing appreciation of the Holy Spirit at work through baptism in the sense of the faithful contributed to a fuller theology of the laity, the doctrine of reception, and an intercultural theology of popular piety and tradition, all of which laid the groundwork for Pope Francis's broader vision of synodality.[19]

This work on the sense of the faithful, reception, the laity, and Indigenous traditions during this era of centralization in the Church occurred as the Church was on the precipice of an era of turmoil. The 1985 newspaper report by journalist Jason Berry about the sexual abuse of minors

[19] For works by US theologians during this phase, see John J. Burkhard, who began to chronicle and analyze theological works on the 'Sensus Fidei' beginning in 1993, which culminated in *The 'Sense of the Faith' in History: Its Sources, Reception, and Theology* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2021); Richard R. Gaillardetz, *Teaching with Authority: A Theology of the Magisterium in the Church* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1997); Orlando Espín, *The Faith of the People: Theological Reflection on Popular Catholicism* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1997); Paul Lakeland, *The Liberation of the Laity: In Search of an Accountable Church* (New York: Continuum, 2003).

by Gilbert Gauthe, a Catholic priest in Lafayette, Louisiana,[20] initiated a rapidly rising awareness of similar situations around the country and worldwide that took place during the papacies of John Paul II and Benedict XVI. These cases initially were viewed as the personal problems of individual priests but soon became associated with structural, institutional, and cultural problems related to clericalism, episcopal concealment, and ecclesial corruption.

3. Negotiating Conflict, Differentiating Consensus: 2013 to 2022

The papal election of Jorge Mario Bergoglio in 2013 introduced a new phase in the reception of Vatican II around the world and distinctively in the US. From the beginning of his papacy, Francis has expressed his commitment to speaking of the Church as the faithful people of God engaged in missionary discipleship, as a field hospital at the service of a wounded Church and world.[21] He has challenged bishops to live up to the legacy of Vatican II by cultivating an open style of synodality among bishops and with priests characterized by listening to and collaborating with the sense of all the faithful, especially among the laity, without denying papal and episcopal authority.

Over the course of his career, Bergoglio has been attentive and responsive to the role of conflict and polarization in the Church and in society. He has also nurtured the vitality of local communities by celebrating popular cultures and forms of piety and by means of promoting social and political engagement in collaboration with poor and marginal populations.[22]

In a distinctive manner, Francis embraces Vatican II's doctrine of the collegiality of bishops as the foundation for more honest and effective expressions of episcopal conferences and the synod of bishops. By so doing, he champions a doctrine and praxis of synodality that is different from the approach to papal authority, collegiality, and the nature of synods

[20] Jason Berry, 'The Tragedy of Gilbert Gauthe,' *The Times of Acadiana*, Part 1, 23 May 1985; Part II, 30 May 1985.

[21] Antonio Spadaro, 'A Big Heart open to God: An Interview with Pope Francis,' *America* 209, no. 8 (30 Sept. 2013): 15–38; Pope Francis, Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium* (24 Nov. 2013).

[22] See Pope Francis' treatment of popular piety in *Evangelii Gaudium*, nos. 122–26, and participation in popular social justice movements in his book co-authored with Austin Ivereigh, *Let Us Dream: The Path to a Better Future* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2020), 49–134.

advanced by John Paul II and Benedict XVI. Their policies of centralization and hierarchical communion have been modified based on Francis's life experiences in the global South, his formation as a Jesuit during Pedro Arrupe's influential era as superior general (1965–1983), and his leadership role in the Latin American Bishops' Conference during the preparation of the Aparecida document, issued in 2007 at the Fifth Episcopal Conference of Latin America. As a result, Francis endorses a policy of sound decentralization and a polyhedral view of the Church's universality by promoting a polycentric approach to communication and learning in the global Church.

From the beginning of his pontificate, Francis sought to end the suppression of debate in the Church on contested issues by fostering *parrhesia*—bold honesty—a classic Greek term he introduced in his first encyclical, *Evangelii Gaudium* (2013), to accentuate the need for the courageous proclamation of the gospel (EG 259). A year later, he used this same term to convey his call for free speech in the Church, especially on debated subjects.[23] Francis extols the spiritual virtues of *parrhesia* to explain his approach to conflict, where he views polarities as catalysts for recognizing marginalized people in the Church and society and as incentives for negotiating contentious issues by advancing the unity of diverse peoples and cultures for the good of the Church and the common good in society. Thus, Francis has developed a conceptual framework and promoted a social field for cultivating open, honest discourse, social friendships, and dialogue among antagonists in the Church and in civil society.

This doctrine, style, and programme has been met with resistance in various quarters of the Church, especially by some devoted adherents of the policies of John Paul II and Benedict XVI. This has prolonged a clash of cultures in various places, especially in the US, among bishops and laity who have resisted and attacked Francis for not maintaining John Paul's and Benedict's militant pro-life campaign and critique of homosexuality and gay unions, for not supporting their cultural allegiance to a patriarchal and paternalistic approach to clerical and episcopal authority, and instead for being outspoken on issues of economic, racial, and gender justice.

[23] Francis, 'Greeting of Pope Francis to the Synod Fathers During the First General Congregation of the Third Extraordinary General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops (October 6, 2014),' https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2014/october/documents/papa-francesco_20141006_padri-sinodali.html.

Francis's dream of synodality will undoubtedly be credited by historians with encouraging the implementation of his polyhedral and decentralized vision of the Church that is committed to engaging marginalized and disaffected groups of people in the Church and in the world.[24] This has become his idiom for negotiating conflict situations through difficult dialogue in the interests of nurturing what has been called a differentiated and differentiating consensus in the Church, that is, a way of affirming unity on core matters of beliefs while honouring a diversity of certain disputed beliefs and practices that are still being discerned and debated as a part of the ongoing pilgrimage of individuals and groups within the Church.[25]

Like John Paul II and Benedict XVI, Francis is pro-life on issues related to abortion. But he has also been outspoken in his support for popular social movements that reflect the signs of the times in areas of economics, ecology, and immigration and in his advocacy of Black and Brown lives and the lives of other marginal peoples. Yet, it is unclear, if not doubtful, whether his promotion of structural reforms will ultimately lead to the active participation of women in effective leadership roles, including ministerial ones in the Church; supportive policies for LGBTQ people, including the blessing of civic unions; and, more widely, granting the exercise of power for the lay faithful to be full and active participants in processes of discernment, deliberation, and decision making in advancing a genuinely synodal Church.[26]

Francis has thus championed a wider reception of Vatican II by advocating a strong episcopacy and the role of the lay faithful through a more often utilized exercise of synodality. This has been met by a weary and at times belligerent resistance by certain episcopal forces, prolonging a toxic form of polarization. On the other hand, Francis's promotion of the hierarchy's and priests' engagement with the lay faithful has not been

[24] Francis uses the term 'polyhedron' (a surface with many faces) to describe the universal character of the Church in *Evangelii Gaudium*, no. 236, *Querida Amazonia*, no. 28, and *Fratelli Tutti*, nos. 145, 190, 215.

[25] Based on the contribution of Lutheran theologian Theodor Dieter, see Peter De Mey, 'Die Hermeneutik des differenzierten/differenzierenden Konsensus: einmaliges Zugeständnis oder breit einsetzbare ökumenische Methode für die römisch-katholische Kirche?' in *Auf dem Weg zur Gemeinschaft: 50 Jahre internationaler evangelisch-lutherisch/römisch-katholischer Dialog, Theodor Schneider zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. André Peter Birmelé and Wolfgang Thönnisen (Paderborn-Leipzig: Bonifatius Verlag-Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2018), 385–403.

[26] Massimo Faggioli, 'The Remains of Vatican II: Why Is the Reception of the Council Still an Issue?' *Commonweal* (2 Mar. 2021).

consistent, nor has it actualized the vocation of the laity, and especially of women, as full and active agents and protagonists in the drama of the reign of God in a fully synodal Church in worship and in mission. These engrained difficulties reflect and may in fact perpetuate the failures of the Church to resolve the deepest structural issues raised by the clerical sexual abuse of children and adults. Yet, as many Catholics believe and hope, more often among those in the global South, Pope Francis has initiated a new season of Pentecost and has planted seeds that many hope will come to fruition in time.

THE OPPOSITION TO VATICAN II IN NORTH AMERICA: PHASES, ACTORS, AND ISSUES FROM THE LATE 1960S TO THE EARLY 21ST CENTURY

MASSIMO FAGGIOLI

The history of the reception of Vatican II is also made up of opposition to and rejection of the teaching of the council. The opposition to Vatican II based in the United States is particularly important given the role that US Catholicism plays in the global Catholic Church as the largest, richest, and most influential (through the media, business culture, lay-run charities) in the Anglo-American English-speaking world. But the history of the opposition to the teaching of Vatican II, its reception and application in North America, with a particular focus on the United States, still has not received the attention it deserves in the second half of the post-conciliar period and especially in the 21st century. This has become evident in light of the ecclesial and theological developments within US Catholicism during the pontificate of Pope Francis.

This chapter takes the form of a series of initial reflections on the opposition to Vatican II. It will focus on groups whose theological identity will be loosely labelled traditionalist, radical-traditionalist, neo-traditionalist, or neo-conservative. Those labels carry different semantics: only more detailed studies will be able to distinguish between different theological and cultural collective Catholic identities. This analysis has two, more modest, goals.

The first goal is to investigate motifs, languages, and channels of the opposition to Vatican II coming from Catholics. This leaves aside other forms of opposition to or non-reception of Vatican II coming, for example, from Christians of other traditions or from other political or religious groups that do not make opposition to the council their main identifying element.[1] This does not mean that other, more silent forms of dismissal

[1] About the reception and non-reception of Vatican II by other Christian traditions (Orthodox, Anglicans, Lutherans, Reformed, Methodists, and Evangelicals), see the chapters in part IV of *The Oxford Handbook of Vatican II*, eds. Catherine E. Clifford and

of Vatican II, sometimes coming from mainstream or radical-progressive Catholics, are less consequential. They constitute, however, a phenomenon that is more difficult to identify as it is often coupled with a general endorsement of Vatican II, rather than being a rejection of the 'heresies' of Vatican II. It is these 'heresies' that 'traditionalist' and 'neo-conservative' Catholics tend to target and reject.

The second goal is to identify the different periods in this history of the changing nature of the opposition to Vatican II during the first 60 years of the post-conciliar era. This is part of an attempt to go beyond a periodization of the reception and opposition to Vatican II that often simplistically overlaps with a more unconscious, but also indolent and less attentive, periodization: that is, the history of the post-conciliar pontificates.

1. Sources: From Magazines to the Internet

A first step in the study of the opposition to Vatican II should look at the important mutations in the nature of the sources used by the religious and theological movements in US Catholicism.

In the early post-Vatican II period, the traditionalist opposition to the council in the US could rely on a fringe world of magazines, reviews, and bulletins that were typical of a Roman Catholic Church whose members had come to the country as immigrants, most of them in the previous hundred years. This nationally and religiously foreign minority confronted issues with a democratic spirit and many opportunities for a free exchange of ideas even within Catholicism. The counter-cultural ethos that developed in the Catholic community rejected the 'modernization' and mainstreaming of Catholicism at Vatican II.

The first important set of sources is represented by independent Catholic media and by journalists and commentaries in magazines in the US, animated by 19th-century ultramontanist ethos and perspectives. The magazine *Triumph* (1966–76)[2] entertained relations with the *National Review* (founded by the US Catholic journalist and commentator William F. Buckley in 1955) and expressed not only an anti-liberal culture but

Massimo Faggioli (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023); for a focus on Marcel Lefebvre's Society of Saint Pius X, see Philippe Roy-Lysencourt, 'The Reception of the Second Vatican Council by Traditionalist Catholics,' *The Oxford Handbook of Vatican II*, 360–78.

[2] See Mark D. Popowski, *The Rise and Fall of* Triumph*: The History of a Radical Roman Catholic Magazine, 1966–1976* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012).

also a fascination with the authoritarian regime of Franco in Spain. *The Wanderer* (founded in 1867, originally published in German, with an English edition beginning in 1931), a magazine owned and operated by lay men, took the original position against the 'Americanization' of Catholicism. It was based in the Upper Midwest, with an important readership in Minnesota, where the bishop of Saint Paul, John Ireland, was one of the leaders of the group of prelates and intellectuals working in the late 19th century for a Catholic Church in a less antagonistic relationship with the social and political values of the United States.[3] That 19th-century culture of the immigrant Church updated itself as a position against the modernization of the Church brought about by Vatican II.[4] *The Remnant* (1967–), also based in Minnesota, expresses similar positions about Vatican II and social, cultural, and theological modernity. In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, beginning in 2020, *The Remnant* has become the vehicle for conspiracy theories aimed at justifying anti-vaccination agitations (see the manifestos by Carlo Maria Viganò published on the magazine's website).[5] The magazine *Crisis* (1982–2007; 2011–) was founded in November 1982 by Catholic philosopher Ralph McInerny and theologian Michael Novak from a small office on the campus of the University of Notre Dame; it released the 16-page first issue of *Catholicism in Crisis: A Journal of Lay Catholic Opinion*. In April 2019, Sophia Institute Press began publishing books with 'Crisis Magazine' branding. The new imprint, called 'Crisis Publications,' is dedicated to books that examine social and cultural trends from a Roman Catholic perspective that is very critical of Vatican II.[6]

[3] See James Hitchcock, 'Catholic Activist Conservatism in the United States,' in *Fundamentalisms Observed*, Vol. 1, eds. Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 101–41.

[4] On *The Wanderer*, see Michael W. Cuneo, 'The Wanderer and the Politics of Catholic Conservatism,' in *The Smoke of Satan: Conservative and Traditionalist Dissent in Contemporary American Catholicism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 49.

[5] Southern Poverty Law Center, the non-profit legal advocacy organization specializing in civil rights, has labelled *The Remnant* and the Remnant Press as 'hate groups' under a category they describe as 'Radical Traditionalist Catholic': see https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/radical-traditional-catholicism.

[6] Commenting on the return of *Crisis* magazine in 2011, Catholic columnist Michael Sean Winters noted: '*Crisis* magazine began in a small office at the University of Notre Dame. It has moved to K Street [a major thoroughfare in the United States capital of Washington, D.C., known as a center for numerous lobbyists and advocacy groups]. The move is not only physical, it is attitudinal, and it speaks to the essential problem of today's Catholic neo-cons.' Michael Sean Winters, 'Crisis Magazine Returns,' *National Catholic Reporter*, 10 May 2011, https://www.ncronline.org/blogs/distinctly-catholic/crisis-magazine-returns.

The interdenominational magazine (but with a very strong presence of Catholics among editors and authors, some of them Catholic bishops) *First Things* has acquired a prime position in the debate on Vatican II in the US and in the English-speaking Catholic conversation.[7] Founded in 1990 by the Catholic convert (former Lutheran pastor) Fr Richard John Neuhaus, *First Things* represents the most important example of the mutation of Catholic neo-conservatism in the US to neo-traditionalism, together with the identification of the legitimacy and authority of Vatican II within the boundaries of a US antiliberal interpretation of the teaching of John Paul II and Benedict XVI.[8]

The overall picture of the sources of intellectual and theological debate engaging in the criticism of Vatican II changed in two phases: the first between the mid-1990s and the early 2000s, thanks to the availability of the internet; and the second phase, beginning with the first and second decades of the 21st century, with social media. It was not just the opening of new channels of communication but a new language, new literary forms, and in some sense a new world. There was a technological and organizational change, thanks to the appearance of blogs and the internet, social media and the ability for outreach—outside of mainstream ecclesial, academic, and journalistic channels—that they give to neo-Catholics and converts of a traditionalist persuasion.[9] More importantly, the internet made possible new platforms allowing new forms and genres of communications (web-based television, websites, podcasts, and YouTube channels) to reach a wider audience and make mainstream versions of Catholic 'fundamentalism' in addition to the old-style traditionalism. This did not substitute for but added to the position acquired by new Catholic media (Eternal Word Television Network [EWTN] and its subsidiaries). This opened a new phase in the 'democratization' (in a populist and anti-authoritarian way) of the message that, in a first phase, traditionalist magazines carried for a smaller audience. The internet also enables an

[7] See, for example, Neuhaus's role in the initiative for 'Evangelicals and Catholics Together' (1994), a counter-cultural alliance on moral issues.

[8] See Peter Steinfels, *The Neoconservatives* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979; new ed. 2013); Damon Linker (former staffer at the magazine *First Things*), *The Theocons: Secular America under Siege* (New York: Doubleday, 2006); Massimo Borghesi, *Catholic Discordance: Neoconservatism vs. the Field Hospital of Pope Francis* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2021).

[9] See, for example, Sean Swain Martin, *American Pope: Scott Hahn and the Rise of Catholic Fundamentalism* (PhD diss., University of Dayton, 2020) (published in 2021 by Wipf and Stock).

expansion of their message and audience beyond their originally marginal outreach and beyond North America.[10]

One important change has been the opposition to Vatican II leaving the fringes and entering into other areas of the larger body of the Catholic Church in the US, whose contours are more unstable than in other countries because of immigration but also because the turnover in numbers is high, due to both exits from the Church and, for example, people joining via the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults. A number of prominent 'conversions' to the Catholic Church had to do directly or indirectly with the perception of the Church distancing itself, especially in the late 1980s and 1990s, from liberal-progressive interpretations of Vatican II.[11] High-profile conversions to Catholicism, particularly disaffected clergy from other Christian denominations (especially Episcopalian), created a movement collateral to the radical opposition to Vatican II in ways that have made the criticism of Vatican II mainstream or platformed in ways that were not available in the early post-conciliar period.[12]

In 1997, Michael Cuneo characterized in this way the public presence of Catholic traditionalism:

> Catholic traditionalism in the United States has had only limited media visibility, in part because of the size and diffusion of the movement and

[10] See, for example, the message on Vatican II disseminated on the internet by organizations (Church Militant) and by individuals (Taylor Marshall, and the former nuncio to the US, Archbishop Carlo Maria Viganò).

[11] There are no scholarly studies of the phenomenon of recent 'conversions' of Protestants to Catholicism in North America, but see Scott and Kimberly Hahn, *Rome Sweet Home: Our Journey to Catholicism* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1993); *Mind, Heart, and Soul: Intellectuals and the Path to Rome*, ed. Robert P. George and R.J. Snell (Charlotte, NC: TAN Books, 2018); *The Path to Rome: Modern Journeys to the Catholic Church*, ed. Dwight Longenecker (Leominster: Gracewing, 2010). See also John Beaumont, *The Mississippi Flows into the Tiber: A Guide to Notable American Converts to the Catholic Church* (South Bend, IN: Fidelity Press, 2014); Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Converts: British and American Intellectuals Turn to Rome* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000); Charles P. Connor, *Classic Catholic Converts* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2001).

[12] Some names of prominent converts to Catholicism in the post-conciliar period in the US: former Speaker of the House of Representatives and Republican *maître à penser* Newt Gingrich; chief strategist for the election of George H.W. Bush in 1988, Lee Atwater; judge and advocate of 'originalism,' Robert Bork; *New York Times* columnist Ross Douthat; former speechwriter for President Reagan and clerk for Justice Clarence Thomas, Fox News host Laura Ingraham; Supreme Court justice Clarence Thomas; Governor of Louisiana Bobby Jindal; CNN and later Fox News host Robert Novak; *National Review* editor Ramesh Ponnuru; and former Republican presidential candidate Marco Rubio (appointed Secretary of State by president-elect Trump in November 2024) and the vice president elected with Donald Trump, JD Vance. Among theologians and academics: Scott Hahn, Francis Beckwith, Edward Feser, Douglas Farrow, Dwight Longenecker, Carl Olson, Chad Pecknold, Adrian Vermeule, and *First Things* editor Rusty Reno.

> its character as an introversionist sect. Although sharing some attitudes with members of the new religious right—e.g., condemnations of homosexuality, feminism, and New Age religion—traditionalists have generally avoided the public connections with politicized evangelical or fundamentalist Christian groups. This avoidance stems in part from the fact that traditionalism is a vehemently anti-ecumenical phenomenon composed of ideological purists resistant to making common cause with Protestant 'heretics'. Whether the current round of culture wars and escalating debate over abortion and homosexuality will alter this situation remains to be seen … As one traditionalist interviewee put it, 'We do battle in the sanctuary, not in the street'.[13]

In the last three decades, the debate on the role of religion in the public square in the US, the rise of 'grievance conservatism,'[14] and the arrival of neo-conservative Catholicism in politics has contributed to a redefinition of traditionalism and opposition to Vatican II. The redrawing of the lines about Vatican II is one of the ways in which politically conservative Catholicism has at times aligned itself to white evangelicalism in the US, and this entailed deep changes in the ways the new generations of leaders (clerical, intellectual, business leaders) understand the concept of 'Catholic tradition.'[15]

Catholic public intellectuals (for example, Catholic convert and *New York Times* columnist Ross Douthat), politicians (in the Republican party), the business world, and philanthropic circles (major donors to universities and Catholic media) are increasingly represented by neo-traditionalist Catholics, and they have moved from the fringes to centre stage.[16] *First Things* became during the pontificate of Francis the gateway for a new fight against Vatican II and has given young Catholic intellectuals access to mainstream media (especially the *New York Times*), where the appeal to ideological 'diversity' gives anti-Vatican II

[13] Michael W. Cuneo, 'Life Battles: The Rise of Catholic Militancy within the American Pro-Life Movement,' in *Being Right: Conservative Catholics in America*, eds. Mary Jo Weaver and R. Scott Appleby (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 241–69, at 261. James Davison Hunter (a sociologist at the University of Virginia) popularized the term 'culture war' in his book *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), describing tensions between religious and secular trends as well as alternative visions of the role of the family in society.

[14] See Katherine Stewart, *Power Worshippers: Inside the Dangerous Rise of Religious Nationalism* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2021).

[15] See Massimo Faggioli, *Joe Biden and Catholicism in the United States* (Worcester, MA: Bayard, 2021; also in Italian and French).

[16] A journalistic account of these links is found in Mary Jo McConahay, *Playing God: American Catholic Bishops and the Far Right* (Brooklyn: Melville House, 2023).

Catholics a platform that is denied to, or is no longer relevant for, so-called Vatican II Catholics.[17]

Even more visible is the prominent role of neo-traditionalist Catholicism in the 'legal conservative movement' that has reshaped the legal culture and political commitments of many judges in the courts in the US (beginning with the federal Supreme Court).[18] The relationship between Catholics in the legal conservative movement and Vatican II is not explicitly anti-conciliar but often *a-conciliar* or *praeter-conciliar* (if one looks, for example, at the reactions coming from that movement to the 2018 decision by Pope Francis to change the text of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* about the death penalty).[19]

The growth of a less frontal, more subtle opposition to Vatican II is visible in the institutions of higher education. In the last few years, Catholic theological education shaped by neo-traditionalist persuasions in the US has migrated out of Catholic colleges and universities and has established new institutions funded by private donors (for example, the Augustine Institute in Denver) and not just by the tuition paid by students. In these institutions, the teaching on Vatican II and the theological culture at the basis of their foundations and of the appeal to students represents the insurgency against the mainstream reception of Vatican II in the US, if not sometimes against conciliar teaching itself. But this 'a-conciliar' culture has taken root also in mainstream colleges and universities and in specialized para-university institutes populated by Catholic thinkers.[20] In the context of the overall decline in the role of theology in US academic institutions (including Catholic theology in Catholic colleges and universities), new Catholic subcultures and communities are continuing to emerge: classical K to 12 schools, 'Catholic Studies' and 'Humanities' programs at religious universities, centres for Christian thought at

[17] See the articles published regularly by young Catholic commentators Ross Douthat, Matthew Schmitz, and Michael Brendan Dougherty in the op-ed page of the *New York Times* from 2013 on, targeting Pope Francis and Vatican II.

[18] See Steven M. Teles, *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement: The Battle for Control of the Law* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).

[19] In August 2018, Pope Francis revised CCC (*Catechism of the Catholic Church*) 2267 to say that capital punishment is 'inadmissible' and constitutes 'an attack on the inviolability and dignity of the human person,' advocating for the abolition of the death penalty in every country.

[20] See Emily Lehman, 'Catholic Education, Secular Campus: Growing Movement Provides Intellectual Formation to Catholic Students, Wherever They Are,' *National Catholic Register*, 19 Sept. 2022, https://www.ncregister.com/features/catholic-education-secular-campus-growing-movement-provides-intellectual-formation-to-catholic-students-wherever-they-are.

secular universities, and a growing number of new Christian magazines such as *The Lamp*, *Fare Forward*, and *Plough*. Often, in these new circles, a posture of resolute anti-liberal Catholic orthodoxy, shaped in the footsteps of a US political interpretation of John Paul II and Benedict XVI, is combined with a polemical approach to Vatican II—both the texts and the interpretations—in a return of integralist tendencies.[21]

From the point of view of the changes in the sources used by the opposition to Vatican II, we can see a paradox. The strength of the anti-Vatican II traditionalism in the US is a fruit of the encounter between Catholicism and American freedom which that very traditionalism rejected but from which it has been benefiting, Leo XIII's condemnation of 'Americanism' in 1899 notwithstanding. The institutional Church in the US (the individual bishops, the national bishops' conference) gave up on the task of confronting this 'alternative' teaching on Vatican II coming from these non-institutional sources and in some cases sponsored or gave institutional coverage to these sources (most notably, the media conglomerate EWTN). In other cases—and this became evident as the 21st century progressed, and particularly during Pope Francis's pontificate—many individual bishops (some of them with a prominent national ecclesial and media profile) were in agreement with some of the issues on the agenda of the anti-Vatican II movement.[22]

2. Themes and Streams in the Opposition to Vatican II

The US Catholic opposition to Vatican II, in its traditionalist form, is made of different themes and streams: it begins with opposition to the liturgical reform, and then it becomes political and aligned to anti-liberal ideologies, identifying the ills of the American Church and society with the fruits of the council.

[21] For example, in October 2022, one of the most influential Catholic universities in North America, the Franciscan University of Steubenville (Ohio), hosted the 'Restoring a Nation' event, which featured a who's who lineup of influential speakers in the national conservative movement, including then Republican Ohio Senate candidate JD Vance but also academics such as Chad Pecknold, Gladden Pappin, Scott Hahn, Adrian Vermeule, and Patrick Deneen.

[22] Bishop Thomas John Paprocki, an influential canon lawyer in the Canon Law Society of America and Ordinary of a Catholic diocese in the US, wrote the introduction for the book *Slaying the 'Spirit' of Vatican II with the Light of Truth* (Hudson, WI: Wanderer Forum Foundation, 2017).

It is an anti-Vatican II movement that has common roots but in important respects diverges from the rejection of the conciliar teaching that started in French-speaking, neo-integrist movements that equate the conciliar event with the trauma and disaster of the French Revolution. Very few advocating an alternative, traditionalist hermeneutics of Vatican II in the US became Lefebvrist or 'sedevacantist.' Most of them remained formally in communion with Rome and fight from within as insiders, members of the elites (clerical, intellectual, financial, and political), to recapture Catholicism from the grip of Vatican II. At the same time, that rejection of the legitimacy of Vatican II sometimes became linked to a rejection of the legitimacy of the pontificate of Pope Francis.

This 'remain' option (as opposed to the 'leave' option of the schismatics or sedevacantists) of US anti-Vatican II groups is intentional and means that the adjective 'Catholic' in the US needs, in some cases, a qualifier because it no longer implies an acceptance (at least implicit or unconscious) of the teachings and authority of Vatican II. As Cuneo put it in the 1990s, 'As unlikely as it may sound, the SSPX [Society of Saint Pius X] actually occupies a moderate position within the broader world of Catholic traditionalism' [in the USA].[23]

There is a vast grey area between the acceptance of the teachings and authority of Vatican II on the one hand and the outright radical rejection of Vatican II on the other. This vast grey area must be seen in the context of the minimalist and linguistically nominalist (that is, different from moderate or centrist) reception of Vatican II by some prominent US bishops,[24] in Anglo-American Catholic theological academia,[25] and among highly influential Catholic journalists and commentators for a mainstream audience.[26]

Besides the boost received by anti-Vatican II movements from the radicalization of political identities in the context of the continuing 'culture wars' and their different phases, some deep and fundamental streams must be considered to understand the permanence and entrenchment of anti-Vatican II Catholicism.

[23] Michael W. Cuneo, *The Smoke of Satan: Conservative and Traditionalist Dissent in Contemporary American Catholicism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 93.

[24] See, for example, the book by Bishop Robert Barron, founder of the movement Word on Fire, *The Word on Fire Vatican II Collection* (Word on Fire, 2021), with a chapter by Matthew Levering.

[25] See, for example, some chapters in *The Oxford Handbook of Catholic Theology*, eds. Lewis Ayres and Medi Ann Volpe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[26] See George Weigel, *To Sanctify the World: The Vital Legacy of Vatican II* (New York: Basic Books, 2022).

One of the original causes of US-based anti-Vatican II traditionalism was, as in Europe (both on the continent and in the United Kingdom), the liturgical reform. The liturgical mimetic market in the US (the need to compete for the faithful) has fuelled, in the context of a synchronous sociological crisis of the mainline Protestant churches, a movement for liturgical styles that marketed Catholicism as the opposite of Protestant, 'modern' styles of worship. This has attracted, in different moments in the decades of post-conciliar Catholicism, a particular kind of convert to a deeply 'Roman' and 'Latin' Church—and, with it, a narrative on the reforms of Vatican II that went from grievance left to the margins to active pushback and 'mainstreamization' of liturgical traditionalism. This has gained new strength because of the instability of Vatican policies about celebrations of the pre-Vatican II Roman Rite of the Mass between the pontificates of Benedict XVI (*Summorum Pontificum*, 2007) and Francis (*Traditionis Custodes*, 2021).

A second theme has to do with *Scripture and tradition*. The proximity (intellectual and not merely geographical) with traditions of non-Catholic biblical fundamentalism in the US has left untouched, and actually has strengthened, a stream of 'neo-Catholic magisterial fundamentalism' in US Catholicism that sees Vatican II as a rupture against tradition and therefore not really part of the tradition of the Catholic Church. This neo-Catholic magisterial fundamentalism puts Vatican II at odds also with another set of very specific textual references: from Scripture (despite the fact that Vatican II is strongly Scripture-centred) to the 1983 *Code of Canon Law* and the 1992 *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. This entails a rejection of the work of historical-critical approaches to the study and interpretation of the Bible and of Vatican II's insistence on the importance of applying the best methods available to study, interpret, and translate the Scriptures—which requires attention to the context of their elaboration and the intention of their authors.[27]

A third theme concerns *political theology*. The focus of US Catholicism on social and political issues (with two peaks that can be identified, often for different and opposed Catholic worlds, with Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* and Paul VI's *Humanae Vitae*) has produced very different and divergent receptions of the council's social and political message in *Gaudium et Spes* especially, but also in *Dignitatis Humanae*. In recent years, it has become

[27] See Vatican II, *Dei Verbum*, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation (18 November 1965), 12.

evident that one of the difference between Europe and the US receptions of Vatican II is the emergence in the latter of a political theology that takes issue with the refusal of Vatican II to fight militantly against Communism, atheism, secularism, and secularization—but especially against political liberalism.[28]

A different case is the relationship between the opposition to Vatican II and the reception of its teaching on *ecumenism and interreligious dialogue*. The dynamics of frequent conversion from one Church to another, typical of Christianity in the US, has exposed traditionalist Catholicism not to anti-ecumenism but to a peculiar kind of ecumenism where ecumenical alliances are shaped by social and political issues. In this context, Vatican II has become an issue for intra-Catholic relations which are in need of the council's communion-building efforts.[29]

The most important feature of the US-based opposition to Vatican II is its ability to match and march in lockstep with a conservative social-political narrative on the relationship between the Church and modernity/postmodernity, which in the US took the name of 'culture wars.' This has become the dominant theme of the early-stage opposition to Vatican II and has recapitulated other sources of opposition. The culture-war narrative shapes and reaches clerical and intellectual circles beyond North America, and the opposition to Vatican II has become part of the globalization of the American 'culture wars.' This can be seen by the continuing debate on the legislation about abortion; and, in the 2010s, the debate on same-sex marriage and LGBTQ rights in society, in the law, and in the Church; and, beginning in 2020, the debate on the role of government and science in the health crisis brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic.

[28] See, for example, Thomas Crean and Alan Fimister, *Integralism: A Manual of Political Philosophy* (Neunkirchen-Seelscheid: Editiones Scholasticae, 2020); Crean is a Dominican friar from the UK, and Fimister is a professor of Church history and theology at the St. John Vianney Theological Seminary in Colorado. See also, in this new generation of Catholic anti-liberalism and integralism in the US, the names of Catholic public intellectuals with chairs in prominent universities such as Adrian Vermeule (Harvard University), Chad Pecknold (Catholic University of America), and Patrick Deneen (University of Notre Dame).

[29] See the important essay by Antonio Spadaro and Marcelo Figueroa, 'Fondamentalismo evangelicale e integralismo cattolico. Un sorprendente ecumenismo,' in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, quaderno 4010, 2017, vol. 3, 105–10 (translated into English for the English edition of the Jesuit-run journal: 'Evangelical Fundamentalism and Catholic Integralism: A Surprising Ecumenism,' https://www.laciviltacattolica.it/articolo/evangelical-fundamentalism-and-catholic-integralism-in-the-usa-a-surprising-ecumenism).

3. Toward a Periodization in the History of the Opposition to Vatican II in the US

In the most important studies on the reception of Vatican II published in the 1980s, in the series of preparatory works leading to the five-volume *History of Vatican II* directed by Giuseppe Alberigo (English edition by Joseph Komonchak), the only area of Catholic traditionalism that was relevant was the French-speaking movement led by Marcel Lefebvre and the Society of Saint Pius X (SSPX): geographically, that meant France, with some European and Latin American appendices (such as the Tradition Family Property group in Brazil, now also with circles in the US).[30] English-speaking opposition to Vatican II (not only in the US but also in the UK: for example, against the liturgical reform) did not have a place in those studies, in part because of a lack of interest in the US by a mostly continental European team of scholars, and in part because it was a very marginal phenomenon. More information about American Catholic anti-Vatican II traditionalism in US-based studies came in the 1990s, but too late and too far from Europe to have an impact on that phase of studies on Vatican II. The landscape has changed even more with the beginning of the 21st century.

In this new phase of studies on Vatican II in the 21st century, it is essential to include US-based opposition to Vatican II as a key part of the theological and ecclesial movements that relate to the teaching of the council. And it is essential to do it from an historical perspective.

For a periodization, what Cuneo wrote in 1995 for the early stages is relevant. He identified three phases in the history of post-Vatican II traditionalism in the US (1962–71, 1971–84, and 1984–)[31] when the question of the liturgical reform was central.[32] But the agenda of the opposition to Vatican II expanded in time from its original impetus against the liturgical reform.

We still do not have an established periodization of the anti-Vatican II movement covering the pontificate of John Paul II. Until the mid-1980s,

[30] Daniele Menozzi, 'Opposition to the Council (1966–1984),' in *The Reception of Vatican II*, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo, Jean-Pierre Jossua, and Joseph A. Komonchak, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1987), 325–48.

[31] Cuneo, 'Life Battles,' esp. 242–47. For the traditionalist narrative on Vatican II (not only in the US), it is important to highlight the role of the book by Ralph Wiltgen, *The Rhine Flows into the Tiber* (1967, latest ed. Rockford, IL: Tan Books, 1985).

[32] See also John Baldovin, *Reforming the Liturgy: A Response to the Critics* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008).

the teachings of Vatican II still had a prominent role in the documents of the USCCB. The rise of neo-conservative Catholicism was not defined, at that stage, by a critique of Vatican II per se but by a critique of the reception of Vatican II. Referring to the 'Hartford Appeal for Theological Affirmation' (a 1975 ecumenical statement also signed by Avery Dulles and Peter Berger), George Weigel wrote in 2009 that it represented a sentiment 'that emerged with some frequency in the writings of the neo-conservative Catholics: following Vatican II, the American Catholic Church had veered away from traditional teaching, not because the teachings of the Second Vatican Council were misguided, but because they were misinterpreted or misunderstood and poorly applied by church leadership to contemporary events.'[33]

In the 1990s, Catholic neo-conservatism as an intellectual movement (as noted above, Richard John Neuhaus and the magazine he founded, *First Things*) was still distant and different from neo-traditionalism (see, for example, the position of Neuhaus in favour of the liturgical reform). This was largely because the theological identity of Catholic neo-conservatism was still not politicized (in a strictly partisan sense) and the culture wars not as internalized as they have become in the first two decades of the 21st century. At the same time, it may be possible to detect seeds of resistance against Vatican II in the cool reception given by many US bishops to Cardinal Joseph Bernardin's 'seamless garment' approach to moral issues.[34]

But in the early 2000s, the neo-conservative movement seemed to turn toward a more radical critique of Vatican II: not just of its liberal-progressive reception but of some teachings of Vatican II itself. This radicalization happened on the coattails of the 'culture wars' and of the ideological polarization in US politics that migrates into US Catholicism. Intra-Catholic issues (the sexual abuse crisis) and external events (9/11 and the 'war on terror' that unleashed ethno-nationalist instincts within white Catholicism in the US) radicalized the stance of different ideological quarters in US Catholicism. One aspect of the collateral damage of this mutation was Vatican II.

[33] Todd Scribner, *A Partisan Church: American Catholicism and the Rise of Neoconservative Catholics* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2015), 200–201.

[34] In December 1983, at Fordham University in New York, the archbishop of Chicago, Cardinal Joseph Bernardin, delivered a landmark lecture outlining what he called a 'consistent ethic of life,' using the Catholic tradition to articulate a defense of life at every stage (not just before birth) and in a way that could cross religious and political boundaries.

This polarization was kept under wraps, to some extent, during the last few years of the pontificate of John Paul II and during that of Benedict XVI.[35] Benedict's liturgical and doctrinal policies in favour of a more traditionalist interpretation of Vatican II (especially the motu proprio *Summorum Pontificum* of 7 July 2007) kept the anti-Vatican II movement in the fold—but at the cost of making mainstream a theological culture that in the US has more and more identified Vatican II with the beginning of the demise of Catholicism and of its social and political relevance in America. At the same time, we have the promotion to the episcopate and cardinalate of US clerics whose stance on Vatican II shapes a hierarchy that is significantly different in theological orientations from those expressed by the US episcopate in the early phases of the post-Vatican II period until the mid-1980s.

The 1990s were a key decade, and the years between the mid-1990s and 2001 specifically were a turning point. They represent a huge cultural shift in the US in a new, post-Cold War quest about identity and meaning. It is the search for separate symbolic universes within America and also within Catholicism and the beginning of radical differentiation in constructing different and competing identities, including from a religious and theological point of view. The initial reception of Vatican II had managed to keep US Catholicism together—sometimes hermeneutically contested but also loosely accepted and shared. From the beginning of the 2000s, this was less and less true, also because US Catholic theological academia took the shift of conciliar theology for granted and as irreversible, abandoning Vatican II as a field of study in collaborative, interdisciplinary projects.

Both on the left and on the right, US Catholicism moved on, and in some cases moved *back*, from Vatican II. If the ecclesial left started to look toward a post-Vatican II and post-ecclesial future, the theo-political thrust of the radical right took Vatican II in their hands for a relitigation of the conciliar legacy from within the Church. This effort for a counter-hermeneutic benefited from new, unorthodox channels of communication and languages that largely bypass academic and institutional-ecclesial venues of debate and took the shape of an ecclesial populism against

[35] For the rise of neo-traditionalism in the early 2000s, see Giovanni Miccoli, *La Chiesa dell'anticoncilio. I tradizionalisti alla riconquista di Roma* (Roma: Laterza, 2011; French translation: Bruxelles: Lessius, 2013); Peter Hünermann and Magnus Striet, eds., *Exkommunikation oder Kommunikation? Der Weg der Kirche nach dem II. Vatikanum und die Pius-Brüder* (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 2009).

the alleged social and intellectual elitism and cosmopolitanism of Vatican II Catholics.

This contradiction became evident and explosive during the pontificate of Francis: much of the US Catholic opposition against Pope Francis was an effect of the mutations in the relationship of clerical and intellectual elites with the legitimacy of Vatican II—its reception in the US, but also the final documents of Vatican II. During the pontificate of Francis, we have seen how the old lines of distinction between neo-conservatism and anti-Vatican II neo-traditionalism have been redrawn and have become blurred. It is a history of the transition from the conservatives' embrace of John Paul II's institutional interpretation of Vatican II, to the rise of 'Catholic Barthians,' to the radicalization of *First Things* authors, to the 'Make America Great Again' Catholic Trumpism offered to a larger audience by right-wing traditionalists who think they 'own' Catholicism and need to liberate it from the liberalism of Vatican II.[36]

Michael Cuneo made clear a distinction between *conservative Catholics* (who generally endorsed the legitimacy of Vatican II) and *Catholic traditionalism*, the latter identified as 'a much more sectarian-like response to the problem of change in the Church rooted in a value-oriented repudiation of the council … most representative Catholic analogue to Protestant fundamentalism.'[37] Cuneo listed various groups and organizations representative of Catholic traditionalism vocally rejecting Vatican II: SSPX, Society of Saint Pius V, Society of Saint Peter, 'sedevacantists,' and priests in communion with Rome operating without the permission of the local bishop. Writing in the mid-1990s, Cuneo characterized the Catholic traditionalist subculture in this way: 'a social movement phenomenon, Catholic traditionalism consists of a segmented network of associations, organizations, publishing initiatives, home schooling programs, priories, religious orders and foundations, and chapel and Mass location sites.'[38]

The situation has changed substantially from the 1990s. Opposition to and non-reception of Vatican II as a rejection to the doctrinal and

[36] See Matthew Levering, Bruce L. McCormack, and Thomas J. White, OP, eds, *Dogma and Ecumenism: Vatican II and Karl Barth's* Ad Limina Apostolorum (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2020); Matthew Levering, 'Biblical Renewal and Vatican II: Karl Barth's Contributions,' in Levering, McCormack, and White, *Dogma and Ecumenism*, 22–41. This attention to Karl Barth by commentators of Vatican II in the US is interesting for understanding the influence of Barthian neo-orthodoxy in American Catholic conservative circles.

[37] Cuneo, 'Life Battles,' 242.

[38] Cuneo, 'Life Battles,' 241.

theological changes brought about by the council can no longer be identified with a narrowly understood 'Catholic traditionalism.' The picture of Catholic traditionalism in North America has become more complicated. To those small traditionalist in-person groups, we must add another kind of religious affiliation that shares anti-Vatican II sentiments. It is also difficult to count or estimate the number of members of groups opposing Vatican II because it has become a different kind of membership due to the presence of vocal groups on the internet (since the mid-1990s) and social media (since the early 2000s but especially from the second decade of the 21st century).

This new form of membership has shown the rise of a grey area of neo-traditionalism: an area *outside of* mainstream Catholicism with no particularly evident, conscious, or explicit convictions about Vatican II. But what has emerged is also an area, difficult to map, quantify, and name, that is between a 'conservative Catholic' reception of the council (critical of some aspects of the theology of Vatican II and its reception/application but accepting its legitimacy) and a 'radical-traditionalist' rejection of Vatican II (like the SSPX, which rejects the legitimacy of Vatican II and questions the validity of its teaching).

4. Conclusions: From the Early Anti–Vatican II Catholic Traditionalism to Neo-conservatism and Neo-traditionalism

The geographic and cultural area of North America, and the US in particular, is important for the reception or non-reception of Vatican II for a few reasons. It represents an area that contributed to Vatican II with more marginal voices compared to the Catholic churches in continental Europe (France, Belgium, Germany) or contributed in a very important way only to some issues (ecumenism, religious liberty).[39] Its religious and cultural mainstream was shaped historically by Anglo Protestantism, except in Quebec and the areas in the US where Spanish-speaking Catholics were before the arrival of Anglo settlers and missionaries. But in this vast area, Catholicism has grown numerically since the late

[39] See, for example, Gerald Fogarty, 'Second Vatican Council: Out from Under the Shadow of Hypothesis,' in Gerald Fogarty, *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870–1965* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1982), 386–404; John O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008); Vincent A. Yzermans, ed., *American Participation in the Second Vatican Council* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967).

19th century and has continued to grow since Vatican II or has maintained a central position in the political-religious square, compared to the Protestant churches and their crisis and despite the sociological 'thinning' of its fabric (number of clergy and religious, high number of exits from the Church). This growth of Catholicism relative to other Christian denominations has happened in the US, for example, also thanks to voices of non-reception of Vatican II or critical of Vatican II. It is also an area where the global Catholic narrative coming from Vatican II as an opening to a more ecumenical and interreligious way of understanding the life of the Catholic faith has clashed with neo-nationalist narratives and 'civilizational' understandings of Catholicism. At the same time, it is an area where, because of the footprint left by English-speaking white Protestantism, the appeal to an absolute continuity of the tradition and the Latin language has been stronger than elsewhere. This had an impact on the different kinds of non-reception or rejection of Vatican II because of the need to distinguish Catholicism from Protestantism, in the eyes of both converts and 'cradle Catholics' expressing a conservative approach to religion.

The case of opposition to Vatican II in the US has significant implications for our understanding of the council and its reception in the global Catholic Church. Both the mainstream 'conservative' and fringe 'traditionalist' movements hostile to Vatican II's reception had extremely deep roots. European scholarship on Vatican II has often not noticed them because they did not fit into preconceptions based on what Catholicism in the 1950s to 1960s was all about and because US Catholicism was very different from European Catholicism in those same decades.

At the same time, the landscape of Catholics' relationship to Vatican II exposes a vastly changed situation from those roots. Many lines within Catholic views of Vatican II have been redrawn, especially since the 1990s; this is true also for the opposition to Vatican II, especially in the US. Sixty years after the council, the opposition to Vatican II in the US has partially changed since the early stages of the post-Vatican II period: it focuses not only on the liturgy but on other teachings; it is no longer in opposition to appeals to 'the spirit' of Vatican II but to the final documents themselves; it is no longer part of conversations on the fringes of the Catholic Church and of social and political debates but has gone mainstream.

At the turn of the first quarter of the 21st century, a second- and third-generation Catholic traditionalism is part of a more general transition in generational terms and their relationship with the Catholic past,

including Vatican II.[40] The leaders of the resistance against Vatican II today were all born after the close of the council and have no memory (and little history) of the actual pre-conciliar church. It is an expansion of but also a departure from the original, early kind of traditionalism: more ecumenical but a kind of ecumenism focused on social issues that goes along intra-Catholic (and intra-Protestant) polarization; more ideological and political, enhanced by the culture wars; less sectarian (at least tactically), with the intent to push back against Vatican II from the inside in what can be called 'remain traditionalism' or 'no-leave traditionalism,' with an appeal to younger generations of Catholics who do not share the 'veterans' sentimentality' that sometimes animates groups of 'Vatican II Catholics.'

The radical opposition against Vatican II is still a minority but one that is no longer embarrassed and at the margins. The ethics of pride has made anti-conciliar Catholics more courageous, more mainstream, as they march toward a new season of battles on the meaning of Vatican II.

[40] See Katherine Dugan, *Millennial Missionaries: How a Group of Young Catholics Is Trying to Make Catholicism Cool* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

THE RECEPTION OF VATICAN II BY THE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE OF THE PACIFIC: THE FIRST THREE DECADES

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Oceania (Moana Pasifika) is the largest ocean on earth. It is home to many different countries, peoples, traditions, races, cultures, and languages. We are the Ocean, or we call it 'Our Sea of Islands,' not islands in the sea. Most countries have become local dioceses, thanks to Vatican II. In 1968, three years after the council, the Episcopal Conference of the Pacific (CEPAC) was created; it included 15 dioceses.[1] The diocese of Tonga is not included in CEPAC. The King of Tonga refused to be under any archdiocese or metropolitan in Oceania because his country was always independent from any colonial powers. So, that diocese is directly under the Holy See.

CEPAC is made up of 15 dioceses. These are completely different countries. Each country has its own culture, language, and social and political system. Most countries were colonized by Britain or France. This further augments the differences between the countries. Most of them are Anglophone, while some are Francophone and still under the control of France. They have yet to receive their independence. Both these colonial imperial powers imprinted their political, cultural, religious, educational, and other ways on the minds of the local peoples. The only thing they had in common was Christianity. But it was a Christianity that was divided mostly into Protestantism, Catholicism and, most recently, thousands of Christian denominations. A further division caused by colonization is the classification of these countries into Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. Thus, the composition of CEPAC reflects this grouping of countries from Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia.

[1] CEPAC stands for Conferentia Episcopalis Pacifici, or Episcopal Conference of the Pacific; or Conférence des Évêques du Pacifique. For further references, see Mikaele Paunga SM, *Oceania Bishops: Remote Preparation and Contribution to the Second Vatican Council, 1959–1965* (Suva: Pacific Conferences of Churches, 2006).

In spite of all of these difficulties, this chapter presents the reception of Vatican II by the CEPAC bishops, highlighting some of the key documents of Vatican II and how they have been received and implemented. As for the Fiji Islands, due to its large Indian population, as a consequence of the British colonial past, it is the only country in the CEPAC area to have non-Christian religions like Hinduism, Islam, and Buddhism.

1. Pre-Vatican II History

On 29 April 1836, the Holy See entrusted the evangelization of the remote islands of Western Oceania to the Marist Fathers[2]; by 1837, they had arrived to begin their work of evangelization.[3] Both Rome and the Society of Mary were quite unaware of the geographical vastness of Oceania. By 1842, because of the new knowledge of the immensity of the Pacific Ocean gained from his missionaries, the Superior General of the Marist Fathers, Fr. Jean Claude Colin, SM, submitted a plan to the Holy See, requesting that Oceania be subdivided. The consequence of this request was the new division of the Pacific into five Vicariates.[4]

At Vatican II, the Catholic Church, perhaps more than ever before, came to realize itself as a world Church.[5] This new awareness, plus a growing interest in localization, led to the establishment of new ecclesiastical structures. Consequently, in 1966, Pope Paul VI decreed the raising of the churches in Southern Oceania from the status of Apostolic Vicariates to that of dioceses.[6] That decision resulted in the creation of three ecclesiastical provinces and two dioceses. This reorganization was in response to the expressed wish of Vatican II, conscious of the need for different dioceses to establish close understanding and cooperation with each other:

[2] See the original letter of Pope Gregory XVI, the Brief '*Omnium Gentium*,' in *Constitutions of the Society of Mary*, 1872, Marist Fathers, Rome: 1992, xxiv–xxix. See also R.M. Wiltgen, *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania 1825–1850* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979).

[3] See J. Coste, *Lectures on the Society of Mary, History, Marist Fathers* (Rome, 1965).

[4] 1. New Zealand; 2. Central Oceania (Wallis and Futuna, Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa); 3. Melanesia: South (Solomon Islands, New Hebrides, and New Caledonia); 4. Melanesia: North (New Guinea, New Island & New Britain); 5. Micronesia.

[5] K. Rahner, 'Towards a Fundamental Theological Interpretation of Vatican II,' in *Theological Investigations* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1981), vol. XX, 77–89.

[6] See also *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, LIX 31 May 1967, 201–202.

> It is often impossible, nowadays especially, for bishops to exercise their office suitably and fruitfully unless they establish closer understanding and cooperation with other bishops. Since episcopal conferences – many such have already been established in different countries – have produced outstanding examples of a more fruitful apostolate, this sacred synod judges that it would be in the highest degree helpful if in all parts of the world the bishops of each country or region would meet regularly, so that by sharing their wisdom and experience and exchanging views they may jointly formulate a program for the common good of the Church. (*Christus Dominus* 37)

Three aspects of the reception of Vatican II have been evident. First, Vatican II has been positively received and concretely applied. The spirit with which something is received is first of all an experience. The Tongan theologian Anthony Kafoa Solomone maintains that 'reception is not a mere legal appropriation of an authoritative pronouncement, but it is a communal process of deep spiritual embodiment of the Christian message in the life of the local Church.'[7] As such, it is almost beyond human capacity to articulate fully and correctly. This is particularly true for the local churches in CEPAC because almost everything is still orally transmitted and received. But again, this varies from diocese to diocese.

The most authentic yardstick for measuring the degree to which Vatican II has been received is the existence of young and vibrant local churches that are fully committed to the pastoral implementation of Vatican II. Unfortunately, the writings of CEPAC did not clearly demonstrate these and, in the opinion of this writer, they cannot. This is so because the spirit of these local churches cannot be fully described; it can only be experienced through personal participation. When people have gone through such an experience, others may have a share of that spirit through personal contact with people who have been 'embraced' by that spirit.

Thus, the same spirit that inspired John XXIII, Paul VI, and the bishops at the *kairos* event that we call Vatican II has been the first to be successfully transmitted to the local churches in the Pacific. If this is true, then the reception of Vatican II is moving in the right direction. As George Tavard argues, 'In the direction that had been taken at the Council, the experience of the Spirit came first. Then the acceptance of the documents

[7] A. Kafoa Solomone, 'The People of God in Vatican II: The Biblical Antecedents of the Notion and Its Reception in the Post-Conciliar Church' (PhD diss., Leuven, 1989), 280. See also M. Paunga, 'The Reception of Communion-Ecclesiology in the Context of the Changing Communal Culture of Tonga,' in *The Local Church with a Human Face*, ed. A. Radoli, AMECEA Gaba Publications Spearhead Numbers 140–41 (1996), 45–64.

had been born of the experience of the Spirit.'[8] It was a moment of grace, of joy, of hope, and of trustful openness to the Holy Spirit of God working in all peoples and cultures of the world. Karl Rahner describes this spirit in the following way: 'Whatever we may say about these and many other questions, it is incontestable that at Vatican II the Church appeared for the first time as a world Church in a fully official way.'[9] In effect, for the Pacific churches, that meant the establishment of local churches, inculturation, liturgical adaptations and celebrations in the vernacular, and legitimate full participation of the laity in all activities of the Church (or dioceses).

In a word, one tends to agree with Yves Congar that in that sense, Vatican II was a 'celebration.'[10] This spirit and category of thinking exemplify well the mentality and culture of the Pacific peoples and the way they feel about themselves as local churches. Without an original reception of that spirit, CEPAC would not have dedicated so much of its time and energy to the establishment of the local churches or dioceses of the Episcopal Conference; of the Pacific Regional Seminary for the formation of priests; of the formation of the laity; and, in particular, of the catechists and permanent deaconate in various dioceses. Above all, liturgical adaptations or inculturation, as one knows it today, would not have been possible in the Pacific without Vatican II: the whole sense of the Church as a community, as people, and the fundamental equality of all its members and the communion that unites them would not have been achieved without Vatican II. Finally, CEPAC's full membership in the Pacific Council of Churches (PCC) and the establishment of the National Council of Churches would have been unthinkable without the event of Vatican II.

The second aspect of the reception of Vatican II is that the structure and tension between the two dimensions of the Church, *ecclesia ad intra* and *ad extra*, are clearly present. Theologians and historians who have

[8] G.H. Tavard, 'Vatican II, Understood and Misunderstood,' *One in Christ*, 1991/3, 209–221, cit. 216. According to Tavard, only in light of the experience do the texts fully convey their sense, in light of the texts can the principles be understood, and in the light of the principles may ways and methods be intelligently chosen.

[9] K. Rahner, 'Towards a Fundamental Theological Interpretation of Vatican II,' in *Vatican II: The Unfinished Agenda*, eds. Lucien Richard, OMI, Daniel Harrington, SJ, and John W. O'Malley, SJ (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 11.

[10] 'The Council itself is a celebration,' in M. Redfern, *Yves Congar OP* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1972), 112; the council's sessions in fact followed an order that was officially called *Ordo Concilii Celebrandi*; quoted by G.H. Tavard, 'Vatican II, Understood and Misunderstood,' 215.

studied Vatican II constantly suggest that one must cease to regard the documents of the Second Vatican Council as if they were a harmonious whole, with chapters from one pen and mind, and paragraphs of equal worth and significance.[11] It is crucial to bear in mind the pluralism of both ecclesiology and theology at the council and in its doctrines because the concerns of the CEPAC bishops also reflect this pluralism.

The third aspect of the council's reception by CEPAC is that the reception of the *ad intra* dimension of Vatican II is far from over. Despite the overwhelmingly positive reception of Vatican II, there are also areas where the opposite has been evident: for instance, the proper autonomy of local churches in relation to the conference and the relationship between the universal Church, the conference and the local churches. Finally, the greatest tension has been between Rome and CEPAC over the question of celibacy and ordaining married catechists to the priesthood in relation to the specific pastoral circumstances of some of the isolated ecclesial communities of the Pacific. On this issue, CEPAC's concern was moving beyond the teaching of Vatican II and of canon law. This tension between Rome and CEPAC was plainly expressed by Archbishop Petero Mataca in the conclusion of his intervention during the Extraordinary Synod of Bishops in 1985:

> The bishops have the impression that the Roman Congregations control too much the life and creativity of the local Churches especially within the key-sectors of the life of their communities: liturgy, formation of the clergy, discipline, etc. The excessive solicitude for unity does not leave sufficient space for an essential difference necessary for the pluralistic growth of genuine Christian Churches, and yet fully incarnated in the living tradition of different peoples. The established fear of abuses must not suffocate what is good together with what is wrong. A small margin for error is essential for the growth of a community. The Church, universal sacrament of salvation, must know and show what to do in the face of human ambiguities and errors without destroying what is good.[12]

[11] See, for instance, John Loftus, 'Vatican II's Model of the Church,' *New Blackfriars*, 59 no. 700 (Sept. 1978), 392–401, at 393. He maintains that during the life of the council (Oct. 1962–Dec. 1965), the thinking of the assembly of bishops concerning the Church developed in such a way that some of their later views did not simply add to, but actually superseded, some of their earlier views. And this was because not every model of the Church is compatible with every other model.

[12] The intervention of Archbishop Petero Mataca, in G. Caprile, *Il Sinodo Straordinario 1985* (Roma: Civiltà Cattolica, 1986), 276. My translation.

Furthermore, one cannot say that the theological implications of Vatican II and in particular of the four Constitutions, *Dei Verbum*, *Lumen Gentium*, *Gaudium et Spes*, and *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, have been understood by all the baptized. The true concept of the Church as taught by the council is still not clear among people, including members of the clergy and religious. These areas certainly need some serious theological reflection and pastoral implementation. But apart from that, the establishment of the bishops' conference and its various regions and commissions, and the founding of the Pacific Regional Seminary, have, for the churches of the Pacific, become important initiatives which promote communion and service to the Pacific churches and indeed to the whole Church.

To help in the critical evaluation of the reception of Vatican II by CEPAC, these four proposed objectives from Paul VI will now be employed: (1) to determine with greater precision the idea or the consciousness of the Church; (2) to bring about a genuine renewal of the Church; (3) to restore unity among all Christians; and (4) to intensify the dialogue between the Church and people of our time and build a bridge to the contemporary world.[13] The first two belong to the *ecclesia ad intra* and the last two pertain to the *ecclesia ad extra*. By following these objectives, it is to be hoped that the purpose of the research will be better demonstrated.[14]

2. *Ecclesia ad intra*: The Idea or Consciousness of the Church and Its Genuine Renewals

It was not until their 19th Plenary Assembly, on 15–19 October 1993, that the bishops of CEPAC, for the first time, suggested setting up a commission to be responsible for matters concerning faith and doctrine, although it was turned down until the individual dioceses had their own commissions established. This helps to explain why, during its first 25 years as a conference, CEPAC's discussions concern practical implementation

[13] A. Antón, 'Postconciliar Ecclesiology: Expectations, Results, and Prospects for the Future', in *Vatican II: Assessment and Perspectives*, ed. R. Latourelle (New York: Paulist, 1988), 407–38, esp. 411. The logic behind these objectives seems to belong to the original intention that John XXIII had about the council. See also John XXIII, Disc. (8 Dec. 1962), Vat. II-BAC, 759–60.

[14] These are the four aims of the council according to Paul VI's opening talk at the beginning of the second session, 30 Sept. 1963. See also Henri Fesquet, *Il Diario del Concilio* (Milano: Mursia, 1967, ed. Ettore Masina, versione italiana dall'originale francese: *Le Journal du Concile*, Forcalquier: Morel, 1966, 163–72). A cura di Ettore Masina, versione Italiano, dall'originale in Francese: *Le Journal du Concile*, 1966, 163–72.

of Vatican II rather than a more doctrinal or theological reception of it. Precisely, in that sense, CEPAC has thoroughly embraced the predominantly pastoral orientation of the council.

The first positive aspect regarding the reception of Vatican II's nature of the Church as communion is clearly demonstrated in the report of the Archbishop of Suva, Petero Mataca, during the Extraordinary Synod of Bishops in 1985. He related that the numerous communities scattered throughout the immensity of the Pacific had been reawakened by the council. Everywhere, it was studied and discussed, and some of the documents had been translated into the local languages. Many communities understood the importance of ecclesial communion and considered this as a grace from God.[15] The emergence of a consciousness of the people as being Church, the People of God, could be described as the most tangible result of Vatican II.

CEPAC's vision of 1987, which describes its nature as a 'community of Catholic Bishops,' is clear witness to this fact.[16] It has an implicit inner structure that is built on communion and mission. As already stated, that vision is theologically very comprehensive. Its content and foundation are theologically solid since its structure is implicitly Trinitarian. It is pneumatological since CEPAC recognizes that it is the Holy Spirit that leads them. It is Christo-centric because the bishops recognize that the existence of the conference is to promote the way of Christ. It is faithful to Tradition because it explicitly aims at promoting the Tradition of the Church. It intends to be pastorally relevant while being well aware of the role of Mary in the Church. Finally, it is ecumenically minded, though this is not explicit from the text.[17] In that sense, one can say that the content of CEPAC's vision is a clear demonstration that the basic vision, theology, and structure of Vatican II have been positively and correctly received by the bishops of CEPAC.

Another positive reception of Vatican II is both implicitly and explicitly demonstrated in their concern for ministry, which undoubtedly dominated the central thinking of CEPAC during the process of its practical implementation of Vatican II. That the formation to the priesthood has always been a fundamental concern of the bishops was clearly reported by Bishop Leamy when he said, 'Over the last 20 years the Bishops'

[15] See the intervention of Archbishop Petero Mataca during the Extraordinary Synod of Bishops in 1985, in Caprile, *Il Sinodo Straordinario 1985*, 275.

[16] This is clearly presented in Caprile, *Il Sinodo Straordinario 1985*, ch. 2, subsection 2.1., 116 ff.

[17] Caprile, *Il Sinodo Straordinario 1985*. The discussion on the role of Mary was altered to coincide with the ecumenical commitment of the conference.

Conference has given considerable time, thought and effort to the question of formation of priests. The topic has always been given much time for discussion at the annual meetings. The Pacific Regional Seminary is the fruit of these efforts and the Conference and region support and show great interest in its progress.'[18]

The establishment of the Pacific Regional Seminary for the formation of a priestly ministry was initially inspired by *Optatam Totius* (OT). This fact is clearly presented in the Constitutions of the seminary: 'The formation of her priests has been a constant concern for the Church; indeed, the Second Vatican Council is fully aware that the desired renewal of the whole Church depends in great part upon a priestly ministry animated by the spirit of Christ, and it solemnly affirms the critical importance of priestly training.'[19]

Furthermore, the Constitutions clearly stated that this was a step toward realizing this desire of the Second Vatican Council. CEPAC hoped that this would ensure the proper implementation of the conciliar directives regarding the training and formation of priests while at the same time taking into consideration the diversity of peoples, countries, and cultures in the islands of the Pacific.[20]

The theological and ecclesiological foundations of CEPAC's formation for ministry are not so explicit. However, they are there implicitly. The Church as communion is the underlying ecclesiology. This is one of the strongest features of the seminary community. The canonical visitations have constantly highlighted that they have always found a wonderful family and community spirit at Pacific Regional Seminary. This achievement is a clear example of inculturation and reception of the communion ecclesiology of Vatican II. It is an example of inculturation because the bishops have tried to maintain the importance of community, since it is the strongest feature of the Pacific Island nations. The communion ecclesiology has affirmed their sense of community and belonging. This element is mostly evident in the area of liturgical renewal.

[18] See also Bishop R. Leamy, 'Response to the Lineamenta on Priestly Formation – for the 1990 Synod,' 8 Dec. 1989, 12–13, in the ACC.

[19] CEPAC, *The Constitutions of Pacific Regional Seminary*, Truk, 1983, 1. Quote from the introduction to *Optatam Totius* (OT).

[20] CEPAC, *The Constitutions of Pacific Regional Seminary*. 'The whole course of priestly training, i.e., the organisation of the seminary, spiritual formation, courses of studies, the common life and rule of the students, and pastoral practice, should be adapted to local conditions.'

There is an obvious continuation here from the bishops' suggestions and recommendations both during the preparatory phase and during the council. Almost unanimously, they pleaded for the use of the vernacular and fuller participation of the laity in the Church. This was a call that had two features. On the one hand, it is the basis for a new understanding of the nature of the Church: namely, a community of the People of God. On the other, it is in harmony with the council's teaching on liturgical adaptation, which emphasizes the full and active participation of everyone in the liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium* [SC] 14).

Hence, the family and community spirit at the seminary and among the bishops is another shining embodiment of the positive reception of Vatican II. In encouraging this spirit, CEPAC has successfully applied the council's wish that 'Under the guidance of the rector they should cultivate the closest harmony of spirit and action, and should form with one another and with the students such a family as corresponds to our Divine Lord's prayer, "that they may be one" (cf. Jn. 17:11)' (see OT 5). Thus, in its emphasis on formation, CEPAC has not only fulfilled the desire of the council, namely that 'Where individual dioceses are unable to provide adequate separate seminaries out of their own resources, common seminaries could meet the needs of a group of dioceses or an entire region or nation' (OT 7). It has also helped to promote the notion of episcopal collegiality and has fostered the notion of sharing responsibilities and resources between local churches. This is therefore a clear and positive reception of *Lumen Gentium* 23.

A further positive reception of Vatican II is demonstrated in the strong emphasis in all dioceses on the formation of the laity. In this, the bishops have witnessed a tremendous growth in vocations to the priesthood and to religious life. In some dioceses, other ministries, such as the permanent deaconate, have been re-established. However, the biggest emphasis has been on the formation of the lay catechists.[21] Therefore, the notion of ministry has been enriched and enhanced by lay involvement in liturgy, catechesis, and special ministries of the Eucharist.

[21] See the intervention of Archbishop Mataca at the Extraordinary Synod of Bishops in 1985, 275. The formation of lay catechists, their important role in remote islands, and the question of ordaining them to the priesthood to serve in those particular areas has been an issue close to the heart of the bishops. Samoa and Fiji have developed a very successful program for the preparation of catechists for their special ministry.

3. *Ecclesia ad extra*: The Dialogue between the Church and the World

Having presented a critical evaluation of the reception of Vatican II's ecclesiology of communion by CEPAC, the assessment now focuses on the reception of Vatican II's teaching on the social mission of the Church by CEPAC. For the sake of clarity, this section once again utilizes the distinction between *ecclesia ad intra* and *ecclesia ad extra*.

The present section focuses on the outer dimension of the Church, *ecclesiae missio*, but always maintaining the inseparable link and the latter's dependence on the Church as *communio* or *ecclesia ad intra*, because that is the very nature of the Church and of revelation. One aspect cannot be set against the other.[22]

Unlike the optimistic and enthusiastic way in which CEPAC received and implemented Vatican II's ecclesiology of communion, the bishops were much slower with regard to the pastoral applications of the social doctrine of Vatican II as expressed in *Gaudium et Spes*. The reasons for this slowness are manifold. But perhaps the main rationalities lie in their preoccupations with localization at the diocesan level, on the one hand, and their focus on formation and establishment of CEPAC's central administration at Fiji, on the other. In addition, there were unresolved anxieties and confusion. The question of ecclesiastical authority is a case in point. Within CEPAC, there is a tension between the role and autonomy of the individual dioceses and those of the conference. There are also differences of opinion between the local Indigenous bishops and the expatriate ones regarding cultural, socio-political, or environmental issues and the ecumenical involvement of CEPAC with PCC.

What could be the source of this deep tension? Perhaps it can be traced back to the methodological order adopted by the council itself in accepting the third draft of *Gaudium et Spes* as a basis for discussion.[23] According to Angel Antón, as a point of departure, a decision was made to start from the immanence (unity) of the Church in the world and to deal subsequently with transcendence (difference) in the Church–world relationship. Such a decision affects the contents of ecclesiological concepts. Accordingly, the debate had to face two opposing currents. One aimed at correcting an overly optimistic vision of the world and

[22] See also Leon Cardinal Suenens, *A New Pentecost?* (New York: Seabury, 1975), 1–7.

[23] See also A. Antón, 'Post-conciliar Ecclesiology', 432–33.

hence insisted on differences. The other, to avoid at all costs an overly pessimistic perspective of the world, began with unity. Antón concludes that a harmonious synthesis of the two ecclesiological currents was not reached and could not be accomplished.[24] This lack of agreement is also clearly evident in the debates of the CEPAC bishops regarding their understanding of the social mission of the Church in the changing societies of the Pacific.

Despite these facts, there have been positive developments in the social consciousness of the bishops. During its first decade (1968–78), the sporadic but explicit social concerns of CEPAC centred on the issues of migration,[25] tourism,[26] and development. The Plenary Assembly of 1971 aired for the first time the need to clarify the distinction between ministerial activities and those that are not strictly ministerial, such as political action. Since both bishops and priests at that time were almost exclusively expatriates,[27] they were caught in the dilemma of whether to speak out or remain silent. That assembly did not offer any solutions, either.[28] In spite of that fact, three years later, during their Fifth Plenary Assembly in 1975, the bishops made a strong declaration on the need to pursue peace and liberty, to care for nature and creation, and to be aware of the dangers wrought by nuclear armaments and materialistic development. The bishops were particularly preoccupied with the moral consequences of these new developments and how they affect in a negative way the positive cultural and family values of the Pacific peoples.

The 1975 declaration demonstrates the first explicit reception of the social teaching of *Gaudium et Spes* by CEPAC. They clearly reaffirmed the teaching of Vatican II: 'The development of armaments by modern science has immeasurably magnified the horrors and wickedness of war. Warfare conducted with these weapons can inflict immense and indiscriminate havoc which goes far beyond the bounds of legitimate defence'

[24] Antón, 'Post-conciliar Ecclesiology,' 432.

[25] The plenary assemblies of 1968 and 1969 (first and second) took up this issue. In the plenary assembly of 1971, there was a proposal for the first time to establish a commission for justice and peace, but it was not carried through. This assembly also published a statement on the right of disadvantaged people to migrate and the obligation in justice and charity of rich countries to receive them.

[26] The 1971 plenary assembly also discussed the advantages and disadvantages of tourism. It even suggested the possibility of exploring a theology of tourism.

[27] Of course, that does not imply that the question of how much clergy should be involved in political action is mainly a question of whether one is expatriate or not.

[28] This tension clearly represents the two ecclesial viewpoints described above by Angel Antón as part of the structure underlying the Constitution on the Church in the Modern World.

(GS 80).[29] A major step and further positive development in the bishops' awareness of their social mission was demonstrated in the initial agreement to establish CEPAC's Commission for Justice and Peace to speak out on cultural, socio-political, and environmental issues. Yet, its theological basis and its role were to be gradually understood and were not without great tensions.[30]

During the next 15 years (1979–94), however, a tremendous leap forward occurred, largely necessitated by three issues: (1) rapid social, political, and economic developments spreading over the Pacific nations; (2) the struggle of some island nations for autonomy, the preservation of their dignity and identity as people, the restoration of their cultural heritage destroyed during the colonial period, and the struggle to put an end to nuclear testing—thus, a nuclear-free Pacific; and (3) collaboration with PCC in ecumenical activities. These issues indirectly brought to the surface the theological and ecclesial underpinnings behind the bishops' thinking.

The three issues also challenged the bishops to seriously consider their official positions both as individual dioceses and as a conference regarding these matters. Is nuclear production and testing intrinsically immoral, or only immoral when it is used for warfare? If local people are ignorant about nuclear armaments, should they be informed about their possible dangerous effects? On the question of just actions, when a political situation is clearly oppressing the dignity of people, should Catholics act as individuals or in the name of the Church? Should the local bishop of a country act independently, or should CEPAC speak out as a conference? Satisfactory answers to these important questions are not yet visible.

On the question of a nuclear-free Pacific, CEPAC endorsed the view that one must trust in the Holy Spirit and in the opinions of scientists as reliable. It must be recognized that there is a difference between nuclear experiments, nuclear energy, and atomic warfare. Finally, one must also distinguish between nuclear energy and political and moral issues.

With the 10th anniversary of the Commission for Justice and Development (CCJD) in 1986, CEPAC was challenged to clarify its vision, mission, and identity. This was an important development because it made the bishops consider for the first time the identity and mission of the commission in accordance with the teachings of *Lumen Gentium* and

[29] It is a position that condemns the development of modern atomic and nuclear armaments for use in war. Indeed, *Gaudium et Spes* has been prophetic.

[30] This was proposed, debated, and accepted during the 7th plenary assembly in May 1976.

Gaudium et Spes.[31] Although it did not specifically mention any articles from *Lumen Gentium*, it referred to the first paragraph of *Gaudium et Spes* as the inspiration and source of its mission as a commission. Henceforth, it is in solidarity with the joys, hopes, and griefs of the Pacific peoples and especially of the poor and the oppressed.[32] This is the clearest indication of the positive reception and implementation of the social doctrines of Vatican II by CEPAC. In addition to that, the 16th Plenary Assembly, in 1987—that is, 19 years after its inauguration as a conference—CEPAC for the first time explicitly discussed in an assembly that it has the task as a conference of making accessible to the peoples of the Pacific the social doctrines of the Church.[33]

4. The Restoration of Unity Among Christians: *Unitatis Redintegratio*

Concern for the implementation of the Decree of the Second Vatican Council on Ecumenism was something that CEPAC considered as a conference from its very beginning in 1968.[34] Some individual dioceses had already been involved in this process by becoming members of PCC,[35] which began in 1961 as a Protestant ecumenical movement.[36] But at the conference level, the process of becoming a member of PCC started

[31] Caprile, *Il Sinodo Straordinario 1985*, 176–77. Without employing the Latin concepts *ecclesia ad intra* and *ecclesia ad extra*, it spoke of *Lumen Gentium* as devoted to the inner life of the Church and *Gaudium et Spes* as dedicated to the prophetic mission of the Church. This way of speaking would seem to indicate that the bishops, in their understanding of Vatican II, were aware of the two dimensions of the Church discussed in this section. This is a further justification for employing them in this evaluation.

[32] Caprile, *Il Sinodo Straordinario 1985*, 177–78.

[33] See *Minutes of the Sixteenth Plenary Assembly*, 23. Though CEPAC had spoken out against nuclear arms and for peace since 1975, the minutes never referred to it explicitly in reference to the social doctrines of the Church. It was only at their 16th plenary assembly in 1987 that the phrase 'social doctrines' of the Church is employed. See also Bishop F. Lambert, 'Interview with the Author, September 12, 1995,' Suva, Fiji Islands, 1. He said that they hardly talked about the social doctrines of the Church in their meetings.

[34] See CEPAC, *La Première Session de l'Assemblée Plénière de la Conférence des Évêques du Pacifique*, 3. In the list of its subjects for discussion, *Œcuménisme* is listed, and Bishop Louis Julliard of Port Vila was responsible for preparing something on the subject. However, the minutes do not record any subsequent discussion on this topic.

[35] See CEPAC, *Minutes of the Second Plenary Assembly*, 31. Bishop Julliard told the assembly that the Church of the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) belonged to the New Hebrides Council of Churches. Julliard reported that a bond already existed with PCC at the diocesan level.

[36] See P. Finau, 'Report on Ecumenism in the CEPAC Area,' 3 March 1992, Archives of the Diocesan Communication Centre, Toutaimana Centre, Nuku'alofa, Tonga Islands, 1.

gradually. As mentioned earlier, the conference was mainly preoccupied with ministry and formation; other important matters had to be dealt with much later.

No doubt the inspiration to move toward this direction, and again another positive reception of Vatican II, was *Unitatis Redintegratio*, as is clear from this text: 'After recalling some points of doctrine expressed by Vatican II in its Decree on Ecumenism, Bishop Julliard suggested some means by which the faithful could be brought to implement the Decree.'[37] Again, the reception of this decree is not so much a theological one or a further reflection on the Catholic principles of ecumenism.[38] The bishops were looking more in terms of its practical implementation.[39] Thus, common prayer for the conversion of heart and holiness of life seemed more appropriate for slowly creating an atmosphere for dialogue. Bishop Julliard claimed that this was what he believed to be the soul of ecumenism. In this sense, he was at the heart of the Decree on Ecumenism, which holds that the change of heart and holiness of life, along with public and private prayer for the unity of Christians, should be regarded as the soul of the whole ecumenical movement and merits the name 'spiritual ecumenism' (see UR 8).

4.1. *The Relationship between CEPAC and PCC*

Early on, in 1970, CEPAC considered becoming a member of PCC.[40] This is a Protestant ecumenical movement like the World Council of Churches. Non-Catholic Christian mainline churches belong to this organization. CEPAC applied for membership, and it was positively received. The majority of the bishops readily agreed.[41] This assembly also pushed the matter another step further. CEPAC agreed to hold official conversations with the Anglican Church[42] and considered ecumenism in institutes of higher learning.[43] It also included the question of the

[37] CEPAC, *Minutes of the Second Plenary Assembly*, 31.

[38] See *Unitatis Redintegratio*, ch. I: 'Catholic Principles on Ecumenism,' 2–4.

[39] Therefore, they were more in line with the intentions of UR, ch. II: 'The Practice of Ecumenism,' 5–12.

[40] See CEPAC, *Minutes of the Third Plenary Assembly*, 12. This assembly chose three observers to attend the next meeting of PCC, held in Fiji on 1–15 May 1971.

[41] See CEPAC, *Minutes of the Fourth Plenary Assembly*, 11. The result of the vote was: 10 Yes, 1 No, 2 Informal. It was recommended that the Secretariat for Christian Unity be consulted before applying for membership.

[42] See CEPAC, *Minutes of the Third Plenary Assembly*, 12.

[43] CEPAC, *Minutes of the Third Plenary Assembly*, 11.

relationship with different sects.[44] At the next meeting of PCC, held in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, in January 1976, two bishops represented CEPAC.

During this meeting, PCC agreed to CEPAC's admission; however, it was CEPAC as an organization, not the different dioceses. The acceptance, understandably, was not without reservations at the start.[45] The discussion showed great caution and fear of the Catholic bishops by PCC member churches.[46] The image of the Catholic bishop to most was one of domination. There seemed to have been a fear that PCC might be taken over by the bishops. These legitimate anxieties were expressed in the following manner: 'Would the Catholic bishops truly represent the grass roots level of their Church? Would the Catholic Church impose their point of view? Would past differences be buried? After strong clarifications from the bishops and support from others, fears gave place to hope, and CEPAC was voted in by a good majority as a full member of the Pacific Conference of Churches.'[47]

To this effect, CEPAC decided to establish three official commissions. One of them was on Ecumenism and Missions; each diocese was to have a corresponding commission.[48] Bishop Finau, who became the leading light and most influential in the restoration of Christian unity between CEPAC and PCC, outlined some of the theological basis concerning the nature of Christian unity. He described it in terms of the unity that takes place in marriage, using the image from Genesis 2:24 and the sense in which Saint Paul talks of the unity of Christ and his Church in Ephesians 5:21-33. He further described this unity in the light of the union between the Father and the Son, as described in John 17:11-23, in particular in verse 21: 'that they may all be one.'[49] In light of that image of marriage, he said: 'Now that PCC and CEPAC have contracted an "engagement" every effort should be made to understand, and appreciate one another as a preparation for a happy marriage.'[50]

[44] See CEPAC, *Minutes of the Fifth Plenary Assembly*, 25. The problems of sects were mainly rife in Tonga and in particular, the reference here was to the Mormon Church.

[45] See CEPAC, *Minutes of the Sixth Plenary Assembly*, 7–8.

[46] See P. Finau, 'PCC and CEPAC Relationship,' a report given at CEPAC's Eighth Plenary Assembly, held in Samoa, 18–28 April 1978, 1.

[47] Finau, 'PCC and CEPAC Relationship.'

[48] See CEPAC, *Minutes of the Eighth Plenary Assembly*, 3. The other two commissions were on Mass Media and on Justice and Peace.

[49] See Finau, 'PCC and CEPAC Relationship,' 2.

[50] Finau, 'PCC and CEPAC Relationship,' 3.

Guided by *Unitatis Redintegratio* 9, Bishop Finau suggested that CEPAC must come to understand the outlook of their separated brethren, as study is absolutely required for this and should be pursued with fidelity to truth and in a spirit of goodwill and by those who are truly competent. And above all, in relation to the CEPAC formation, he suggested that it was highly important that future bishops and priests should have mastered a theology carefully worked out in this way and not polemically, especially in what concerns the relation of separated brethren with the Catholic Church.[51] This is, of course, another reception of *Unitatis Redintegratio* 11.

Finally, Bishop Finau pointed out some guiding principles for this dialogue: (1) nothing is so foreign to the spirit of ecumenism as a false conciliatory approach, which harms the priestly and Catholic doctrine and obscures its assured genuine meaning; (2) those taking part in ecumenism must be deeply rooted in the knowledge of their beliefs: they should understand what they have in common with others and, indeed, those things in which they differ, and they must be sincere and respect one another; and (3) the primary duty of Catholics is to make an honest and careful appraisal of whatever needs to be renewed within the Catholic Church itself, since every renewal of the Church essentially consists in an increase of fidelity to her own calling.[52] Moreover, he suggested that the age of building bridges is over. There is need to cross the bridge and extend hands. It is time to walk together on the way to Emmaus.

As a consequence of Bishop Finau's talk, CEPAC stressed four main points as essential for a better understanding of the relationship between PCC and CEPAC: structure, doctrines, disciplines, and liturgy.[53] In addition, as a sign of their serious responsibility to work for Christian unity, the bishops of CEPAC pledged to take these positive actions: that good courses on ecumenism in accordance with Vatican II directives be an essential part of the seminary curriculum; that ecumenism be a normal part of adult and secondary school courses in the dioceses; that they

[51] Finau, 'PCC and CEPAC Relationship,' 5. Apart from that, other suggestions were put forward to the bishops with the hope that they might be useful in the process of dialogue: (1) understanding of PCC and CEPAC structures; (2) the need to take account of the fears of PCC Protestant churches of the powers of the Catholic bishop; (3) the need to see PCC/WCC, and CEPAC/Rome relationships; (4) the need to understand each other's theologies; (5) the need to understand their involvement in justice and human rights issues; and finally (6) what is meant by 'Church' and by 'unity.'

[52] Finau, 'PCC and CEPAC Relationship,' 6. A closer look reveals that all these principles are based on UR 4, 5, 9, and 11. Thus, it is another positive reception of Vatican II.

[53] See CEPAC, *Minutes of the Eighth Plenary Assembly*, 7.

encourage private and public prayers for unity as Jesus prayed among every age group and that they have a common prayer for unity printed and distributed for the use of the people; that CEPAC initiate and accept invitations to work with fellow Christians at the local level on ecumenical studies and other projects; that together with other churches, CEPAC will work on programs for justice and peace at the local and regional level; and, finally, that CEPAC endeavour to play an active role within the structure of PCC.[54]

From 1978 to 1983, CEPAC continued to clarify its membership and the role of PCC as well as the presence of a CEPAC representative on the PCC executive committee as vital and necessary.[55] In its 10th anniversary (1976 to 1986), it was reported that there had been positive progress of ecumenical cooperation in the Pacific countries. This resulted from their working together on the Anglican–Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC I) and study of the Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry document.[56] Apart from positive progress, difficulties were beginning to surface. One of these was the divided faith within the composition of PCC, in spite of the fact that all share in one baptism, which Bishop Finau saw as the positive ground upon which to build.

Bishop Finau was an inspiration to all in accepting the role as the first Catholic bishop in Oceania to become chairman of PCC.[57] Thus, in person, he eventually became the symbol of the total and positive commitment of CEPAC to the restoration of Christian unity.[58]

This short survey has shown clearly two important factors. First, in the period between 1968 to 1994, CEPAC demonstrated a very positive reception of Vatican II's document on ecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*. Second, despite an initial hesitation, from 1976 to 1994, CEPAC grew to appreciate that working for Christian unity is part of its work for the coming of the kingdom of God here and now and that Christian division

[54] CEPAC, *Minutes of the Eighth Plenary Assembly*, 8. The bishops unanimously passed all these motions.

[55] See CEPAC, *Minutes of the Ninth Plenary Assembly*, 18; see also *Minutes of the Eleventh Plenary Assembly*, 3, 24, 25; and *Minutes of the Thirteenth Plenary Assembly*, 10.

[56] See CEPAC, *Minutes of the Fourteenth Plenary Assembly*, 8.

[57] See P. Finau, 'Episcopal Conference of the Pacific's (CEPAC) Participation in Ecumenism.' This is a report given at the meeting of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, 10–15 May 1993, Rome, 3.

[58] Perhaps this short survey has painted a too positive picture of the commitment of CEPAC to ecumenism. To be realistic, there were tensions, hesitations, and problems. For more details, see P. Finau, 'The Local Church and Ecumenism,' 11 November 1991, esp. 1–2.

is a scandal against the will of Christ that 'all may be one.' CEPAC has also come to appreciate that working for the restoration of Christian unity was not an option but an imperative for every Christian.[59]

In summary, the writings of CEPAC demonstrate above all that the social mission of the Church is inseparable from the way it understands its nature and identity. In other words, *ecclesia ad intra* and *ecclesia ad extra* are one and therefore inseparable. Although CEPAC did not engage in theological articulation, its writings and attitudes toward social, political, and environmental issues implicitly revealed two ecclesiological trends. On the one hand, there was the ecclesiology of communion that stressed unity and solidarity. This is a positive reception of *Gaudium et Spes* 1 and 4. On the other hand, there is the institutional model,[60] which tended to be more preoccupied with the question of ecclesiastical authority and thus rather uncomfortable with any suggestions that may involve social issues.

However, in spite of significant challenges, the decrees and the spirit of the Second Vatican Council have, in general, been welcomed and accepted by CEPAC. Above all, the bishops welcomed the council's proposed renewal of ecclesiology and especially its emphasis on the ecclesiology of communion. Truly, CEPAC has positively reaffirmed the spirit and decrees of the council, and the favourable signs indicated above demonstrate sufficiently that CEPAC was moving in the right direction.

[59] Finau, 'The Local Church and Ecumenism,' 4.

[60] Theoretically, the ecclesiology of communion is not in contrast with institution and authority.

VATICAN II'S GIFT FOR INDIGENOUS AND FOR ALL AUSTRALIANS: OPEN WINDOWS, FRESH AIR?

SHERRY BALCOMBE AND ROBYN REYNOLDS, OLSH

We are on sacred ground. We honour the Bunurong people of the Kulin Nations and respectfully acknowledge the Aboriginal leaders, past and present. We pay our respect to all First Nations people of Australia.

This chapter comes in the form of a conversation between Sherry Balcombe, Indigenous leader of the Aboriginal Catholic Ministry in Victoria (ACMV), and Robyn Reynolds, OLSH from Yarra Theological Union, University of Divinity, Melbourne. In reflecting on selected documents from the Second Vatican Council, as well as later Church documents and other relevant texts, two main themes are discussed: cultural and religious identity, and liturgy and sacrament.

The interactions were conducted during the time of Melbourne's 2021 COVID-19 lockdown. The context of intercultural, interreligious dialogue and encounter remains a challenging one—sometimes uncomfortable, but always hopeful.

The historical context and background for the chapter are that of a Church and First Nations peoples in a relationship that could be described as unequal and uneasy, too often reflecting attitudes of the wider society, such as apathy, paternalism, racism, and self-interest.[1] Such a milieu is certainly not the country and the Church that Arrernte, a Catholic leader from Central Australia, speaks of when she says, 'two cultures can hold

[1] Bruce Duncan, CSSR, and Sandie Cornish have written of the Australian Church context: 'The Council's Call to Renewed Social Engagement,' in *Vatican II: Reception and Implementation in the Australia Church*, eds. Neil Ormerod, Ormond Rush, David Pascoe, Clare Johnson, and Joel Hodge (Mulgrave, Vic.: Garratt, 2012), 97–116. An earlier look at Australian Catholic Church history—both pre- and post-Vatican II—is found in Patrick O'Farrell's *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History* (Sydney: NSW University Press, 1985). O'Farrell notes the 1970 visit of Pope Paul VI as a high point; it certainly was in terms of acknowledgement and encouragement given to Indigenous Australians. All quotations of the final documents of Vatican II are from https://www.vatican.va.

each other.'[2] Nor is it 'the union of hearts and minds' which the Second Vatican Council envisioned in *Gaudium et Spes*, stating that 'the encouragement of unity is in harmony with the deepest nature of the Church's mission' (GS 42).

In his book *Following Christ in Invaded Space*, Chris Budden writes, 'Every State in Australia has massacre sites that haunt the memory of Aboriginal people.'[3] Struggles continue today over land rights, deaths in custody, and discrimination in the law and in common social, educational, and health sectors. The trauma and intergenerational pain and loss of the Stolen Generations, for example, continue, with many people still searching for lost family members after parents and grandparents were forcibly removed from country, families, and communities to be placed into institutional care or with non-Indigenous foster families.[4]

Both Sherry and Robyn have lived personal and deep experience of naming and holding their past histories in the present and unfolding story of Australia and of the Australian Church.[5]

1. Cultural and Religious Identity

> From ancient times down to the present, there is found among various peoples a certain perception of that hidden power which hovers over the course of things and over the events of human history; at times some indeed have come to the recognition of a Supreme Being, or even of a Father. This perception and recognition penetrates their lives with a profound religious sense. (*Nostra Aetate* 2)

Sherry: This is a true and important statement from the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, *Nostra Aetate*. And I am reminded of the words of our Aboriginal Deacon Boniface Perdjert, who said:

[2] Margaret Mary Kemarre Turner, *Iwenhe Tyerrtye: What It Means to Be an Aboriginal Person* (Alice Springs, NT: IAD Press, 2010), 219–21.

[3] Chris Budden, *Following Jesus in Invaded Space* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2009), 22.

[4] Catholic Aboriginal leader Melissa Bricknell has written of this in 'After the Apology: Let us Move On,' in Lyn Henderson-Yates, Brian McCoy, SJ, and Melissa Bricknell, *Take Off Your Shoes, Walk on the Ground*, Australian Catholic Social Justice Council, No. 71, 2012.

[5] While this dialogue has been conducted in Wiradjuri country, Melbourne, Victoria, where both Sherry and Robyn presently live, the context is national. About 500 tribal groups have been identified in Indigenous Australia, and at the time of colonization, there are more than 250 distinct languages, including 800 dialects: https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/map-indigenous-australia.

> Deep down we Aborigines are a religious people. We did not have any material goods, but we were rich with spiritual goods; It was this strong religious side that made us. It gave us our identity, our dignity, our self-assurance. My people existed here in Australia thousands of years before Abraham. In all that time God was working with my people. He worked through their culture. He was saving us despite our human weakness. He was preparing us for the day when we would see the features of Aborigines in the image of his Son.[6]

So, yes, we have many gifts to share, and we are willing to share. But we need a true place at the table without being ostracized for calling out racism and expecting that our contribution can be more than words, but rather listened to, respected, and welcomed. We need real truth telling, and we need a voice in our own country. We have no First Nations' voice in the Parliament and no real voice in the Church. We want to share our deep spiritual connection with this land and all parts of it. It is just as sacred today as it has been from time immemorial. This is our true gift to the world. When I read Pope John Paul's speech to us in 1986, which I do often, I sometimes link those words that Deacon Boniface said to Pope John Paul II's message to us in Alice Springs:

> The Church invites you to express the living word of Jesus in ways that speak to your Aboriginal minds and hearts. All over the world people worship God and read his word in their own language, and colour the great signs and symbols of religion with touches of their own traditions. Why should you be different from them in this regard, why should you not be allowed the happiness of being with God and each other in Aboriginal fashion? (12)[7]

It was not until finally, in 2008, the one prime minister (Kevin Rudd) in the history of the Australian Parliament accepted and owned up to the trauma inflicted on us as the First Peoples of this Great South Land of the Holy Spirit. But an apology does not take away the pain; it does not lead to healing unless there is action to accompany it, such as truth telling about our history. When we have acceptance, recognition, and repatriation, we can have transformation as a nation and as a Church.

[6] Boniface Perdjert, 'The Church and Aborigines,' in *A Spirituality for Catholic Aborigines and the Struggle for Justice*, eds. Joan Hendriks and Gerry Heffernan (Catholic Archdiocese of Brisbane, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Apostolate, 1993), 38–49, at 39.

[7] Pope John Paul II, 'Address to the Aboriginal People,' in *The Pope in Australia* (Homebush, NSW: St Paul Publications, 1986), 166–72.

The 2017 Uluru Statement gave our strongest message:

> We call for the establishment of a First Nations Voice enshrined in the Constitution. *Makarrata* is the culmination of our agenda: the coming together after a struggle. It captures our aspirations for a fair and truthful relationship with the people of Australia and a better future for our children based on justice and self-determination.[8]

When Pope John Paul II met with us in Alice Springs, he said those famous words which spoke to us about having a voice: 'The Church in Australia will not be fully the Church Jesus wants her to be until you have made your contribution to her life and until that contribution has been joyfully received by others' (13).[9]

But as I have shared:

> We are basically a peaceful race and had no idea what was about to happen. When we were moved off country we had lived in for thousands of years, the places that had been handed down through our bloodlines forever, we collapsed in a lot of ways, especially spiritually. When we learned of the story of Jesus from the missionaries, we understood. We related to the story of persecution, of being in a helpless situation. We gravitated to these teachings because they were also beautiful stories of faith, of hope, of love and of acceptance. It is what we were looking for… We are growing stronger in our spirituality and our faith, but it has taken a long while.[10]

Robyn: Yes, a long while… In the Alice Springs speech, Pope John Paul II showed deep appreciation and respect for religious traditions—especially, I believe, when he pronounced those amazing words: 'Your "Dreaming", which influences your lives so strongly that no matter what happens you remain forever people of your culture, is your own way of touching the mystery of God's Spirit in you and in creation.'[11] Maybe there's a hidden message for me, too; perhaps I'm being called to enter more deeply into my Gaelic as well as Australian roots.

[8] The 'Uluru Statement from the Heart' was released on 27 May 2017 by delegates to the First Nations Constitutional Convention. The statement was presented to Australia's prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull, at the Garma Festival in northeast Arnhem Land: see 2017 Uluru Statement, https://www.referendumcouncil.org.au/sites/default/files/2017-05/Uluru_Statement_From_The_Heart_0.PDF.

[9] Pope John Paul II, 'Address to the Aboriginal People.'

[10] Sherry Balcombe, 'What Aboriginal Catholics & Other Christians Offer the Future of This Land,' Social Policy Connections, 31 July 2018, https://www.socialpolicyconnections.com.au/?p=13587.

[11] Pope John Paul II, 'Address to the Aboriginal People,' no. 4.

We need to remember that other important and often quoted paragraph from *Nostra Aetate*: 'other religions to be found everywhere strive variously to answer the restless searchings of the human heart, by proposing ways, which consist of teachings, rules of life, and sacred ceremonies. The Catholic Church rejects nothing which is true and holy in these religions' (NA 2).

Sherry, in our conversations, we have sometimes returned to the United Nation's 2007 Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Article 7 states: 'Indigenous peoples and individuals are free and equal to all other peoples and individuals, and have the right to be free from any kind of discrimination, in the exercise of their rights, in particular that based on their indigenous origin or identity.'[12]

Unfortunately, down through the ages, Christian missionaries (including me) have made many errors, and the missionary enterprise has often caused great hardship, especially to Indigenous peoples of the world. The Second Vatican Council did at least acknowledge mistakes made. One such example is found in the too often neglected document of the Council, *Dignitatis Humanae*, the Declaration on Religious Freedom, which states: 'In the life of the People of God as it has made its pilgrim way through the vicissitudes of human history, there have at times appeared ways of acting which were less in accord with the spirit of the gospel and even opposed to it' (DH 12).

A personal story, Sherry: Following the council years, I was just starting out as a young missionary in the Northern Territory. The bishop, John O'Loughlin, MSC, had attended the council; on his return, he encouraged me to learn the Arrernte language of Central Australia and to make every effort to bring Aboriginal language and music into the Sunday liturgies. Perhaps it was Vatican II council documents like *Ad Gentes* that were inspiring and challenging him: 'They will thereby gain a general knowledge of peoples, cultures, and religions … a knowledge that looks not only to the past but to the present as well. For anyone who is going to encounter another people should have a great esteem for their patrimony and their language and their customs' (AG 26).

In the years following the council, I devoured the council documents. And I remember pleading with my religious superiors to encourage some of our OLSH sisters to study Aboriginal language and culture. In the end,

[12] United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007, https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples.html.

spurred on by the Aboriginal community at Daly River, who had asked the bishop to send someone to support them in the recording and recovering of their *Ngankikurungkurr* language, my congregational leaders encouraged me to begin linguistic studies at Monash University, which I did.[13]

But let me return to our original opening paragraph from *Nostra Aetate*. You reminded me, Sherry, of Deacon Boniface's words. I knew Boniface quite well in the late 1960s. He was my 'assistant teacher.' (What a ridiculous title. I learned just about *everything* from him!) At that time, Boniface was also becoming familiar with the council documents. He and John Leary, MSC, remained dear and close friends through so many years, and as for many of us in early post-Vatican II days, particular documents were affirming, enlightening, and challenging. Boniface would have resonated so much with the words from *Nostra Aetate*, and especially with words such as these from *Ad Gentes*: 'Doubtless the Holy Spirit was already at work in the world before Christ was glorified' (AG 4).

I want to remember again *Dignitatis Humanae*. It sits alongside *Nostra Aetate* in its respect for the religious traditions and beliefs of persons and cultures and of the right of all persons and peoples to religious freedom. Chapter 1 opens with this statement:

> This Vatican Synod declares that the human person has the right to religious freedom. This freedom means that all men are to be immune from coercion on the part of individuals or of social groups and of any human power, in such wise that in matters religious no one is to be forced to act in a manner contrary to his own beliefs … The council further declares that the right to religious freedom is based on the very dignity of the human person as known throughout the revealed word of God and by reason itself. (DH 2)

In their important work *Keys to the Council: Unlocking the Teaching of Vatican II*, Gaillardetz and Clifford suggested that the foundations for *Dignitatis Humanae* were situated in 'increasing awareness of the dignity of the human person,' recognizing as well that 'renewed understanding of the primacy of conscience, coupled with a deeper understanding of the commitment of faith as a free response to the gift of grace, would lead the council to affirm the right to religious freedom.'[14]

[13] In later years, when I wrote my doctoral thesis, 'Catholic Sacrament Engaging with Wadeye Ritual,' approaches and practices around Aboriginal language, gender, religion, and culture revealed a complex and important story.

[14] Richard Gaillardetz and Catherine E. Clifford, *Keys to the Council: Unlocking the Teaching of Vatican II* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2012), 183.

Sherry, as leader of the Aboriginal Catholic Ministry here in Melbourne, and as executive member of the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Catholic Council (NATSICC), how do you respond to the Vatican Council's teachings about religious freedom and the dignity of the human person?[15]

Sherry: We have lost a lot over the past 230 years in this country. We have lost family, language, land, homes, rituals, and ceremony, just to name a few. We have clung closely to our spirituality, as it is what gives us strength and courage to continue the struggles to find our rightful place in our own country. For the lives lost, for the lives still being lost, for the families that were separated for no reason other than the colour of their skin, and for our ancestors who experienced incredible pain and degradation, we must continue the struggle for true justice. We have yet to truly find our place in the Church; we still struggle to bring our culture, ceremony, and faith into the Catholic Church today.

Robyn: Our Australian Church, generally, has been slow to act. And to this day, the Australian government does not acknowledge Indigenous Australians in its Constitution. There is need for fearless, respectful, and intelligent leadership—in the Church, in NATSICC, and in society generally. We need to hear again and act upon the words from the council's Declaration on Religious Liberty:

> The Christian faithful, in common with the rest of men, have the civil right of freedom from interference in leading their lives according to their conscience. A harmony exists therefore between the freedom of the Church and that religious freedom which must be recognized as the right of all men and all communities must be sanctioned by constitutional law. (DH 13)

But how significant are such statements for Indigenous Catholics in Australia? Is the spirit of the council evident, for example, in the dialogue and engagement between the bishops of Australia and the members of NATSICC?

[15] The question does not name or exclude comments relating to sexual abuse; occurrences of such abuse reveal another shameful chapter in the history. In the conclusion to his article 'Clergy Sexual Abuse: What Difference Did Vatican II Make?' Neil Ormerod notes how 'the wider society took the lead in this area, particularly through the impact of the feminist movement' … and 'while there was no mention of the problem at Vatican II one can be sure that if there is to be a Vatican III, it will be firmly on the agenda.' *Vatican II: Reception and Implementation in the Australian Church*, eds. Neil Ormerod, Ormond Rush, David Pascoe, Clare Johnson, and Joel Hodge (Mulgrave, Vic.: Garratt, 2012), 213–25, at 225.

2. Liturgy and Sacrament

Perhaps we can continue to explore the freedom and dignity of human persons and groups as we move to consider faith and culture in relation to the lived expression in liturgy and sacraments.

Sacrosanctum Concilium, the Second Vatican Council's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, declares:

> Even in the liturgy, the Church has no wish to impose a rigid uniformity in matters which do not implicate the faith or the good of the whole community; rather does she respect and foster the genius and talents of the various races and peoples. Anything in these peoples' way of life which is not indissolubly bound up with superstition and error she studies with sympathy and, if possible, preserves intact. Sometimes in fact she admits such things into the liturgy itself, so long as they harmonize with its true and authentic spirit. (SC 37)

Sherry: The Vatican Council's statements and teachings about liturgy and sacraments have not yet been properly heard or addressed. The evidence is in the here and now.

How many churches celebrate Aboriginal Sunday without being pushed? It is officially in the Catholic liturgical calendar around Australia, and our national body, NATSICC, supported by the Australian Catholic bishops, produces and circulates an approved liturgy for the day to every parish Australia-wide. But how many churches recognize this day with true respect? How many celebrate Aboriginal Sunday and invite local Aboriginal people to be involved in the planning or in the service? How many do this without involving Aboriginal people in their congregation? Many have remarked in the past, 'But we don't have any Aboriginal people in our parish.' How do they know? We are not always dark skinned, but we are no less Aboriginal. We still want our voice to be heard and our gifts to be recognized and shared. The Vatican Council's document on the sacred liturgy also states:

> The Church has not adopted any particular style of art as her very own; she has admitted styles from every period according to the natural talents and circumstances of peoples, and the needs of the various rites. Thus, in the course of the centuries, she has brought into being a treasury of art which must be very carefully preserved. The art of our own days, coming from every race and region, shall also be given free scope in the Church, provided that it adorns the sacred buildings and holy rites with due reverence and honor; thereby it is enabled to contribute its own voice to that wonderful chorus of praise in honor of the Catholic faith sung by great men in times gone by. (SC 123)

Our ACMV is an incredible journey of spirituality that is unique, amazing, and insightful.[16] In our outside grounds are eight pieces called *Our Survival Journey* that explore that journey of Aboriginal people since colonization as well as the future hope that all Aboriginal people hold.[17] These large artworks, painted on canvas and installed in various parts of the grounds, reveal our story, alongside the story of Jesus, who was abandoned, tormented, and rejected.

Inside, and in our chapel especially, the journey only gets deeper as you marvel at the stained-glass windows that tell their own stories of long ago. The walls are adorned with Australian Indigenous artwork, and the symbolism is joyfully shared with the tabernacle, shaped like a *Mia Mia* (our traditional bark shelter). The lectern light is of course in the form of the campfire, where all the dreamtime stories and knowledge are passed on, just like in the parables of the Bible.

And we have the remarkable paintings of the Aboriginal Stations of the Cross, bringing them into our modern-day context. These have been created from one Aboriginal man's journey and from the depth of his soul; these truly have to be seen to be believed.[18]

However, generally, in our churches, we are not seeing the signs that welcome us. Our ceremonies are not considered 'Roman' enough, and if they *are* performed, for example the Smoking Ceremony, or the Acknowledgment/Welcome to Country, they are done outside of the Eucharist.[19] What does that say to the onlookers? Perhaps it says, 'We will tolerate you, but we will not embrace you fully. We will just use what makes *us* feel comfortable.'

This is the question you must ask yourselves: Is the Australian Church really welcoming Aboriginal people? Is our contribution being 'joyfully received'? Are you acting in accordance with the spirit of the gospel? Is our spirituality and contribution being received with open hearts, or is it being supressed?

[16] An excellent record can be found in *Invisible No More: The Story of the Foundation and the Development of the Aboriginal Catholic Ministry Melbourne 1984–1996* (Melbourne: Aboriginal Catholic Ministry Melbourne, 1996). More recently, the ongoing story is recorded beautifully in Carol Messer and Agnes Murphy, RSM, *The Seed Has Grown: Our Story 1997–2019* (Victoria: ACM Aboriginal Catholic Ministry for Victoria, 2016).

[17] The artist is John Dunn Olkola Djabaguy. (Olkola is the brother of Sherry Balcombe, co-author of this article.)

[18] These magnificent paintings were created by John Dunn Olkola Djabaguy.

[19] A formal, generally brief statement naming the particular Indigenous name of the place and tribal group is, in some contexts, becoming common practice across Australia as a respectful opening to important gatherings (such as in government, educational, Church, and other contexts).

Robyn: Your questions, Sherry, really impel us to match the words to the actions. In speaking at the Indigenous Peoples' Forum in 2021, Pope Francis spoke a word of encouragement as well as warning to the Church: 'I wish to express to you once again my closeness and the Church's commitment to continue to journey together. Together, to express our conviction that globalisation cannot mean a uniformity that ignores diversity and imposes a new kind of colonialism.'[20]

Considering linguistic matters in the Indigenous Australian context, one wonders whether colonialism—new or old—still operates. It was almost 60 years ago that *Sacrosanctum Concilium* gave these clear directions regarding language and cultural matters:

> Provisions shall also be made, when revising the liturgical books, for legitimate variations and adaptations to different groups, regions, and peoples, especially in mission lands, provided that the substantial unity of the Roman rite is preserved; and this should be borne in mind when drawing up the rites and devising rubrics. (SC 38)

In some places, the local Aboriginal language is being used in the celebration of the Eucharist, but only the *Missa Kimberley*, celebrated in 1973, has been officially approved.[21] As Australia's 'Father of Reconciliation,' Aboriginal Senator Patrick Dodson, has written: 'There was no dialogue, never any real consideration of being Aboriginal people. There was a remaking and remoulding and a restructuring of our society without any negotiation with us. It was as if baptism and the sacramental life were not powerful in their own right to effect what they were meant to signify.'[22]

It is important to remember that even the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples states in Article 12.1 that 'Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practise, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of their ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of their human remains.'[23]

[20] Pope Francis at The Fifth Global Meeting of the Indigenous Peoples' Forum 2021, online, 2–4, 15 February 2021.

[21] The National Eucharistic Congress was held in Melbourne in 1973. Authors Vicki Clarke and Matthew Digges have examined liturgical inculturation and the overall engagement between Indigenous Catholics and the Church in Australia: 'Joyfully Giving and Receiving: Aboriginal People and the Church in Australia since Vatican II,' in *Vatican II: Reception and Implementation in the Australian Church*, eds. Neil Ormerod, Ormond Rush, David Pascoe, Clare Johnson, and Joel Hodge (Mulgrave, Vic.: Garratt, 2012), 117–36.

[22] Patrick Dodson, 'Leaving Culture at the Door,' *Pacifica* 19 (2006): 253.

[23] United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Pope Francis, in *Querida Amazonia*, put this challenge to the Church: 'For the Church to achieve a renewed inculturation of the gospel in the Amazon region, she needs to listen to its Ancestral wisdom, listen once more to the voice of its elders, recognize the values present in the way of life of the original communities, and recover the rich stories of its peoples' (QA 70).[24]

In its Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et Spes*, the Second Vatican Council had stressed this listening and discerning responsibility, 'particularly of its pastors and theologians' (GS 44).

Sherry: Somehow, I hold on in hope to what our strong ACMV member, Marion Pearce, has said: 'For Aboriginal people today, the Spirit of the Dreaming is still strong with us. It is very important that ritual is forward-looking, as well as backward-looking. Each time we use symbols and perform these ancient rituals, we connect our spirit with those of our ancestors – and their spirit is reborn and becomes strong in us.'[25]

Robyn: Orm Rush speaks of the work of the Spirit in his book *Still Interpreting Vatican II*. He says the council requires us to constantly seek fresh ways to awaken and to receive its gift, for the same Holy Spirit at work during the council remains present in our times. Rush speaks of a 'reception pneumatology' that 'envisages the divine-human action in terms of the Holy Spirit igniting imaginative receptions of the tradition in the light of contemporary events that need to be discerned to the best of our ability.'[26]

There is also a statement in *Lumen Gentium* which relates to this communal faith and wisdom. It refers to the *sensus fidelium*, of the whole People of God, and speaks of the grace given through Christ to the laity, 'whom He made His witnesses and to whom He gave understanding of the faith (*sensus fidei*) and an attractiveness in speech so that the power of the Gospel might shine forth in their social and family life' (LG 35).

Key statements in the council documents, not surprisingly, sometimes echo one another. One such statement in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* proclaims this same shared grace and mission: 'The full and active participation by all the people is the aim to be considered before all else; for it is the primary and indispensable source from which the faithful are to derive the true Christian spirit' (SC 14).

[24] Pope Francis, Post-Synodal Exhortation *Querida Amazonia* (Beloved Amazon), 2020, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20200202_querida-amazonia.html.

[25] Personal communication with co-author Sherry Balcombe.

[26] Ormond Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II* (New York: Paulist Press, 2004), 80.

Sherry: In our churches, we are occasionally able to share our Aboriginal understandings and expressions of Catholic liturgy and sacrament more widely than at our ACMV at Thornbury. Each year since our beginnings, we have celebrated a NAIDOC Mass at St. Francis Church in Melbourne.[27] We are always welcomed there, and our contribution is joyfully received. We are encouraged to have movement, song, and community participation. We had not had our National Aboriginal Day at St. Patrick's Cathedral before; that was a first in 2021. For me, as the leader of the Aboriginal Catholic Ministry, I hope it is the beginning of a new era and that this is the first of many great celebrations and a building up of the ministry into the future.

But there is more to talk about. The theme for National Reconciliation Week in 2021 gave a strong message: 'More than a word!' Think about this statement from *Ad Gentes*, the Vatican council's Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity: 'Whatever good is found to be sown in the hearts and minds of men, or in the rites and cultures peculiar to various peoples, is not lost' (AG 9).

I have this question: Why can't Aboriginal men who are married become priests? I do have a big hope. It is about priestly ordination. For us, the family is everything. And if we cannot have children, then this is shameful, or you are looked on with pity in many circumstances. So, not to marry is to be disrespectful in some communities. This is a big sacrifice, not only for the person but for the family. If married men from the Eastern Catholic Church can be ordained, why can't Aboriginal men who are married become priests?

And while we long for our own ordained Aboriginal priest, we continue to hope for an Aboriginal Catholic Rite. At our 2012 States Gathering held in New South Wales in 2012, we looked at what an Aboriginal Rite could look like.[28] We understand, as is made clear in the council documents, that this would mean a long process with our own people, with our Church leaders, the bishops, and with the Vatican in Rome, but we want to start the process.[29] Unfortunately, it remains in limbo.

[27] NAIDOC (National Aboriginal and Islanders Day Observance Committee) has its roots in the 1938 Day of Mourning and has become a week-long event since 1975.

[28] Participants were mainly from Aboriginal Catholic Ministry groups in Murrie Ministry, Sydney, and Cairns.

[29] For example, in *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, we read: 'no enterprise must lay claim to the name "Catholic" if it has not the approval of legitimate ecclesiastical authority' (no. 24).

Robyn: The Zaire Rite—officially recognized in 1988—is the only inculturated liturgy of the Eucharist since Vatican II. While it is based on the Roman Rite, it is respectfully and properly related to the African culture. Very significantly, Pope Francis has said to the Indigenous peoples of the Amazon that 'the Zairian Rite suggests a promising way also for the possible elaboration of an Amazonian Rite.'[30] So, you are saying, Sherry, why not an Australian Aboriginal Rite? A reasonable query and concern, surely. In speaking of liturgical inculturation, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, while not denying the prudent consideration of 'competent territorial ecclesiastical authority,' recognizes that in some places, 'a more radical adaption of the liturgy is needed' (SC 40).

Here in Australia, we are on a synodal journey with our Plenary Council 2021–2022 and with Rome's wider forthcoming Synod of 2023. It is a time of discerning for the whole Church. *Lumen Gentium*, as Bingemer well understands, presents the Church community as the People of God, in which all are full members.[31] But paragraph 31, carrying what she calls a 'negative slant,' remains, so that 'the lay person is still the non-cleric, the non-religious, the one who has not been given some 'special' gift or vocation or ministry.'[32] She writes: 'Ministerial status belongs to the whole church and not to some sectors of it. Even the categories of "lay-person" and "laity" are left behind and exist only as negative abstractions that impoverish the dynamism of the Church.'[33] Unfortunately, too many Indigenous as well as lay persons have well understood this exclusion.

So, a frustration, an urgency, remains—and grows. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was a life-changing and Church-changing document. However, the Vatican Council's understanding and expression of sacred liturgy and rites, and of the sacraments, including priestly ordination, still have not been properly and respectfully addressed with Indigenous peoples; in the Australian context, the importance and value of this document has generally not yet found ways to hear the responses, the insights, and the challenges offered by the Aboriginal Catholic voice.

[30] Pope Francis makes this statement in the preface of the newly published book *Pope Francis and the Roman Missal for the Dioceses of Zaire*, by theologian Rita Mboshu Kong (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2020).

[31] Maria Clara Luchetti Bingemer, 'The Council and the Emergence of the Laity,' in *Vatican II: Concilium*, eds. Silvia Scatena, Dennis Gira, Jon Sobrino, and Maria Clara Bingemer (London: SCM, 2012/13), 85–94, at 89.

[32] Bingemer is referring to no. 31 of *Lumen Gentium*, part of which states, 'The term "laity" is here understood to mean all the faithful except those in Holy Orders.'

[33] Bingemer, 'The Council and the Emergence of the Laity,' 91.

3. Some Concluding Remarks

Robyn: When I read the following words from *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, honouring all the Aboriginal Catholics throughout the country, including you, Sherry, I wonder if they really ring true in the lived reality:

> Deserving of special honour and commendation in the Church are those lay people, single or married, who devote themselves with professional experience, either permanently or temporarily, to the service of associations and their activities … Pastors of the Church should gladly and gratefully welcome these lay persons and make sure that the demands of justice, equity, and charity relative to their status be satisfied to the fullest extent, particularly as regards proper support for them and their families. They should also take care to provide for these lay people the necessary formation, spiritual consolation, and incentive. (AA 22)

Neil Ormerod draws attention to the laity's need and right for theological education, including studies in the Church's social teaching. He identifies a number of Catholic groups engaged in parish, educational, health, and social groups. Ormerod importantly notes that many of these groups and movements are 'largely intra-ecclesial' and occupy a space which John Paul II recognized as 'the temptation of being … strongly interested in Church services and tasks,' whereas the Vatican Council identified the particular calling of the laity as actually being 'the transformation of the world according to the values of the kingdom.'[34]

NATSICC is a Catholic lay organization, working to the best of its ability in collaboration with the committee of bishops for Aboriginal Australians. As well as being committed to service and occupied with many tasks, it is ultimately interested in a renewed Church, in a better world for all people and for the whole of creation. I do believe that its vision, as well as the many ongoing attempts to implement its vision, can provide inspiration, example, and challenge to the Australian Church and society. And yes, this is the healing and the transformation that I long for.

[34] Neil Ormerod, 'The Laity in the Australian Church,' in *Vatican II: Reception and Implementation in the Australian Church*, eds. Neil Ormerod, Ormond Rush, David Pascoe, Clare Johnson, and Joel Hodge (Mulgrave, Vic.: Garratt, 2012), 62–75, at 72.

Sherry: Today, I still believe very strongly the words I wrote back in 2018:

> That is what gives me the strength and courage to continue on the unmade path in the journey of the Aboriginal Catholic Ministry, to continue to follow our founders' dreams. They carved such deep tracks that I am honoured to follow and also to create new ones, continuing to teach others about Aboriginal people, culture and faith in the hope of changing the current order and working for Reconciliation with those who believe we can find better ways forward.[35]

I always remember Pope John Paul II's words to us:

> That Gospel now invites you to become, through and through, Aboriginal Christians. It meets your deepest desires. You do not have to be people divided into two parts, as though an Aboriginal had to borrow the faith and life of Christianity, like a hat or a pair of shoes, from someone else who owns them. Jesus calls you to accept his words and his values into your own culture. To develop in this way will make you more than ever truly Aboriginal. The old ways can draw new life and strength from the Gospel. The message of Jesus Christ can lift up your lives to new heights, reinforce all your positive values and add many others, which only the Gospel in its originality proposes.[36]

So, my hope is for a nation with pride in its future, for righting the wrongs of the past and moving to a new era with a renewed sense of true pride. We can rebuild the tapestry of this nation to be an example around the world of what true reconciliation looks like and how it can be appreciated and shared with all in our country. When we take our rightful place in Australian society and in our churches, the country will be better for it. We will be welcomed and included in all aspects of life in Australia.

When you become still and listen carefully, you can hear the song lines that connect us, and you can feel our ancestors calling in the wind. Let's work together for a brighter future—not only for Australia but for the world.

Robyn: The title of this chapter, 'Vatican II's Gift for Indigenous and for All Australians,' has a subtitle which is a question: 'Open Windows, Fresh Air?' Advances have come about as a result of Vatican II and its proclamations and teachings, and most of all, in our context, in Pope John Paul II's Alice Springs speech. There is recognition, too, of advances

[35] Balcombe, 'What Aboriginal Catholics & Other Christians Offer the Future of This Land.'

[36] Pope John Paul II, 'Address to the Aboriginal People,' no. 12.

made and such good efforts on the part of so many people. But there are still many questions, many concerns. We, the Church, cannot turn our eyes and our hearts away from the very great struggles of the Indigenous peoples of this country and from the shameful injustices, disadvantages, and marginalization which remain. More than words are needed. We need our reawakened, discerning, and synodal Church—and all its members—to be *Makaratta* (coming together after a struggle) disciples, disciples of loving care, of reconciliation, of justice, and of truth. In fact, we need to be the Church that Vatican II envisioned:

> the world which the Council has in mind is the whole human family seen in the context of everything which envelopes it: it is the world of the theatre of human history, bearing the marks of its travail, its triumphs and failures, the world, which in the Christian vision has been created and sustained by the love of its maker, which has been freed from the slavery of sin by Christ, who was crucified and rose again in order to break the stranglehold of the evil one, so that it might be fashioned anew according to God's design and brought to its fulfilment. (GS 2)

Sherry: Let's conclude with our special prayer:

> **Prayer of the Aboriginal People**
>
> Father of all, you gave us the Dreaming.
> You have spoken to us through our beliefs.
> You then made your love clear to us
> in the person of Jesus.
> We thank you for your care.
> You own us.
> You are our hope.
>
> Make us strong as we face the problems of change.
> We ask you to help the people of Australia
> to listen to us and respect our culture.
> Make the knowledge of you
> grow strong in all people,
> so that you can be at home in us
> and we can make a home for everyone in our land. Amen.[37]

[37] This prayer was composed in 1986 by *Ngkarte Mikwekenhe* (Mother of God), the Arrernte Catholic Community of Alice Springs. It was prayed regularly through the year in preparation for Pope John Paul II's visit on 29 November 1986 and over the years has become a familiar and loved prayer throughout the country.

APPENDIX

ULURU STATEMENT FROM THE HEART

We, gathered at the 2017 National Constitutional Convention, coming from all points of the southern sky, make this statement from the heart:

Our Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander tribes were the first sovereign Nations of the Australian continent and its adjacent islands, and possessed it under our own laws and customs.

This our ancestors did, according to the reckoning of our culture, from the Creation, according to the common law from 'time immemorial', and according to science more than 60,000 years ago.

This sovereignty is a spiritual notion: the ancestral tie between the land, or 'mother nature', and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, who were born therefrom, remain attached thereto, and must one day return thither to be united with our ancestors.

This link is the basis of the ownership of the soil, or better, of sovereignty. It has never been ceded or extinguished, and co-exists with the sovereignty of the Crown. How could it be otherwise?

That peoples possessed a land for sixty millennia and this sacred link disappears from world history in merely the last two hundred years?

With substantive constitutional change and structural reform, we believe this ancient sovereignty can shine through as a fuller expression of Australia's nationhood.

Proportionally, we are the most incarcerated people on the planet. We are not an innately criminal people. Our children are aliened from their families at unprecedented rates. This cannot be because we have no love for them.

And our youth languish in detention in obscene numbers.

They should be our hope for the future.

These dimensions of our crisis tell plainly the structural nature of our problem. This is the torment of our powerlessness.

We seek constitutional reforms to empower our people and take a rightful place in our own country. When we have power over our destiny our children will flourish.

They will walk in two worlds and their culture will be a gift to their country.

We call for the establishment of a First Nations Voice enshrined in the Constitution.

Makarrata is the culmination of our agenda: the coming together after a struggle. It captures our aspirations for a fair and truthful relationship with the people of Australia and a better future for our children based on justice and self-determination.

We seek a Makarrata Commission to supervise a process of agreement-making between governments and First Nations and truth-telling about our history.

In 1967 we were counted; in 2017 we seek to be heard. We leave base camp and start our trek across this vast country.

We invite you to walk with us in a movement of the Australian people for a better future.[38]

[38] See "Took the Children Away" in the 2016 edition of Schools Spectacular (an Australian variety show featuring more than 5,000 students from public schools across New South Wales), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H34Y00HrkUU.

THREE LITTLE WINDOWS INTO THE WORLD CHURCH: THE ANGLOPHONE CARIBBEAN AND VATICAN II

ANNA KASAFI PERKINS

Vatican II 'opened the era of church history in which we are all still living.'[1] Indeed, how Catholics interpreted the council and applied its teaching still shapes what it means to be Catholic.[2] Valiente noted that Vatican II, although recognized as a world gathering, was led by and focused on issues from the European Church, with little or nothing referring to the Latin American (or Caribbean) Church ending up in the final documents of the council.[3] This was perhaps due to the then largely missionary status of the Latin American and Caribbean Church. Nonetheless, today, the Church in the Caribbean takes the Second Vatican Council as a given and explicitly places itself within the trajectory of the council, particularly under the guidance of the Antilles Episcopal Conference (AEC), which references Vatican II in its writings and pastoral activities.[4]

Time and again, the Caribbean Church takes stock of the council's teachings, meanings, and impacts. At a 2013 seminar on the 50th anniversary of the council, 'Vatican II and Caribbean Church and Society,'[5]

[1] Jared Wicks, *Investigating Vatican II: Its Theologians, Ecumenical Turn, and Biblical Commitment* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2018), 187.

[2] Matthew J. Cressler, 'Black Power, Vatican II, and the Emergence of Black Catholic Liturgies,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* 32, no. 4 (Fall 2014): 99–119.

[3] O. Ernesto Valiente, 'Reception of Vatican II in Latin America,' *Theological Studies* 73 (2012): 795–823. See Klaus Koschorke, Frieder Ludwig, and Mariano Delgado, *A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1450–1990* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), for a discussion of the Latin American Church's contribution to Vatican II. They note that the humble contribution from Latin America was due to its general lack of preparation to deal with the council's major themes.

[4] Anna Kasafi Perkins, 'Introduction: The Caribbean, Shaped by the Call for Justice and Peace,' in *Justice and Peace in a Renewed Caribbean: Contemporary Catholic Reflections*, eds. Anna Kasafi Perkins, Donald Chambers, and Jacqueline Porter (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 1–40.

[5] The proceedings of the Seminar were later published in *Groundings* 30 (2013). *Groundings* is the journal of St Michael's Theological College.

at St Michael's Theological College in Jamaica, Theresa Lowe Ching, RSM, then director of the College, described the moment of reflection as one in which Caribbean Catholics were realistically taking up the challenge of our Roman Catholic faith to 'identify the precise ways in which the implementation of the vision and directives of Vatican II has either assisted or hindered "our exploration into God".'[6]

Pointing to such 'explorations into God,' Lowe Ching quoted Christopher Fry's 1950 poem, 'A Sleep of Prisoners,' where he speaks to an awakening of humanity, perhaps akin to the *aggiornamento* or 'opening up' engendered by Vatican II. Indeed, the oft-repeated though probably apocryphal story is that John XXIII, in response to a question about the reason for the council, walked over to a window and threw it open with the words 'I want to let the fresh air in.'[7] Unsurprisingly, therefore, Vatican II is often described as a window opening up the Church to the fresh air of modernity, 'an airing out.'[8] In opening up the Church to the challenges of modernity, Vatican II envisioned and set in train a 'world church,'[9] where major church issues (*ad intra*) are seen from a more universal perspective while the challenges and opportunities of the contemporary world (*ad extra*) are treated. '[T]he fundamental feature of this world church is that all local churches would be heard and respected as equal partners, and that this would preserve local governance and cultural integrity.'[10] The world Church emerging from the Second Vatican Council has been described as 'stunningly diversified.'[11] Indeed, this Church, of which the Caribbean is a part, 'inhabits lands that were once colonized by European powers. Foreign domination, enslavement, and processes of

[6] Theresa Lowe Ching, RSM, 'Response to Fr Michel Francis,' *Groundings* 30 (2013): 33–42, at 33.

[7] Anna Kasafi Perkins, 'Letting in Fresh Air or Gale Force Winds? A Response to Peter McIsaac,' *Groundings* 30 (2013): 72–80.

[8] Wick argues that John XXIII's ecclesiology of 'ongoing rejuvenation' helps us appreciate Vatican II's goal of *aggiornamento* in a much more profoundly theological and spiritual way that makes the image of 'opening the windows to the world' 'pale into the superficiality of a bumper sticker' (Wick, *Investigating Vatican II*, 151). Indeed, this ongoing rejuvenation can be seen, for example, in how the council's teachings were reformulated and updated in Church documents such as John Paul II's *Ut Unum Sint* (1995).

[9] Karl Rahner, 'Basic Theological Interpretation of the Second Vatican Council,' in *Concern for the Church: Theological Investigations XX*, trans. Edward Quinn (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1981 [orig. ed. 1980]), 77–89.

[10] Peter McIsaac, 'Impact of Vatican II on the Church in Jamaica: Historical Overview,' *Groundings* 30 (2013): 44–71, at 67.

[11] Thomas Bamat and Jean-Paul Wiest, 'Introduction: The Many Faces of Catholicism,' *Popular Catholicism in a World Church: Seven Case Studies in Inculturation*, eds. Thomas Bamat and Jean-Paul Wiest (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999), 1–18, at 1.

cultural uprooting are part of their historical inheritance. Today, their well-being, identity, and security are affected by the diffusion of modernity and postmodernity, the dynamics of capitalism, and the growing "globalization" of social life.'[12]

Of course, open windows allow both egress and ingress, so there is movement in both directions: the Church opens *up to* the world, and the world opens *up to* the Church. The Church opens *up* the world, and the world opens *up* the Church. There is no going back.[13]

1. Three Windows

This image of windows is the entry point of my reflection on the reception of Vatican II in one small part of the world Church, the Anglophone Caribbean, which is overseen by the AEC. In a 2017 pastoral letter, *Being Church in the Digital Milieu*, the AEC claims:

> From the time of the Second Vatican Council, we in the Caribbean have sought a Church that was inclusive, a Church in which the laity participate meaningfully, a Church that speaks to the soul and fires the religious imagination of the Caribbean person. We have made many strides in this direction through Schools of Liturgy, Bible, Communications (CSCC), Evangelization and Parish Renewal Programs. This model of Church ushered in our taking responsibility for our Church, with the first Caribbean bishops and priests. It has served us well in nurturing the Church to our present time.[14]

In this statement, the AEC captures a three-fold motif: (1) Carib-being ('we in the Caribbean'); (2) Indigenization (lay participation, Caribbean bishops and priests: 'taking responsibility for our Church'); and (3) Inculturation ('a Church that speaks to the soul and fires the religious imagination of the Caribbean person'). These activities have, in the bishops' estimation, served to nurture the Caribbean Church until now. Their optimistic perspective on the state of affairs since Vatican II is not always shared,[15] although the evaluation is mostly positive.

[12] Bamat and Wiest, 'Introduction,' 1.

[13] Michel Francis [Vicar General, Diocese of Castries, St Lucia], 'Vatican II and the Liturgy,' *Groundings* 30 (2013): 6–32.

[14] Antilles Episcopal Conference, in its pastoral letter *Being Church in the Digital Milieu* (2017), 32–33.

[15] Rohan Tulloch, 'Global and Local Challenges to the Inculturation of the Faith in Jamaica' (MA thesis, Regis College, Toronto School of Theology, Canada, 2010); Gerald M. Boodoo, 'Vatican II and Catholic Theology in the Caribbean,' in *Confronting the*

Four years before this AEC pastoral letter, St Lucian liturgist Fr Michel Francis likewise struck an optimistic tone:

> [W]e have accomplished much during those fifty years [since the opening of Vatican II]: we have seen a more active Church, our liturgies are more participatory, the vernacular has made it possible for greater understanding of the liturgy, music has taken on a local flavour, our cultural expressions can now be admitted in our liturgies, to name but a few. There is still much more work to be done and this workshop is but one of the many ways in which we can assist our people to become more aware of the direction in which the Church would like to take us in the twenty-first century and beyond. We have only just scratched the surface; there's so much more we need to still discover.[16]

Francis is right concerning all that has been accomplished liturgically and how much more remains to be done to fully inculturate the Second Vatican Council in our region.

2. A Time of Ferment

This exploration of Vatican II in the Anglophone Caribbean does not treat the council as an interruption or sharp departure from the life of the Church leading up to the convocation.[17] Rather, it is seen as an outcome of burgeoning movements in the life of the Church, which blossomed in the council and continue to bear fruit after. As a result, the fruits of Vatican II cannot be evaluated without an appreciation of the evolving global, ecclesial, and secular context within which it was called—a time of 'social turmoil, strife, and conflict.'[18] Similarly, local context is important in the interpretation of the council and the resulting implementation of its reforms.[19] As such, any positive reception of Vatican II in the region was likely influenced and facilitated by those developments. Arguably, these same progressive movements probably also laid bare the still to be fulfilled potential of Vatican II.

> The decades preceding the Council were a time of progressive movements and developments in the Caribbean. It is worthwhile noting that Vatican 2 did not take place in a historical vacuum but in the 1960s – a period of

Wave: Conference on Theology in the Caribbean Today (CTCT) Twenty-fifth Anniversary Commemorative Publication (CTCT: Trinidad and Tobago: June 2019).

[16] Francis, 'Vatican II and the Liturgy,' 31.

[17] Wicks, *Investigating Vatican II*.

[18] Wicks, *Investigating Vatican II*, 185.

[19] McIsaac, 'Impact of Vatican II on the Church in Jamaica.'

> tremendous change: global decolonization, the Cold War, the race to the moon, population explosion, Third World development, social movements in the US, national independence and nation building, the New Caribbean Man, the Cuban Revolution and its impact through Latin America (guerrilla insurgencies), the Black Power Movement, etc. We were influenced by ideas like: 'Mental decolonization', 'indigenization', 'valuation of Caribbean reality', 'rejection of the foreign and substitution of the local', etc.[20]

There was broad Third World solidarity around that time, rooted in an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist ideology.[21] Locally, there was a crisis engendered by cross-cutting Black Nationalisms of various stripes, including Pan-Africanism, Black Power, and Rastafari, which rejected the West Indies' status as white-dominated colonial outposts. The Church was an integral part of this colonial structure, particularly the anti-African racism that pervaded the society.[22] Later, with the failure of the West Indies Federation,[23] Britain's Caribbean colonies obtained independence one after the other, beginning with Jamaica and Trinidad in 1962, the very year the council was convened.[24] Political independence did not destroy the structures and legacy of colonialism and dependence, however.[25] Rather, it placed the region under a new North American hegemony symbolized by the refusal by the US to relinquish its naval bases in Chaguaramas, Trinidad, the West Indian Federation's capital. A neo-colonial order came into being.

[20] Former Trinbagonian priest Terry Julien, email to author, 2021.

[21] Catherine A. Sunshine, *The Caribbean: Survival, Struggle and Sovereignty* (I A Books, 2012) (reprint).

[22] Sunshine, *The Caribbean*. Gerard Leo McLaughlin, *Jesuitana Jamaica: Historical Profiles 1837–1996* (Kingston: Arawak Publications, 2000), laments the impact of Jesuit James Armitage, editor of the *Catholic Opinion* newspaper, who in his battle with N.W. Manley over the definition of socialism in the 1940s 'pointed many Catholics away from the new Manley, the new socialism and eventually, from the new independent Jamaica' (46).

[23] The union of British colonies established in 1958 and dissolved in 1952.

[24] From the 1950s, Guyana was an example of anti-colonial and anti-imperialist ferment under a Marxist banner. The first elections under adult suffrage were won convincingly by the People's Progressive Party (PPP) under a commitment to socialism and a call for independence [Kempe Ronald Hope, 'Electoral Politics and Political Development in Post-independence Guyana,' *Electoral Studies* 4, no. 1 (1985): 57–68]. Such talk led the local colonial plantocracy and commercial interests to persuade the British governor that private property was to be expropriated by the PPP, and so after only 133 days in office, the Constitution was suspended and British troops removed the lawfully elected government from power. Guyana did not obtain full independence until 1966, after being on track for 1962 along with Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

[25] David V. Trotman, 'Acts of Possession and Symbolic Decolonisation in Trinidad and Tobago,' *Caribbean Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (Mar. 2012): 21–43, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41708562.

As these ideological currents and political awakenings were taking shape, a new Caribbean generation was coming of age; the young population (under 25) grew exponentially, with many receiving secondary education and, for a smaller minority, university education via the regional University College of the West Indies,[26] established in 1948, the year of the first meeting of the bishops of the colonial West Indies. In tandem with improvements in mass education was the growth in the tourism industry, which began to assume its now dominant place in Caribbean economies. 'The sight of black people as waiters, chauffeurs and bellhops for rich tourists seemed to symbolize the foreign domination and racism of the society.'[27] In that context, Rastafarianism, which had been suppressed by governments across the region, gained broader appeal with its proclamation of the dignity of African people; indeed, 'their emphasis on Africa and their assertion of black pride shook the color-conscious Caribbean to its foundations.'[28] Students, members of the middle class, and graduates of the University of the West Indies *sighted up* Rastafari, broadening the movement's base beyond the urban poor, forcing deeper intellectual and activist engagement with its ideas.

Into that potent mix came the Black Power movement, which began in Jamaica with the banning of radical Guyanese academic Walter Rodney in 1968 and the accompanying riots. This led to solidarity protests across the Caribbean, with direct attacks on the Church, the epitome of colonialism and privilege.[29] The established Church was comfortably middle class in congregation and attitude. Leadership was dominated by mainly expat clergy, and outreach to the poor was paternalistic, expecting and upholding deference to authority. Black Power and the like were, therefore, frightening—literally threatening—to the privileged. In one of the more dramatic incidents during the disturbances, in 1970 the statue of Christ in the Catholic cathedral in Port of Spain, Trinidad, was doused in black paint, and graffiti was painted on the walls.[30] In 1969, the AEC

[26] UCWI; later, the University of the West Indies (UWI).

[27] Sunshine, *The Caribbean*, 59.

[28] Sunshine, *The Caribbean*, 59.

[29] Perkins, 'Introduction'; Anna Kasafi Perkins and Gerry McLaughlin, 'Reflections on the Black Power Statement,' in *Justice and Peace in a Renewed Caribbean: Contemporary Catholic Reflections*, eds. Anna Kasafi Perkins, Donald Chambers, and Jacqueline Porter (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 41–60; Ashley Smith, 'The Religious Significance of Black Power in Caribbean Churches,' in Troubling the Waters, ed. I. Hamid (San Fernando, Trinidad: Rahaman Printer Ltd, 1973), 83–104.

[30] Perkins, 'Introduction.' Archbishop Jason Gordon (2020) disputes this: 'On Ash Wednesday, 26 February, at 9 a.m. in the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, we

penned its first official statement on the Black Power movement; in it, the bishops echoed the words of *Gaudium et Spes* and read the movement as a sign of the times.[31] Unlike some other religious, professional, and political leaders, the Antilles bishops—under the leadership of Jamaica's first local Ordinary, Samuel E. Carter, SJ—took a more sensitive approach to Black Power, opening up dialogue with the movement.[32]

Furthermore, in attempting to take more responsibility for the poor in the region, the churches initiated an ecumenical response: an externally funded development agency, Christian Action for Development (CADEC), formed in 1969. It soon became clear that the problem of poverty, which was being tackled through developmentalist processes, could not be solved without first dealing with the racial and class structuring of Caribbean society.[33] CADEC shortly made way for the Caribbean Conference of Churches (CCC) in 1973, with Archbishop Carter chairing the committee that facilitated this. The CCC was 'the very first such regional ecumenical body in the world which included the Catholic Church as a founding member.'[34] The beginnings of a formal common theological reflection on questions of Caribbean unity and identity can be identified with the formation of the CCC.[35] Throughout, the Catholic Church in the Caribbean has been in the forefront of the ecumenical movement and has been recognized for this unique engagement.[36] This one-of-a-kind ecumenical engagement is rooted in the 'socio-religious composition of the Caribbean,' where 'it is not unusual to find several

will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the protesters entering the Cathedral. No! They did not paint the statues black: They draped the statues with black cloth to express the dissonance they felt. The act fired the imagination of major sectors of the society. And well, as they say, the rest is history.' Jason Gordon [Archbishop of Port of Spain, Trinidad], 'Black Power Revolution Unfinished,' Conversations with Archbishop J, *Catholic News*, 21 Feb. 2020, https://catholictt.org/2020/02/21/black-power-revolution-unfinished/ (It appears that it was during similar disturbances that the frescoes on the wall and dome of the Holy Trinity Cathedral in Kingston, Jamaica, were painted grey to hide them.)

[31] Perkins, 'Introduction.'

[32] In Jamaica, for example, a priest was appointed to work directly with Black Power leaders.

[33] Sunshine, *The Caribbean*.

[34] Donald J. Reece [Archbishop Emeritus of Kingston], 'Mixed Salad Ecumenism: Is There a Future?' Ecumenical Lecture, Centro Pro Unione, Rome, 22 Jan. 2014, *Groundings* 32 (2014): 32–40, at 35.

[35] Theo Witvliet, *A Place in the Sun: Liberation Theology in the Third World* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1985).

[36] Reece, 'Mixed Salad Ecumenism'; Pope John Paul II, Ecumenical Meeting with the Representatives of Christian Churches and Ecclesial Communities of Jamaica and the Caribbean: 'Address of His Holiness John Paul II,' Holy Cross Church, Kingston, Jamaica, Tuesday, 10 Aug. 1993.

different expressions of Christianity in any one household.'[37] At the same time, the deliberate encounter with other Christians gets at the heart of the Vatican II Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*, which calls for conversion and renewal in how Catholics see themselves.[38]

Boodoo points out another important outcome of that period of ferment in the face of Black nationalisms: there was a growth in indigenous religious movements such as Rasta and Revival in Jamaica, Shango and Orisha in Trinidad, and Winti in Suriname.[39] Afro-Caribbean religions such as Spiritual Baptist (Trinidad and Tobago) were decriminalized or, as in the case of Obeah in Guyana, promised to be. Indeed, there was a parallel rise in indigenous religious expressions as well as secular leadership as the middle classes 'rediscovered' what was previously a working-class phenomenon. The churches were forced to engage with these Afro-Caribbean religious forms, especially Rastafari, which it had largely been indifferent to or condemnatory of previously.[40] One of the ground-breaking early studies of Rastafari was undertaken by American Jesuit Joseph Owens in the early 1970s. Afro-Caribbean religions developed their own intellectual traditions, launching their own critique of hegemonic Christianity.[41]

The support for unity among Christians was paralleled in movements toward political unity, as evidenced by the drive among the Eastern Caribbean islands to seek closer political integration in the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). In 1988, the Catholic bishops of the Eastern Caribbean issued a statement strongly supporting this move toward deeper unity, rooting their support in a theology of the divine plan for the overall unity of the human family.[42] Their statement echoed the Vatican II decree *Christus Dominus* 36 on the pastoral ministry of

[37] Reece, 'Mixed Salad Ecumenism.' In some parts of the Caribbean, such as Trinidad and Guyana, it is not uncommon to find interfaith households with Christians of various stripes, Muslims, Hindus, etc.

[38] Reece, 'Mixed Salad Ecumenism.'

[39] Gerald Boodoo, 'The Faith of the People: The Divina Pastora Devotions of Trinidad,' in *Religion, Culture, and Tradition in the Caribbean*, eds. H. Gossai and N. Samuel Murrell (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 65–72.

[40] Witvliet, *A Place in the Sun*.

[41] Orisha practitioner and former Catholic Burton Sankeralli maintains that the African cosmology continues as a coherent, well-established, and widely embracing experience, in spite of 'a savage, relentless, sustained and ongoing racist Eurocentric hegemony where the role of the Christian churches has been central.' Burton Sankeralli, 'Christianity, Syncretism or Obeah?' *Groundings* (July 2014): 59–68, at 62.

[42] Caribbean Contact, 'Caribbean Unity Part of God's Plan,' *Caribbean Contact* (Jan. 1988), 8.

bishops, who, while being in charge of particular churches, pool their resources inspired by fraternal charity and a zeal for mission.[43] Importantly, they called upon *Gaudium et Spes* 1 to argue that integration is in keeping with the Church's understanding of itself as a sign of unity.

3. Window 1: Caribbean, Carib-being[44]

> Vignette 1: I reached out to my colleagues in the regional Conference on Theology in the Caribbean Today (CTCT) to solicit help with finding material for this chapter; a Dutch-speaking friend and colleague said this in an email: 'They are putting quite a responsibility on your shoulders to represent all of the English-speaking Caribbean!'

His comment gave me pause and cause. It is indeed quite a responsibility to present and represent the diverse and contested Caribbean.[45] It is important, therefore, to be clear about the 'Caribbean' that is being referred to, even as my picture will be hesitant, partial, a snapshot…

3.1. *The Caribbean*

The Caribbean has a rich, complex history, interrupted by genocide of the indigenes, the transatlantic trade in Africans, coloured by indentureship, and shaped and reshaped by European colonization, resulting in a post-colonial identity that is still finding itself. Caribbean nations 'inherited the linguistic, social, economic, and cultural borders—the markers of violence—that inevitably accompany such colonial domination.'[46] Nonetheless, Caribbean states share historical, cultural, and economic ties while possessing 'forceful individual identities and interests.'[47] At the

[43] Second Vatican Council, *Christus Dominus*, Decree concerning the Pastoral Office of Bishops in the Church (28 Oct. 1965).

[44] See Anna Kasafi Perkins, 'Carib-being and Theo-logy These Days: The Unwitting Theological Enterprise of the Music of Tanya Stephens,' The Annual Augustus Tolton Lecture, Catholic Theological Union, Chicago, USA (2 Mar. 2011).

[45] Perkins, 'Introduction'; Aaron Segal, 'The Caribbean: Small Is Scary,' *Current History* 90, no. 554, Mexico and Central America (Mar. 1991), 105–108, 138, https://www.jstor.org/stable/45316498.

[46] Timothy Rommen, '*Créolité*, (Im)Mobility, and Music in Dominica,' *The Journal of Musicology* 32, no. 4 (2015): 558–91, at 562, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/jm.2015.32.4.558.

[47] Sandra W. Meditz and Dennis M. Hanratty, eds., *Islands of the Commonwealth Caribbean: A Regional Study* (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989), in Anna Kasafi Perkins, '"Even in Error, Our Destinies Are Linked":

same time, the West Indies or Anglophone Caribbean has been accused of 'cultural chauvinism' for the proprietary and limited way in which 'Caribbean' is understood and appropriated. A too-often forgotten dimension of the Caribbean is its transnational character; the diasporic Caribbean is very much a part of the region.

The Anglophone Caribbean

Geographically, the Anglophone Caribbean or the West Indies is the 'necklace [of islands] strung out on the breast'[48] of the Caribbean Sea from Jamaica in the west, up to The Bahamas in the north, through the Leeward and Windward Islands, down to Barbados and Trinidad at the southeasternmost point, while encompassing two mainland territories, Belize and Guyana.[49]

Figure 1: Map of the Caribbean (credits: Anna Kasafi Perkins).

Competing Regional and National Goods in the Commonwealth Caribbean,' in *Public Theology and the Global Common Good: The Contribution of David Hollenbach*, eds. Kevin Ahern (author, ed.), Meghan J. Clark, et al. (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2016), 85–97, at 88.

[48] See H.S. Bunbury, 'West Indies,' in *Anthology of the Poetry of the West Indies*, eds. W. Adolphe Roberts and Wycliffe Bennett (Mimeo, ca. 1950s), 28.

[49] Perkins, '"Even in Error, Our Destinies Are Linked,"' 85–97.

Their islands and peoples make up only one fifth of the larger Caribbean island region. Nonetheless, although separated by the sea like the beads of a rosary, the territories of the West Indies clearly constitute a 'region' in the geographical sense, with their frame of reference being 'at one and the same time the island and the region.'[50] The proportion of Catholics in the AEC ranges from a high of 95 per cent in the Diocese of Basse-terre and Pointe-à-Pitre (Guadeloupe) to a low of 4 per cent in the Archdiocese of Kingston, Jamaica.[51] Membership in the Caribbean Catholic Church has been declining steadily over the last few decades, with many leaving the faith for Evangelical or Pentecostal churches, many of which are based in the United States.

Catholic Carib-being

Around 1958, a year before John XXIII announced the council, the Anglophone, Dutch-speaking, and Francophone (except for Haiti) Catholic faithful in the Caribbean region were brought together under the pastoral care of the AEC. The AEC was one of the first episcopal conferences to receive official recognition by the Holy See (1956), before the Second Vatican Council. The precursor to the AEC, the West Indies Bishops' Meeting, at its first gathering in 1948, considered their relationship with the fledgling UCWI. Among the outcomes of their deliberations were the Catholic Chaplaincy, with a chaplain on the teaching staff and close links between the academic programs at UCWI and the Catholic theological seminaries in Jamaica and Trinidad, the ecumenical seminary in Jamaica, and the Anglican college in Barbados.[52]

The three-fold language division actually ignores the more complex language situation of the region, where local English-based Creoles are the often-denigrated vernacular of many Caribbean people. So, even in an ostensibly English-speaking nation such as St Lucia, there is a local Kweyol which is similar to that spoken in the French Departments of Martinique and Guadeloupe. Similarly, in Dominica, due to long-existing

[50] Anthony Payne, *Politics in Jamaica* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1994), in Perkins, '"Even in Error, Our Destinies Are Linked,"' 88.

[51] Anna Kasafi Perkins, Donald Chambers, and Jacqueline Porter, eds., *Justice and Peace in a Renewed Caribbean: Contemporary Catholic Reflections* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 1–40.

[52] St Michael's Theological College, Jamaica; St John Vianney, Trinidad; United Theological College of the West Indies, Jamaica; and Codrington College, Barbados.

ties with Guadeloupe and Martinique, 'a local, French-based Creole language has remained an extremely important marker of local identity.'[53]

Jamaica has a Creole or patois, which is often dismissed as 'bad English,' as well as the Iyaric of Rastafari. The 'Dutch-speaking' Caribbean is the most multilingual part of the region, with several languages being spoken beside Dutch; Papiamentu, English, or Sranan Tongo are the lingua franca in the respective territories. Consequent to the dominance of English-speaking territories, the official language of the AEC is English.[54]

4. Window 2: Indigenization

> Vignette 2: A personal recollection: I am at Mass, in my early adolescence, so in the late 70s. I encounter a woman—middle-aged, Caucasian, short hair, sensible shoes, conservative dress. In my interaction with her, I call her 'Sister.' Much to my youthful chagrin, I was told she was not 'Sister but Mrs.' She was both wife and mother, but in my young eyes, she was what a religious sister looked like to me. It was years before I met my first Jamaican sister, a member of our first local order, 'the Blue Sisters.'
>
> 'I was not even imaginable to me/anyone in my country. I'm the manifestation of post-Vatican II—Vatican II led to me and to you.'—Carole Marie Webster, Jamaican Diaspora theologian

The Bishop of Castries, St Lucia, Gabriel Malzaire, put my youthful experience in context: 'Having grown in a very foreign church with foreign leadership, people's image of God was foreign.'[55] My image of a Sister was likewise foreign. Malzaire claimed that after the Second Vatican Council, 'there was a drive toward "local".'[56] Even so, as late as 1991, John Sauve, an American teacher and Jesuit volunteer, evinced

[53] Rommen, '*Créolité*, (Im)Mobility, and Music in Dominica,' 562. Indeed, Dominica is also home to the largest [remaining Indigenous] Carib (Kalinago) community (about 3,000) in the Caribbean. This community lives along the northeastern part of the island, within the borders of a reservation designated for its use since 1903. Their language, Island Carib, has fallen out of memory, but the community actively works to maintain Kalinago cultural practices in the face of the resolutely Creole national culture of Dominica. The Kalinago community has reason to feel marginalized within the contours of social and linguistic life in Dominica: the borders of the reservation physically mark their separation (Rommen, '*Créolité*, (Im)Mobility, and Music in Dominica,' 562).

[54] Perkins, 'Introduction.' Only in the Spanish-speaking countries is the official language the same as the language of the people (Sunshine, *The Caribbean*).

[55] Laura Ann Phillips, 'Caribbean Lay Consecrated Missionaries Building Regional Church,' Catholic News Service, 8 Oct. 2019.

[56] Phillips, 'Caribbean Lay Consecrated Missionaries,' 2019.

some discomfort at large Roman Catholic liturgies and Church gatherings in Jamaica where 'the assembled clergymen reflect a predominance of white faces presiding over a predominantly black congregation.'[57] Similarly, in 1991, renowned Catholic Jamaican sociologist, Rastafari scholar, and composer Barry Chevannes wrote an article for *Caribbean Quarterly* in which he maintained that the so-called traditional churches were in a state of crisis given that they remained essentially missionary, that is, European, in doctrine and worship, having failed to indigenize themselves. While Chevannes does not define indigenization, he maintained that a process of indigenization involves two things of the Church: 'a liturgy which is culturally meaningful and a theology, which begins to reflect at least some of the spiritual values which are deeply embedded in our culture.'[58]

Chevannes collapses inculturation into indigenization. Indigenization, in light of the 2017 AEC pastoral letter, refers to Caribbean people 'taking responsibility for our Church' through more inclusive lay participation and local leadership. This is a self-actualized 'world church.'[59] This requires that the Church, which had previously been exported as a commodity to the colonies in a presupposed superiority and demand for conformity, was 'indigenized by local leadership and by a review of mission practices. In short, it meant that the voice of non-European churches would be heard and respected as equal partners in the realization of the world Church.'[60]

> It was against an expatriate Church with its radically Eurocentric worldview that Black Power and other Black nationalisms raged. The collision and conflict between Black Power and the cultural hegemony of a colonial Church is portrayed in Trinidadian poet Jennifer Rahim's poem 'Black Power', in which a young girl in Catholic school gets caught up in the throes of the Black Power protest even as she struggles to understand the 'wrong' of which 'she could not tell'.[61]

[57] John Sauve, 'Suggestions for a Jamaican Theology of Psycho-Social Emancipation,' *Caribbean Quarterly*, 38, no. 2/3 (June–Sept. 1992): 81–95, at 91, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40654182.

[58] Barry Chevannes, 'Towards an Afro-Caribbean Theology: Principles for the Indigenisation of Christianity in the Caribbean,' *Caribbean Quarterly* (1991), 46.

[59] McIsaac, 'Impact of Vatican II on the Church in Jamaica.'

[60] McIsaac, 'Impact of Vatican II on the Church in Jamaica,' 62–63.

[61] This wrong is partly the act of a nun (representing the Church), who is now fearful of the upheaval even as she harangues her Afro-descended charges about their 'Hair', the 'importance' of which Rahim demonstrates with the use of a capital letter:

> Sister preached a mad Sermon on Hair,
> led blind prayers to the Virgin for peace –

Nonetheless, the Catholic Church has made a significant contribution to the education of Catholics and non-Catholics alike, even if it served to alienate them from their Africanness. 'With the Black Power Movement (in the 1970s), there surfaced a greater awareness in the people of their identity.'[62] '[T]he evolution of black clergy'[63] contributed to a deepening of that Black consciousness among many Catholics across the region.

4.1. *An Indigenous Religious Order*

The quest for a truly indigenous Church is captured in the story of Jamaica's first local order of religious, The Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help (FMS, 'the Blue Sisters'). The beginnings of the order predate Vatican II. In 1928, Bishop Joseph Dinand launched the project to form a native religious congregation, 'reasoning that should the Church depend wholly on foreign sources of personnel, the natives of the country would always regard her with at least a hint of suspicion.'[64] In so doing, he worked at dispelling xenophobia and tapped the potential for local vocations that were not taken account of seriously before. Indeed, in writing to the Prefect for Propaganda in 1929 concerning the new order, the bishop lamented:

> Nevertheless, it must be said with sorrow, that considering the place and the customs of the people, it is almost impossible for native Jamaican women to be admitted into these Religious Institutes, although vocations to the religious state are not lacking among the natives. In order that the religious state may be open also to the natives, and that the faithful in the interior of the Vicariate may be provided with (spiritual) necessities (there is no doubt but that native Sisters will produce great fruit for the spiritual good of Jamaica).[65]

her lenses as black as her fear.
Corralled in a rosary of responses,
she saw again the white of her father's shirt,
sailing to work. More than anything,
she wanted to march beside him, cuffing [hitting]
against the wrong she could not tell him,
shouting, 'Power!' until the whole sky fell. (Jennifer Rahim, 'Black Power April, 1970,' *Approaching Sabbaths: Poems* [Leeds, UK: Peepal Tree Press, 2009], 15.)

[62] Phillips, 'Caribbean Lay Consecrated Missionaries,' 2019.

[63] Phillips, 'Caribbean Lay Consecrated Missionaries,' 2019.

[64] F.J. Osborne, *History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica* (Bucks, UK: Caribbean Universities Press, 1977), 352.

[65] Osborne, *History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica*, 353.

Essentially, what Bishop Dinand lamented was that Black Jamaican women were not permitted to enter the missionary religious orders.[66] Indeed, the first superior of the new congregation, Sr Humiliana, OSF, was a Jamaican of French ancestry, who was chosen to found the institute as 'she understood both the mentality and capabilities of her people.'[67] Under her 25 years of leadership, the congregation grew exponentially, with apostolates in education and social work.[68]

The Sisters, of course, faced opposition in the often highly anti-Catholic Jamaican environment, and, on one occasion, it is reported that rocks were thrown at them as they walked through the community. The order was expected to fail but happily did not. The chief criticism of Sr Humiliana was that 'she admitted girls of the servant class into the community. Under colonialism, a distinct brand was placed on such a girl and marked her for life as a domestic, a servant of the plantocracy.'[69] Ironically, while admitting to the fact that she allowed such girls of 'the servant class' into the order, Mother Humiliana outlined that such girls were never intended to teach but rather to be let in as 'the second type of sister' in the congregation, the 'house Sister,' who was from the lower classes and was to dedicate their lives to domestic work in the convent: cooking, washing, and general housework. This would leave 'the first type of sister,' the teaching sister, drawn from the upper classes, to focus her efforts on educating. So, even the founding of a local congregation did not escape the racist colonial attitudes that existed in the wider society. Furthermore, it was not until 1961 that one from among their number was permitted to be elected Mother General, making the FMS a fully independent and autonomous congregation.[70] Other local congregations have followed.

[66] Mixed race, white, and Asian Jamaicans were recruited to enter these orders and the priesthood. See the story of the RSM in Mary Bernadette Little, *You Did It unto Me: The Story of Alpha and the Sisters of Mercy in Jamaica* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2012).

[67] Osborne, *History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica*, 362.

[68] The Sisters were given permission to pray the Office in the vernacular in their 1955 Constitution, prefiguring later developments in Vatican II.

[69] Osborne, *History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica*, 362.

[70] Stephen Maria Miles, *History of the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help of Jamaica, 1929–1995* (Kingston: Franciscan Missionary Sisters, 1996).

5. Indigenous Seminary Formation

The first native Caribbean bishop was Samuel E. Carter, SJ, who, in February 1966, was appointed as Auxiliary to Bishop John J. McEleney in the Archdiocese of Kingston.[71] Carter, who was of African and East Indian descent, was later installed at Holy Trinity Cathedral in Kingston, Jamaica, on 5 February 1971 as the first native archbishop of Kingston. His motto, 'That All May Be One,' was reflected in his deep ecumenical commitments, as demonstrated throughout his ministry.

In Jamaica, the development of native clergy started in 1952 with the opening of St Michael's Seminary, where initial training took place, with final studies in theology taking place abroad. St John Vianney Seminary in Trinidad had opened in 1943; later, the seminary was moved to lands adjacent to the University of the West Indies and a program in theology offered. Arrangements were made for the degrees to be awarded by the university. The Diocese of Montego Bay was created in 1967, and Edgerton Clarke, who was trained at St Michael's Seminary, was installed as bishop.

Under Carter's leadership, the curriculum at the seminary broadened to include training for permanent deacons, lay ministers, religious sisters, and lay persons.[72] Today, St Michael's is a theological college and seminary. Several Jamaican-born priests later became bishops in the other Anglophone Caribbean islands.[73] Currently, all prelates in the Anglophone dioceses are native born.

5.1. *Fragile Indigenization*

The fragility of this indigenization of local leadership was made clear in 2001 when, 14 months after the death of Trinidad's first local bishop, Archbishop Anthony Pantin, Rome appointed a white American, Edward J. Gilbert, as archbishop of Port of Spain. At the time, the priests of the archdiocese took the unusual step of protesting the appointment.[74] Some

[71] Carter accompanied Archbishop McEleney to the final session of Vatican II in 1965. See https://www.archbishopcarterfoundation.org.

[72] Carter made scholarships available to lay persons like me in the 1980s to study theology. In so doing, he helped develop a cadre of theologically trained lay persons who are contributing significantly to the life of the Caribbean Church. The story of St John Vianney is a similar one.

[73] For example, Anthony Dickson, Lawrence Burke (RIP), Don Reece, and Kenneth Richards.

[74] Mark Fineman, 'Trinidad Sees Its U.S. Archbishop as Vatican Slight,' *Los Angeles Times*, 26 May 2001.

described it as '"an insult", "a disfigurement of Caribbean identity" and a step toward the "cultural annihilation of Trinidad".'[75] Priest Clyde Harvey[76] stated, 'I have nothing against Bishop Gilbert as a person. He is a very charming man. However, I never thought that I would see this archdiocese made part of the process of recolonization of our people—American-style.'[77] Some lamented that 40 years after Vatican II moved to 'indigenize' the Church, rooting it more firmly in local cultures, this appointment indicated a trend toward putting the Church again under the control of 'doctrinal, foreign administrators.'[78] 'The tragedy of this appointment is that it sends the message that the Caribbean church is not ready for this prophetic role … To appoint an American bishop to the See of Port-of-Spain … sets the church here back 25 years.'[79]

To his credit, the then newly appointed archbishop, who had previously served in the Diocese of Roseau, did acknowledge the concerns with his appointment within the context of the larger intra-ecclesial debate raging among Catholics globally concerning the relationship between the local Church and the universal Church in Rome. At his retirement in 2011, he was succeeded by a native bishop.

5.2. *Caribbean Explorations into God*

The quest for an official corpus of 'Caribbean explorations into God,' reflecting at least some of the deeply embedded values in Caribbean culture, began as an ecumenical exercise led by Trinbagonian Presbyterian minister Idris Hamid, who is regarded as 'the father of Caribbean Theology.'[80] The Caribbean theological enterprise arose in response to the impact of European imperialism and missionary Christianity, which denigrated the divine presence in the culture of the people. The beginning of the formal theological enterprise in the Caribbean is marked by the discussion paper *In Search of New Perspectives*, written by Hamid in preparation for the Caribbean Ecumenical Consultation for Development, held in Trinidad in November 1971. Notably, the consultation was sponsored by the steering committee for the Caribbean Conference of

[75] Fineman, 'Trinidad Sees Its U.S. Archbishop.'
[76] Clyde is now bishop of the Diocese of St George's, Grenada.
[77] Fineman, 'Trinidad Sees Its U.S. Archbishop.'
[78] Fineman, 'Trinidad Sees Its U.S. Archbishop.'
[79] Fr Martin Sirju, in Fineman, 'Trinidad Sees Its U.S. Archbishop.'
[80] Celucien L. Joseph, 'Towards a Caribbean Political Theology of Emancipation and Decolonization: A Comparative Analysis of Four Caribbean Theologians,' *Black Theology* (2018): 1–33, doi: 10.1080/14769948.2018.1460553.

Churches—which was at that point in formation—supported by the Joint Commission of the World Council of Churches and the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace (SODEPAX). Among the members of the planning committee are listed the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Kingston, a representative of the Archbishop of Santo Domingo, and representatives from SODEPAX and the Pontifical Commission. The Catholic Church—local, regional, and universal—was firmly involved in the birthing of the Caribbean theological enterprise.

Hamid asserts in his first sentence that God has concern for the concrete conditions of our existence. He rejects the attempts made to spiritualize and soften God's concern for the concrete circumstances of the Caribbean, a context deeply marked by suffering. He called for a new theology, which would be a religious base for the region's development. This is the praxis-centred approach to doing theology, which Lowe Ching identifies as undertaken by Caribbean theologians.[81] This method first 'identifies the causes of the socio-economic, cultural, political, and, above all, religious forces of oppression that accounted for the persistent poverty, inhuman conditions and denigration that created persons lacking a real sense of identity and self-worth.'[82] *In Search of New Perspectives* was followed by two other volumes in which Catholics had a clear contribution.[83]

5.3. *Conference on Theology in the Caribbean Today*

One institution of theological reflection and action which emerged in the 1990s was the Catholic Theology Conference, which continued Hamid's work in a Catholic context.[84] At the same time, the theological and liturgical changes arising from Vatican II were another important contributor to the conference's genesis. Today, the conference has been

[81] Theresa Lowe Ching, 'The Mission of the Church in a Multicultural Context: Focus on Jamaica,' *Groundings* 21 (2009): 30–42.

[82] Lowe Ching, 'The Mission of the Church in a Multicultural Context,' 33.

[83] The Caribbean Theology project has spawned numerous scholarly and popular reflections over the decades, including Antiguan Kortright Davis's *Emancipation Still Comin': Explorations in Caribbean Emancipatory Theology* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2008) (Anglican); Jamaican Marjorie Lewis's 'Nannyish T'eology' discussed in 'Womanist Theology in the Caribbean,' in *Theologising Women: Writing Across the Traditions*, ed. Judith Soares (St Michael, Barbados: WAND, 2007), 33–50 (United Church); Jamaican Lewin Williams's *Caribbean Theology* (Peter Lang, 2004) (United Church); and Jamaican Hyacinth Boothe's *Breaking the Silence: A Woman's Voice* (Kingston: Faith Works Press, 1999) (Methodist).

[84] Boodoo, 'Vatican II and Catholic Theology in the Caribbean.'

renamed Conference on Theology in the Caribbean Today (CTCT), speaking to its more explicitly ecumenical and interfaith flavour; while members are still mainly Roman Catholic, others are Anglican, Spiritual Baptist, or African Methodist Episcopal.

At the Sixteenth Conference on Theology in the Caribbean Today, in St Vincent and the Grenadines, which reflected on 'Vatican II and the Church in the Caribbean,'[85] Boodoo argued that what we in the Caribbean 'have accomplished since Vatican II is to create theological spaces that have been generated by involuntary associations and which are transgressive and eclectic.'[86] His reflections and others bear some interrogation.

At the same time, in her analysis of the development of Caribbean theology in the region's multicultural context, Lowe Ching notes that the African experience has been privileged. She therefore calls for Caribbean theology to 'take more into account not only the various religious traditions that are present in the region but, perhaps even more directly, the contribution of the various cultures in which those traditions are embedded and which continue to influence, often unconsciously, Caribbean life and religious experience.'[87] She points out the practical work toward a more adequate inculturation of the Christian message, which was being undertaken at St Michael's Theological College, which explores the possible contribution of other groups and traditions.[88]

6. Window 3: Inculturation

> A little girl, (the Lord is with Thee) / White in organdy, / Lifts her starched, black face / Towards the barricaded altar / Meadowed in lace…[89]

The idea of inculturation has focused mainly on the liturgy.[90] Wiezlan speaks of this as liturgical inculturation. Francis, however, laments the

[85] Boodoo, 'Vatican II and Catholic Theology in the Caribbean.'

[86] Boodoo, 'Vatican II and Catholic Theology in the Caribbean.'

[87] Lowe Ching, 'The Mission of the Church in a Multicultural Context,' 37–38.

[88] Proceedings from these series of Seminars have been published in *Groundings*.

[89] Barbara Ferland, 'Ave Maria,' in *Voiceprint: An Anthology of Oral and Related Poetry from the Caribbean*, eds. Stewart Brown, Mervyn Morris, and Gordon Rohlehr (Kingston: Longman, 1989), 209.

[90] Translations of the New Testament in the Jamaican language have been done by Wycliffe Caribbean Bible translators, but these are not approved translations and are not used in the Roman Catholic Church: https://www.jamaicaobserver.com/2019/01/14/patois-bible-to-be-completed-in-2026. In the 1980s, the Francophone dioceses of the AEC attempted to translate the Mass into French. The translations were used especially in the

lack of a Caribbean Rite. The AEC has been hampered in the creation of such a rite due to the diversity of languages, the differences in cultural expressions, and 'the unavailability of experts in the field to push the process forward.'[91] 'Finding common ground on any liturgical style for our Conference can be very challenging.'[92] Of course, the period for experimentation with elements of local culture in liturgies, thus enriching both the local and universal Church, has long passed.[93]

In spite of this failure, Francis sees many successes in the Caribbean Church. He highlights the numerous compositions from across the AEC region, including Jamaica (Fr Richard Ho Lung, Barry Chevannes, Lisa Narcisse, Mapletoft Poulle), Trinidad (Fr Garfield Rochard, Peter Telfer, Clyde Harvey), and Trinidad/Guyana (Bro Pascal Jordan).[94] Both Narcisse and Poulle composed folk masses. Compositions were done in English, French, Kweyol, Sranan Tongo, and Papiamentu. 'This is a patrimony that we ought to be justly proud of; our music can stand side by side with any other liturgical music anywhere in the world. We witnessed a lull in the 1990s and 2000s but with the advent of the new Roman Missal, the composers are back at it again with musical compositions for the ordinary of the Mass.'[95]

These compositions are already under way, as seen in the work of contemporary composers such as Kevin Williams and Locksley Robinson in Jamaica and Jill Ann Morris and Peter Telfer in Trinidad. Still, Francis is concerned with the impact of the new Roman Missal with its switch from 'dynamic equivalence' to 'formal correspondence':

> We are commemorating fifty years since Vatican II was convoked. The Church has achieved much; we in the Caribbean have brought worship to completely new levels so much so that when our people attend Mass in many churches overseas, they find it rather boring. So much do we take for granted. The introduction of the new Roman Missal with all the promises of bringing the texts closer to the Latin original has brought many of us much chagrin.[96]

celebrations of International Kweyol Day in October each year. The process of getting approval from Rome did not happen, however. Francis, 'Vatican II and the Liturgy,' details Rome's lack of expertise in the languages, which often led to a stifling of the process of approval.

[91] Francis, 'Vatican II and the Liturgy,' 26.

[92] Francis, 'Vatican II and the Liturgy,' 26.

[93] Francis, 'Vatican II and the Liturgy.'

[94] See Anna Kasafi Perkins, '"Blak Up! Blak Up!" The Liturgical Compositions of Barry Chevannes,' in *The African-Caribbean Worldview and the Making of Caribbean Society*, ed. Horace Levy (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2009).

[95] Francis, 'Vatican II and the Liturgy,' 28.

[96] Francis, 'Vatican II and the Liturgy,' 29.

Nonetheless, contrary to Chevannes[97] and Francis,[98] Tulloch argues that the inculturation that has taken place in the Roman Catholic Church in Jamaica has been superficial, as it does not truly respond to the challenges created by globalization. According to him, 'the local Church efforts at inculturation have been limited to mere liturgical adaptation.'[99] He maintains that the Church is not sufficiently attentive to local realities, which, while this might include the liturgy, should embrace the entire life of the Church. This would be in keeping with the spirit of Vatican II, Tulloch, a Jamaican Jesuit, maintains. He goes on to critique the lack of development of a local theology from which the local Church should arise. His critique does not truly take account of the existence of the theological developments, which have been part of the conversation in the region, particularly through the work of the theological colleges and the CTCT. Certainly, theological developments are not final but are always a work in progress as attempts are made to more deeply inculturate the vision of Vatican II.

Lowe Ching suggests that there is a need to enhance 'present liturgical practices and point the way to more meaningful and effective expressions in the present Caribbean/Jamaican context.'[100] She ventures the need to stress and recognize inclusivity in the 'plural Caribbean society, which is endowed with a multiplicity of races, cultures and social experiences, yet bonded together by a common colonial experience.'[101] In addition, the Church in the Caribbean should use 'appropriate images and symbols that resonate in the unconscious depths of Caribbean peoples and are capable of evoking more genuine responses.'[102]

6.1. *Liturgical Innovations in Art*

Lowe Ching's call for appropriate images and symbols that resonate with the depths of the Caribbean people's consciousness finds expression in examples in the Church, which involve liturgical innovations in ways that can be argued to challenge the official Church.[103] Anthony, in his discussion of popular Catholicism among St Lucians, describes the official

[97] Chevannes, 'Towards an Afro-Caribbean Theology.'
[98] Francis 'Vatican II and the Liturgy.'
[99] Tulloch, 'Global and Local Challenges to the Inculturation of the Faith in Jamaica,' 76.
[100] Lowe Ching, 'Response to Fr Michel Francis,' 10.
[101] Lowe Ching, 'Response to Fr Michel Francis,' 10.
[102] Lowe Ching, 'Response to Fr Michel Francis,' 40–41.
[103] Bamat and Wiest, 'Introduction,' 1–18.

efforts at inculturation in the Church after Vatican II.[104] This began with the liturgical reforms initiated by Vatican II. The Bishop of Castries, Charles Gachet, who resigned in 1974, promoted the use of the vernacular in the liturgy, which at that point was perceived to be English. A number of local hymns based on the North American model of the folk hymn were composed. Important, and characteristic of the St Lucian experience, was the painting of brightly coloured murals in various churches by local Methodist artist Dunstan St Olmer, including the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Castries.[105]

St Olmer painted biblical personages and beloved Catholic saints looking like St Lucians. 'For the first time Christ and his disciples were painted in a shape and a form with which people could identify.'[106] The finest and best known of these is the altarpiece of the Holy Family from the parish church in Jacmel/Roseau (see Figure 2).[107]

Figure 2: Mural of the Holy Family, Roman Catholic Church, Jacmel-Rosseau, St Lucia (with friendly permission by the Diocese of Castries).

[104] Patrick A.B. Anthony, 'St Lucia, West Indies: Garden of Eden?' in *Popular Catholicism in a World Church: Seven Case Studies in Inculturation*, eds. Thomas Bamat and Jean-Paul Wiest (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999), 87–118.

[105] The Regional Seminary of St John Vianney in Trinidad also has an altar mural painted by St Olmer.

[106] Anthony, 'St Lucia, West Indies,' 112.

[107] Nobel Laureate Derek Walcott wrote of it in his poem 'Sea Grapes' (1976), and it has graced the covers of two books. I have visited on two or three occasions.

The mural depicts the life of the ordinary people of Jacmel/Roseau, which was built upon two large (now defunct) banana estates as well as fishing. The green of the banana suffuses the entire mural, along with the golden Lucian sunshine and the brown of Lucian bodies. The *chantwelle* dressed in local costume blows the conch, signalling a good catch. The Madonna and child—a Black Mary and baby Jesus—are paralleled by an East Indian mother and child; these are the two dominant ethnic groups in Jacmel/Roseau, arising from enslavement and indentureship. There is also a couple dancing the *debot*, an African-derived song-dance, which was condemned by the Church for its sexual suggestiveness.[108]

The Black Madonna and child are at the centre of the piece. The child in his mother's arms holds aloft the host. Mary's face is a traditional African mask, which St Olmer and his sons use often in depicting the Madonna. The baby has the face of a young stag, which symbolizes divinity in some African cultures. St Olmer deliberately deploys the mask in an effort to avoid the errors of European artists, who drew Mary looking like a European woman, which in a context of domination has led to much self-negation. Across the Caribbean there are continued debates about the representation of the divine with African features and in African garb. In one Anglican church in Jamaica, a sculpture by the renowned Edna Manley, entitled 'Angel,' was rejected by many members. Another piece of Manley's in Holy Cross Roman Catholic church in Half-Way Tree was similarly rejected and remains contentious to this day.[109] This piece, entitled 'The Grief of Mary,' was commissioned by the then pastor and future archbishop of Kingston Samuel E. Carter in the 1960s. A more contemporary conversation concerns repainting the traditional statues in Sts Peter and Paul Church in hues more representative of the largely Brown middle-class members. Today, one young artist has made a ministry of repainting and repairing such traditional European statues in more representative hues.

7. Toward an Inadequate Conclusion

> These are the challenges the Church in the Caribbean faces today. The Caribbean Church needs to see the laity's role evolve with a robust collaborative and participative encounter within the Church and greater awareness of our co-responsibility for the Church's mission.[110]

[108] Anthony, 'St Lucia, West Indies.' Similar experiences with Bele Legiz in Guadeloupe.
[109] Communication with pastor, 2021.
[110] Antilles Episcopal Conference. *New Ways of Being Church in a Digital Milieu* (Port of Spain, Trinidad: Antilles Episcopal Conference, 2017), 43.

The Catholic Church in the Caribbean may have come full circle as, arguably, the dominance of the Church in the region is waning. An indication of this was the closing of the St John Vianney Seminary in Trinidad in 2010. The seminary had become unsustainable; the seminarians were sent for training in the Spanish-speaking Dominican Republic. Prior to this, St Michael's Seminary was closed for a while and the seminarians sent to St John Vianney. The Church is being challenged on several fronts, including inroads being made by evangelical Christianity and falling numbers of Indigenous clergy.[111] Today, Anglophone Caribbean churches import priests from Africa, India, and Europe. Still, there are not enough priests to serve the population, even a decreasing one. Archbishop of Nassau Patrick Pinder sees a link between the ability to attract young people into the Church and the lack of indigenous clergy. Yet, this may be the call to truly make the Church a more inclusive space, with laity taking on co-responsibility for the Church.

Signs of hope and transformation exist in the growing presence of consecrated lay missionaries deployed across the region. Laura Ann Phillips maintains that the move toward local missionaries envisioned by Vatican II 'has been transformed into consecrated lay people serving territories within the Caribbean region.'[112] The Trinidad-based Living Water Community is among the first new ecclesial movements in the Anglophone Caribbean sending consecrated lay persons to other territories, such as Barbados, St Lucia, and Dominica. Another newer ecclesial group is Eternal Light Community, which runs a mission in Delford, a fishing village in Tobago.[113] Of course, Caribbean Catholics are still getting accustomed to consecrated lay people living in community, living lives of service to the poor. Missionaries who look, speak, and dress like them make it easy for people to open up and accept them.[114]

[111] Catholic Herald, 'Catholicism still dominant in Caribbean, but its influence wanes,' *Catholic Herald*, 6 Feb. 2012, https://catholicherald.org/news/nation-and-world/catholicism-still-dominant-in-caribbean-but-its-influence-wanes.

[112] Phillips, 'Caribbean Lay Consecrated Missionaries.'

[113] Companions of the Transfigured Christ is a lay ecclesial community in the Dutch island of Curaçao. People of Praise is an ecclesial community in Jamaica.

[114] Jennifer Jennings in Phillips, 'Caribbean Lay Consecrated Missionaries.'

VATICAN II AND CANADA'S FIRST NATIONS: THE MEDICINE WHEEL PRACTICE OF THE ANISHNAABEG PEOPLE AND THE PATH TO INCULTURATION[1]

EVA SOLOMON, CSJ

The Second Vatican Council's Decree on Missionary Activity of the Church, *Ad Gentes*, affirms that the process of evangelization is dialogical and incarnational. It teaches that the Christian faith must adapt 'to the character and disposition of each culture' as the gospel takes root. Further, it states: 'From the customs and traditions of their own peoples, from their own wisdom and learning, from the arts and sciences, these churches borrow everything which can contribute to the praise and glory of the creator, to making manifest the grace of the saviour and to the due regulation of Christian life' (AG 22). This affirmation of the values inherent in the cultures of various peoples was not familiar to Canada's First Nations, who often experienced the evangelizing activity of the Church by European settlers as a negative judgment and even a condemnation of their traditional ways. They came to understand that coming to faith in Jesus required setting aside their Indigenous cultural values and spiritual practice.

This chapter tells the story of the shared journey of faith of the Anishnaabeg and settler peoples on the north shores of Lake Superior, Canada. In the decades since Vatican II, Indigenous and settler Catholics have been walking together in the diocese of Thunder Bay, Ontario, seeking to receive this teaching. Through dialogue they have sought to renew their understanding of the many spiritual gifts present in Indigenous traditions and to learn the meaning of a true inculturation of the Christian

[1] This chapter is a slightly revised excerpt from *Come Dance with Me: A Medicine Wheel Practice of Anishnaabe Catholic Inculturation of Faith*. New Paths for the Churches and Indigenous Peoples, Vol. 1 (Toronto: Novalis, 2022). It is published here with the author's permission. All quotations of the final documents of Vatican II are from *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils: From Nicaea I to Vatican II*, ed. Norman P. Tanner (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990).

faith. Step by step, the Anishnaabeg are becoming agents of inculturation and evangelization, learning to reconcile the Anishnaabe traditions with Christian faith and practice, building an Anishnaabe Church. The practice of the medicine wheel provides a model for this dialogical process of mutual exchange and discernment.

1. The Context: The Diocese of Thunder Bay

Located in Northwestern Ontario, the diocese of Thunder Bay was established in 1952. It is comprised of territory that had once been part of the diocese of Sault Ste Marie, Ontario, in the east, and part of the diocese of Winnipeg, Manitoba, in the west. It has 42 parishes with a total Catholic population of 78,000. Twenty of the 42 parishes are in the city of Thunder Bay; about half of them are national parishes (for a particular cultural groups). For decades, the Anishinaabeg people worshipped in other parishes and centres until an Anishinaabe parish was established in 1996. In the eastern part of the diocese, Jesuits were the primary ministers to Anishinaabe people. In the western and northern sections, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate served among them. Although these two religious communities are still present in the diocese, diocesan priests now share the responsibility for ministering to the Anishinaabeg.

The city of Thunder Bay is the last interior Canadian port city on the St. Lawrence Seaway, located on Lake Superior. An industrial port city associated with shipping, pulp and paper, lumber, and grain elevator industries, it is the main service provider of transportation, education, medicine, and supplies to the surrounding towns and villages. As a port city, it is multiethnic and multiracial. It has the third busiest airport in Ontario, serving many communities in the North that are inaccessible by road. The city has a population of 10,000 to 15,000 First Nations people, who are a visible minority.

The diocese is located on traditional Anishinaabe territory. For thousands of years, Anishinaabeg have occupied this area, which continues to have a significant Anishinaabe population. Three Anishinaabe groups occupy this region within the diocesan boundaries: those in the eastern section of the diocese are in the eastern part of the province of Ontario, and their language is Ojibway (Ojibwe); those of the western part are in Manitoba, and their language is called Saulteaux-Ojibway; and those of the north of the diocese are in the northern Cree areas, and their language is Oji-Cree.

2. Initial Efforts at Inculturation in the Wake of Vatican II

The early work of the missionaries did not engage the Anishinaabeg in the dialogue of faith and culture very well. Following Vatican II, both the Jesuits and the Oblates who were working with the Anishinaabeg began to address interculturation through a dialogue process. The missionaries and pastoral workers, however, still saw themselves as leaders responsible for inculturation. They were concerned with exploring the Anishinaabe culture to help them minister more effectively. They were encouraging and promoting the development of Indigenous leadership, yet their methodology and theology came out of non-Anishinaabeg processes. As a result, it was, for some, a frustrating ministry. The missionaries, the pastoral workers, and the Anishinaabeg were searching for more effective ways to develop Indigenous leaders. To address this need, they began to develop a Native diaconate program. The program was still patterned, however, on non-Anishinaabeg models. The missionaries failed to recognize the need for a distinct method in dialogue with the Anishinaabeg where they might articulate their own cultural reality. They understood the process of inculturation as the insertion of the gospel into the Anishinaabe culture without recognizing the Church as an equal cultural partner in the dialogue. The Anishinaabeg saw themselves as recipients of inculturation without recognizing themselves as equal partners in a process that could transform the Church as well. Once the Anishinaabeg began to articulate theology out of their own cultural reality, the medicine wheel method began to develop.

In the early 1960s, the Diocesan Council of Clergy established a Spring and Fall Pastoral Seminar for the personal and ministerial development of the clergy and pastoral workers. At the same time, the Jesuits were holding Jesuit Mission Meetings to address the needs of their missionaries in the eastern part of the dioceses of Thunder Bay diocese and the Sault Ste Marie. These meetings were held several times a year and included both clergy and representatives of the Anishinaabeg. By design, they facilitated the development of Anishinaabe education, participation, and leadership skills in the post-Vatican II church. They did not, however, effectively address the inner dynamics of Anishinaabeg, who struggled with the reversals of Church positions on culture and the expression of Catholic faith. In addition to the Jesuit meetings in the eastern part of the diocese, the Oblate clergy met regularly with fellow Oblates from the neighbouring western diocese of Winnipeg.

The exploration of Indigenous spirituality, culture, rituals, and ceremonies was conducted within a Euro-Canadian cultural approach. Bernard

Lonergan's theological reflection model was used, and it was presented to us by several Jesuits. This method involved three aspects: experience, reflection, and action. It is sometimes referred to as 'see, judge, act.' The physical arrangement of the room was still in linear patterns, though the small working groups were circular. The pedagogy still highlighted the expert/student relationship. It did not facilitate a dialogue of equals. That model, however, made the transition to the medicine wheel model easier. Because the transition was gradual, the experience of the medicine wheel model preceded the consciousness that such a model was in fact an effective Anishinaabe model of theological reflection. Since it is not an articulated model, I describe it in the initial praxis as developmental steps in the evolution of the medicine wheel praxis model.

By 1980, there had developed a recognition that non-Anishinaabe ministers needed education and assistance in understanding Anishinaabe culture and spirituality. There was also a growing dissatisfaction among those non-Indigenous ministers with their participation in biannual diocesan seminars, which did not seem to address their ministerial requirements. To meet this need, the Native Pastoral Seminar was initiated in 1982 as a one-day addition to the annual seminar. This eventually grew into a separate four-day Diocesan Native Pastoral Seminar. A unique feature of this seminar was that all interested Indigenous people in the diocese were invited to participate. The total participation ranged from 60 to 80 people. These seminars became key initial steps toward the development of a local theology and the Nishnawbe Celebration of Baptism.

Gene Bannon, an Anishinaabe man, and Armand Danis, a Euro-Canadian man, both of whom were involved in the Catholic charismatic movement, facilitated the first full-day Native Pastoral Seminar. The seminar was offered as an introduction to Indigenous spirituality. Sister Priscilla Solomon, an Anishinaabe woman who was just beginning ministry in the diocese, attended. Following the seminar, she shared her observations and concerns with the facilitators and the bishop. Despite the positive beginning of the seminar, there was a concern that the presentations of the significant aspects of Anishinaabe spirituality and culture and Catholic charismatic spirituality were not differentiated. Furthermore, the non-Indigenous facilitator reinforced the charismatic element and did not recognize that although Anishinaabe spirituality is charismatic, it is different from the charismatic movement in the Catholic Church. This lack of differentiation could be as destructive in the development of an Anishinaabe Catholic Church as the previous cultural impositions. Sister Priscilla Solomon stated that Anishinaabe spirituality and culture would

most effectively be reflected upon and understood by non-Anishinaabe clergy, religious, and lay pastoral workers if Anishinaabeg were engaged in leadership of the seminar process itself—Anishinaabe participation and experience were essential to any educational and catechetical transformation.

Immediately following the seminar, bishop John A. O'Mara assembled a planning team in preparation for the next seminar. It was comprised of himself and four Anishinaabeg: Bessie Mainville, Dolly Roach, Gene Bannon, and Priscilla Solomon. The first two were Anishinaabeg from the Oblate-influenced western side of the diocese, while the latter two were from the Jesuit-influenced eastern area of the diocese. There were challenges in developing the seminar because this team was bringing together different ministerial approaches of the Jesuit and Oblate missionaries and the regional diversity of the Anishinaabeg. The Northern Ojibway of the east were different from the Saulteaux-Ojibway of the west. The major challenge was confronting, with honesty and compassion, the fear of Anishinaabe spirituality. For the Anishinaabeg, this meant a radical rethinking and re-evaluation of their traditional spirituality and beliefs and their self-identity, inasmuch as it had been constructed by Catholicism. Missionaries, in turn, feared that they might fail Catholic teaching and mislead the Anishinaabe people if they changed and accepted Anishinaabe spirituality.

The main intent of the Native Pastoral Seminar was, initially, to share the traditions, culture, and spirituality of the Anishinaabeg with the missionaries so that they might serve the people better. The missionaries asked that the Anishinaabeg tell them about their culture so they could better understand their concerns and ministry. Prior to this, there had been no real dialogue concerning Anishinaabe culture and Catholic faith because the Anishinaabeg had accepted what they had been taught in their early Church history and through the Residential Schools. It was understood by the Anishinaabeg that to be a Christian, they had to deny everything in their tradition. This dialogue entailed a conversion process that was initially distressing and painful to both Anishinaabeg and non-Anishinaabeg. Fidelity to the process brought new positive self-images, new understanding, and new and exciting challenges.

In years that followed, concerns grew for the Anishinaabeg in the Native Pastoral Seminar regarding Anishinaabe traditions and Catholic faith. The dialogue with Anishinaabe culture and traditions forced many to question whether it is possible to recognize both Anishinaabe traditions and Catholic faith. How could Anishinaabeg remain faithful to both

traditions? For some, the question had unconsciously become a choice between tradition and Catholic faith. From the beginning of the seminar, bishop O'Mara encouraged Anishinaabe people to take on roles of leadership. This initiative received support from the non-Anishinaabe Church leaders. As the seminars developed, it encouraged further participation of the Anishinaabe people, subsequently building confidence in the participants and honouring the pre-existing pattern of communication among the Anishinaabeg. According to Anishinaabe tradition, this pattern involved speaking in a sacred circle. In the sacred circle, every person's word is valued as an aspect of the truth; sharing enriches the entire community, and decisions are made by consensus. Many were initially reluctant to share their Anishinaabe spiritual traditions. Prior to the seminars, those aspects of life were kept separate from their celebration of Catholic faith. Out of fear engendered by previous teachings, they did not think the two belonged together. I remember many of the Elders were angry, fearful, and confused. They did not understand why they were asked about their traditions or how their traditions could be joined with the Catholic faith.

Thanks to my own faith journey in interculturation, I understood the difficulty of the request. It is a challenge to present one's traditions and have them understood, yet the process can also give life. I believe that if we begin to own the goodness that is present in ourselves and in our culture more fully, this requires that we change our identity and our boundaries in some concrete ways. The question remains: Are we prepared to do that?

Despite the destruction brought about by the Church, the government, and the dominant society, our fear of bad medicine did not diminish. In Anishinaabe tradition, bad medicine is anything that destroys one's sense of well-being, while good medicine is anything that restores balance, harmony, and peace in one's life. 'Bad medicine' became an expression for everything and anything that came from of the culture of the white man. It is still a topic most Anishinaabeg are reluctant to speak about and, in the context of the Native Pastoral Seminar, many were unwilling to deal with it in depth. However, I believe that until the bad medicine is dealt with, we will never be able to create a full, true local theology. I think our people must first become comfortable owning the goodness of their culture. I believe that we are in a crucial time and space in terms of constructing a local theology. We will be able to work harmoniously with all aspects of life to recreate our people only to the extent that we can recreate our boundaries with inclusivity and safety.

In 1992, the Ontario Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a statement at the Ontario Native Kateri Conference in Thunder Bay that helped our people to become more comfortable exploring our Anishinaabe spirituality and our Catholic faith traditions. The bishops said:

> We are aware that many ceremonies and traditions of the Native people may have been misunderstood and too easily pushed aside. The Sacred Pipe, the Vision Quest, the Fast and the Sweat Lodge are gifts that your ancestors passed on to you as ways of relating to the Creator and to each other—practices understood in the light of the Good News of Christ. … Indeed, the process of assimilation, as experienced even in the preaching of the gospel in Ontario, has sadly had its own painful impact on the Native peoples. We can only sincerely regret this.[2]

3. The Practice of the Medicine Wheel

According to the American theologian Robert Schreiter, 'a local theology begins with the needs of a people in a concrete place, and from there, moves to the traditions of faith.'[3] This is borne out in the experience of the Anishinaabeg in the diocese of Thunder Bay. In 1989, participants of the Native Pastoral Seminar sought to identify the 10 most urgent issues. We began listing social issues and wove them together with the cultural symbols that all revolve around one image—the sacred circle of life—the medicine wheel. In our Anishinaabe creation story, when Sky Woman descended from the Spirit world, she sprinkled a tiny bit of earth around the rim of Turtle's back, and from this circle of earth grew this land we call Turtle Island (North America). Saint Kateri, the first Indigenous woman of North America to be canonized, was from the turtle clan, so the turtle has even more significance for us today. From the circular image of the turtle's back came the medicine wheel, the dream catcher, the Sweat Lodge, and other ceremonies. This root metaphor of the Anishinaabeg provides the major linkage between the sign systems[4] of the sociopolitical, economic, and religious domains of this culture. From the most urgent issues we identified, we developed a five-year plan.

[2] Ontario Conference of Catholic Bishops, *To the Native Catholic People of Ontario on the Occasion of the Kateri Conference in Thunder Bay*, 19–22 Aug. 1992.

[3] Robert J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1985), 13.

[4] Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 70.

My personal experience and conviction regarding the necessity to inculturate the faith was so strong that, in addition to my diocesan responsibilities, I established the Ontario Native Kateri Conference and a pious association, the Companions of Kateri. These two enterprises reinforced the urgency and importance of interculturation and provided other means to broaden opportunities for the Anishinaabeg to learn and to share in discussions and reflections with Anishinaabeg in neighbouring dioceses. They also serve to help the Indigenous people see that interculturation of faith is part of a much broader concern of the whole Church. Having members of the Church hierarchy involved publicly in various conferences and seminars helped to reassure the people that interculturation and fidelity to our Catholic faith are compatible. The planning groups of both the Ontario Native Kateri Conference and the Native Pastoral Seminar were comprised of Anishinaabeg who were respected grassroots leaders, Elders in various contexts and traditional leaders, as well as non-Indigenous leaders, including the bishop, a deacon, and a theologian. Throughout my ministry in the diocese, I have been very conscious of the contribution of our poets, artists, actors, playwrights, musicians, dancers, and drummers and have involved them in our efforts to interculturate faith, even though some of them felt hesitant to bring together Anishinaabe spirituality and Christianity.

In the beginning, seminars explored traditional cultural symbols and rituals, such as the Eagle Feather and the Purification ritual, and gradually began to deal with more complex symbols. It was like simultaneously walking around the medicine wheel over and over and moving in and out of the centre. Our methodology arose out of an intuitive sense of the dynamics of the medicine wheel and the process of consensus decision-making as inherent in the circle of life. We did not, however, name our methodology or designate it as a method of practical theology; rather, we began to articulate it through our knowledge and experience of the sacred circle and medicine wheel.

We began each seminar by exploring with the participants the available knowledge of a symbol from any sources we could find. These resources included experience, legends, traditional teachings, or a shared feature or attribute found within scripture or church rituals. We then invited the participants to experience the ritual. In doing so, the seminars became a safe environment to learn or relearn, experience, and celebrate various aspects of our culture without feeling ashamed or ignorant. We then spent time reflecting on it from our Catholic perspective. We asked participants the meaning of the ritual, the meaning of the ritual if it were used in

certain contexts, and the appropriate context in which the ritual might be used. Participation in a Powwow became a visual embodiment of the transformation and integration of Anishinaabe spirituality in the minds and hearts of the people. Participants did not feel threatened by the Powwow since they were familiar with it. They also did not yet understand how completely expressive it is of Anishinaabe spirituality. Initially, only a small number of people were willing to participate, but over the years, almost everyone began to dance. The participation of the bishop and several of the missionaries in the seminars meant that there was a sense of openness that affirmed the people in their exploration of interculturation in the context of Anishinaabe traditions and the Catholic faith.

Seminars dealt with a variety of topics, such as the Eagle Feather, the Purification Ceremony, the Prayers of the Directions, the Sacred Pipe, the Naming Ceremony, the Sweat Lodge and its relationship to the Vision Quest and Confirmation, Youth and Elders, the Christian Family, the Drum, the Central Message of Jesus, Faithful Inculturation, a Nishnawbe Celebration of Baptism, and, most recently, the Powwow. These seminars became key to the development of the Nishnawbe Celebration of Baptism.

After the completion of several seminars, we began slowly to introduce the material and ceremonies we had discussed, explored, and celebrated into different Anishinaabe faith communities. We gradually began to use the Purification ceremony in prayer services; eventually, we felt that it was appropriate to use it at the time of the penitential rite of the Eucharist. Furthermore, we began to use the Sacred Pipe ceremony as one form of our communal prayer, cedar oil for anointing of the sick, and the Sweat Lodge as a form of healing prayer. One bishop now uses cedar leaf essence instead of balsam to make the chrism that is used throughout the diocese. In addition, during the Eucharist we began to have the eucharistic celebrant pray the Anamnesis prayer[5] while using the following directional indications:

> Through him (facing east),
> and with him (facing south),
> and in him (facing west),
> in the unity of the Holy Spirit (facing north),
> all glory and honour are yours, Almighty Father (facing upward),
> Forever and ever. Amen (facing downward).

[5] Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, 'Liturgy of the Eucharist: Anamnesis Prayer,' in *Sacramentary* (Ottawa: Concacan Inc., 1983), 595.

We conducted Anishinaabe ceremonies in a natural setting within the city of Thunder Bay. We created a Sweat Lodge in a private wooded area between the Diocesan Pastoral Centre and Avila Centre, where the seminars were held.

Through the seminars, we began to make connections between the traditional spirituality of the Anishinaabe and Christianity. We learned the interrelationship between Anishinaabe traditional spirituality and Christianity as an addition of the former to Christian ways. It was understood that the two ways were formerly treated as separate traditions and practices, running in parallel directions. This was not true interculturation; as a result, we named the interrelationship as a dual system and diagrammatically illustrated it for participants. We were, according to Schreiter's discussion of practical theology, following both sets of rituals and saw no contradictions.[6] We recognized, however, that Christianity was a necessary step in the process to not alienate other members of the faith community who did not have the same opportunities for discussion and exploration.

The eagle feather was used as a symbol for the process of interculturation. One side of the feather represented the traditional spirituality of the Anishinaabeg, and the other represented Christianity. Christ was, in this process, recognized as the life-giving vein that enriches both: without him, neither part would be whole. Through this understanding of interculturation, it became clear that the two cultures were sharing in the same life of Christ and were able to enrich one another. Our hope became that one day we might be able to integrate authentically both ways into our total Anishinaabe being. We had the support of the bishop, who was very committed to the Anishinaabe people and our self-determination in all aspects of life: social, political, economic, and religious. His participation affirmed his determination to walk with us on our journey of liberation. I recall times when we asked him about incorporating something into a liturgy or paraliturgical celebration. He would reply by asking *us* to tell him why it was suitable and how it could be incorporated. In doing so, he would help us to clarify our reasons and listen to our justifications. This process was part of a significant shift in understanding and, as a result, a shift in the expression of ecclesial, political, and communal power, which proved to be essential to the development of the Anishinaabe Catholic Church. The bishop continually challenged us to 'become

[6] Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 148.

the subjects of our own history.'[7] He often told the Anishinaabeg that what we were doing would not only enrich our own faith life, but also it would enrich the whole Church.

4. From Practice toward a Local Theology

Through the Native Pastoral Seminar, we began to explore and articulate a localized Anishinaabe theology. During the Mass or paraliturgical services, we incorporated various elements of Anishinaabe ceremonies, including the Sweetgrass ceremony, the Purification ceremony, the Sweat Lodge, the Sacred Pipe, Naming ceremonies, and the Healing Circle. According to Anishinaabe tradition, ceremonies are related to myths, stories, prophecies, and teachings. From these ceremonies, our people derive strength and spiritual meaning. On several occasions, during the opening procession and the recessional, the Sacred Pipe was carried in front of the crucifix as a symbolic statement of having received a God-given, sacred tradition prior to receiving our Judeo-Christian sacred tradition. Alternatively, if there happened to be a special offertory procession, the Sacred Pipe led that procession. A hand drum or a larger ceremonial drum was used in the processions or on other occasions during the liturgy. Several sacramental celebrations, such as baptism, reconciliation, confirmation, and holy orders, have incorporated elements of Anishinaabe tradition while honouring the integrity of those sacraments. We also used a Purification ceremony at the penitential rite. The celebrant or deacon reading the gospel or preaching holds an eagle feather, symbolic of Gitchi Manitou's words of truth being spoken to us. Furthermore, the Sacred Pipe ceremony usually took place at the rite of peace. When the pipe carrier finished the prayer of the pipe, members of the community shared in the pipe. When this was completed, the deacon—or, in his absence, the pipe carrier—would say to the congregation, 'Let us offer each other the sign of peace, which this Sacred Pipe signifies.'

A local theology, in turn, began to develop because of our exploration of the interrelationship between Anishinaabe traditional spirituality and Christianity. Ceremonies had, as a result, become common practice among many Catholic Anishinaabeg. The first local sacramental theology formally approved by the bishops was entitled *Nishnawbe Celebration*

[7] Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 17.

of Baptism.[8] This document outlined the celebration of the sacrament of baptism with the incorporation of Anishinaabe traditions and ceremonies. The various aspects, meanings, and symbols of baptism included in the document are, but are not limited to, the welcoming of community members and the family of the infant, the naming of the infant, the reading of the word of God, the signing of documentation, the baptism with water, the profession of faith, the anointing with chrism, the white garment, the light of Christ, and the prayer of the community. The document explored where each of the following aspects and symbols might fit in the sacred circle of life. We conducted a traditional Naming ceremony in the eastern direction, in accordance with the baptism ritual. Since the south is the direction of women, we chose to do the blessing of the mother in that direction. In addition, due to the importance of community responsibility for each child of the village and receiving the child into an already believing faith community, we decided to have the community bless the child in the southern direction. Through this blessing, the community voiced their commitment to nurture the child in his or her faith life and to profess the faith into which he or she was being welcomed. The baptism took place in the west because in our tradition, water, death, and dying are associated with the western direction. In addition, the west is man's direction, so we chose to bless the father of the child in the western direction. The main development of the sacramental celebration came from the Anishinaabe people in exercising their lived faith and experience.

After the completion of the Nishnawbe Celebration of Baptism, it was presented to the broader Indigenous community of the diocese during the next seminar. Carl Starkloff, then teaching at Regis College in Toronto, was asked to support and evaluate our work as a theologian who was keenly interested in a deeper reconciliation between Indigenous cultures and Christian faith, and well versed in the fundamentals of the broader Church and its teachings. As a participant and observer, he reflected on what he heard throughout the seminar. His work both challenged our assumptions and affirmed our endeavours. He described the seminar as 'an exemplary event of inculturation' whose 'process placed all participants within the sacred Medicine wheel, which symbolizes all of reality.'[9] Endeavouring to understand how the Nishnawbe Celebration of Baptism

[8] *Nishnawbe Celebration of Baptism*, Eva Solomon, producer; Jim Hyder, director (Thunder Bay: J-D Video, 1997).

[9] Carl Starkloff, 'Inculturation and Cultural Systems (Part 2),' *Theological Studies* 55 (1994): 291–93.

might be accepted and used in the local communities of our diocese, we selected participants of the seminar to participate in a baptism preparation class. We asked each participant questions and discussed the traditional ways of welcoming a child into the community. We discussed the signs, the symbols, and the meaning associated with the tradition. In addition, we considered the Christian ways of welcoming a child into the faith community and the signs and symbols associated with that celebration. As Native Catholics, we saw significant similarities and differences between Indigenous and Christian ways of welcoming a child into a community. By the end of the seminar, we decided to share the fruits of our labour with the broader Indigenous community.

To do this, we decided to create a video. A family who participated in the seminar volunteered to have their child's baptism recorded and celebrated in a way that incorporated both Indigenous and Christian traditions. The video was divided into two sections, with discussion questions after each section. The first section was the baptismal preparation; the second was the celebration of the interculturated baptism itself. Since this celebration of baptism is approved by several bishops for use among Anishinaabeg in their dioceses, it placed this integration of Anishinaabe spirituality and Catholic faith clearly within the context of the broader Church. It spoke to the development of local theology within the context of the universal Church. This event then became a specific word-event of God addressed not only to Anishinaabeg,[10] but also to the broader Church. Jesus, as the paradigm and practitioner of interculturation of faith, embodies the total integration of divinity and humanity. It therefore seemed appropriate that we concretized our Anishinaabe work of interculturation of faith with the Nishnawbe Celebration of Baptism. It was with his own baptism that Jesus began his ministry, and it is with our baptism that we concretize our own share in the divinity of Gitchi Manitou's Trinitarian life.

This experience of interculturation led us to explore other contexts and ceremonies. Out of this challenge, new experiences arose, including the Native Pastoral Seminar on the Powwow. Over the years, we have continued to develop a local theology from the known and familiar to the point that we were able to present the Anishinaabe theology on the

[10] Mark Searle, 'Infant Baptism Reconsidered,' in *Alternative Futures for Worship*, *Vol. 2: Baptism and Confirmation*, ed. Mark Searle (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1987), 35.

Powwow at the last seminar. We realized that the method was as significant as the content. This long path has led to a very positive shift among the Anishinaabe people, a deeper sense of the value and dignity of their own cultural traditions as places where Jesus comes to meet them.

I have attempted to describe the path from an open condemnation and disvaluing of Indigenous spiritual traditions to the active incorporation of elements and symbols of that tradition into the celebration of Christian sacramental rites. The experience of the Anishnaabeg peoples on the shores of Lake Superior, in dialogue with the leaders of Jesuit, Oblate, and diocesan missions, has served as a laboratory for an intentional and mutually enriching process of inculturation. It is our hope that it might serve as an example to others and be a source of enrichment to the whole Church.

BLACK CATHOLIC RECEPTION OF VATICAN II

JOSEPH S. FLIPPER

The Second Vatican Council coincided with a moment of changing contexts within Black Catholic communities. During the Great Migration (1910–70), the internal displacement of millions of Black people reshaped American cities. During this time, Black lay leadership and white missionary efforts established and sustained churches, schools, and institutions serving Black Catholics, contributing to the growth in numbers of Black Catholics in the United States.[1] The Second Vatican Council arrived during a period of Black Catholic liturgical development, collaboration with interracialist Catholic organizations, and engagement in civil rights in the United States. Vatican II reflected themes developing independently within Black Catholic communities in the United States prior to the council. Joseph A. Brown, SJ, states, 'much of the work of the Second Vatican Council seems to me to have been the articulation of common wisdom already circulating in the world.'[2]

Cecilia Moore, a historian of Black Catholicism, questions whether the term '*reception*' accurately describes Black Catholics after the council. In lieu of a narrowly defined reception history, she prefers to speak of Black Catholic *response* to Vatican II:

> Reception seems to mean how theologians and other academics interpret the documents. It's not talking about how it affects the average person. But black Catholics were concerned with how Vatican II and its documents affected the average person. You did not have many black Catholics write

[1] See Cecilia A. Moore, 'Keeping Harlem Catholic: African-American Catholics and Harlem, 1920–1960,' *American Catholic Studies* 114, no. 3, African Americans and Catholicism in Twentieth Century Urban America: New York, Chicago, and Detroit (Fall 2003): 3–21. See Shannen Dee Williams, *Subversive Habits: Black Catholic Nuns in the Long African American Freedom Struggle* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2022); Matthew J. Cressler, *Authentically Black and Truly Catholic: The Rise of Black Catholicism in the Great Migration* (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 30.

[2] Joseph A. Brown, SJ, 'Preparing the "Welcome Table": Reflections on Fifty Years of Black Catholic Liturgy,' in *Vatican II: Fifty Personal Stories*, eds. William Madges and Michal J. Daley (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2003), 53.

> articles about 'what *Gaudium et spes* means.' Black Catholics were looking at Vatican II documents as license for what they were already involved in or what they wanted to be involved in.[3]

Moore touches on a methodological challenge when examining reception history. Black Catholics largely did not belong to the elites interpreting and applying the council. An adequate investigation of Black Catholic reception would require an investigation into how the faith was passed on in Black Catholic communities, often through the agency of Black lay women and lay men who have been erased from our histories.[4]

I examine Vatican II's reception in three areas: (1) Black Catholic liturgy; (2) the civil rights movement, Black Power, and Black Catholic organizations; (3) and Black theology.

1. Black Catholic Worship and Liturgical Renewal

Black Catholic liturgical renewal began prior to the council and continued in the post-conciliar period. Black Catholic liturgical change was occurring long before the council: Tammy Lynn Kernodle suggests that 'as early as the 1930s and 1940s, African American Catholics had begun "africanizing" the liturgy through combinations of liturgical text and spiritual melodies.'[5] Lake Charles, Louisiana, native Fr Jerome LeDoux said, 'Even back in the days when we weren't allowed to sing gospel tunes and were relegated to singing Catholic hymns, we inflected the songs with our style. We took them and made them our ours, and the ways in which we did this varied from church to church.'[6] LeDoux indicates

[3] Cecilia Moore (historian) in discussion with the author, 16 Feb. 2022.

[4] This chapter is incomplete insofar as the research on lay Black Catholics has not been done. It would require an examination of lay Catholic anticipation of and preparation for the council, lay reception of the council, Black Catholic clerical and religious order receptions, and reception within Black Catholic schools, societies, institutes, and parishes. Cyprian Davis has articulated a theological and historical methodology for this work. See Joseph S. Flipper, 'The *Ressourcement* of Black Catholicism in Cyprian Davis, OSB,' *Modern Theology* 36, no. 4 (2020), doi.org/10.1111/moth.12569.

[5] Tammy Lynn Kernodle, '"This is My Story, This is My Song": The Historiography of Vatican II, Black Catholic Identity, Jazz, and the Religious Compositions of Mary Lou Williams,' *US Catholic Historian* 19, no. 2, African American Spirituality and Liturgical Renewal (Spring 2001): 84–85.

[6] Kevin Bell, 'Mass begins at St. Francis de Sales Church,' *The Times-Picayune*, 18 Aug. 1991, A-14. See also Mark Newman, *Desegregating Dixie: The Catholic Church in the South and Desegregation, 1945–1992* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2018), 247.

the longer tradition—largely unstudied—of Black Catholic prayer and liturgy. Black Catholic lay people have shaped liturgy and popular devotion for centuries in the US. Vatican II's liturgical teaching was received within liturgically and devotionally literate Black Catholic communities, yet also enabled those communities to justify and extend their development of distinctively Black Catholic worship.

Contact with the indigenized Catholicism in the African Catholic diaspora inspired Black Catholics to draw from African American culture in new ways. *Missa Luba*, an indigenized Congolese Mass, was prompted by Pope Pius XII's 1955 encyclical *Musicae Sacrae*, which authorized the use of non-European and non-Gregorian chant in the liturgy. Recordings of *Missa Luba* were circulating in Black Catholic communities in the US in the late 1950s. Joseph Brown, SJ, described his high school choir performing selections form *Missa Luba* in 1958.[7] Clarence Joseph Rivers, a Black priest and composer in Cincinnati, pioneered liturgical renewal prior to the council and theorized it afterward. Rivers listened to a recording of *Missa Luba* in 1958. He composed an African American Catholic Mass at St. Joseph's Church in Cincinnati between 1956 and 1964 and performed it with his choir.[8] He published *An American Mass Program in the Style of the Negro Spiritual* in 1964. Rivers' music was included in the first Mass in the English language in the United States in 1964. Rivers would lead the Liturgy and Culture Department of the National Office for Black Catholics beginning in 1970, conducting annual liturgical workshops and training that had a widespread impact on Black Catholic worship.

Indigenization of the liturgy was impacting Catholic practice on both sides of the Atlantic. On 21 July 1968, a widely publicized centenary Mass celebrated the Roman Catholic Church's presence in East Africa in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Ten thousand people attended the Mass, which featured music using traditional African instrumentation. In the US, however, early 'africanizing' of the Mass occurred through the leadership of Black priests but without explicit episcopal approval. The African Mass at Chicago's Knickerbocker Hotel on 1 December 1968 would feature drum music, interpretive dance, and African-themed vestments. Black priest George H. Clements described the Mass as consistent with Vatican II;

[7] Brown, 'Preparing the "Welcome Table,"' 53–54.

[8] Kim Harris, '*Missa Luba*, An American Mass Program, and the Transnationalism of Twentieth-Century Black Roman Catholic Liturgical Music,' *Journal of Africana Religions* 9, no. 1 (2021): 12.

the archbishop of Chicago, Cardinal John Patrick Cody, saw the Black elements of the liturgy as 'nonliturgical' and, therefore, illegitimate. The 'Black Unity Mass' celebrated at St. Dorothy Church in Chicago on 12 January 1969 joined African-inspired symbols—vestments, drums, altar cloths—with musicians organized by political activist and Baptist minister Jesse Jackson's Operation Breadbasket, and featured security from the Black Panthers, the Black revolutionary political organization founded in 1966.[9] This Mass and other Black Unity Masses which followed were expressions of Black Power protesting the policies of Cardinal Cody of Chicago and celebrating Black identity. Yet, they were also instances of liturgical reception of the council. Other liturgical receptions would unite American music with the Mass. Black Catholic convert and jazz pianist Mary Lou Williams composed Catholic religious music from 1962 to 1970. In 1963, she wrote 'A Hymn in Honor of St. Martin De Porres' and would go on to write four jazz Masses. She was invited to the Vatican in 1969 to discuss her work in sacred music. She performed at a Mass at Holy Family Church in Harlem in July 1969. Her *Black Christ of the Andes*, a jazz Mass, was performed at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York in 1975.

The Black inculturated liturgies were not fully embraced in the US Church. Rivers described the 'ecclesiastical racist backlash' to African expressions of Christianity and resistance to Black liturgy and liturgical formation in the US. But, also, many Black Catholics resisted liturgical or devotional changes, like the inclusion of Black cultural music or changing the statues or religious art.[10] For some, conflict over post-Vatican II liturgy was entangled with the politics around Black authenticity and self-determination.[11] For others, it was not political: they preferred pre-Vatican II devotion simply due to its contemplative form, or gospel music because it moved them. Wherever one fell along these divides, through the liturgy Black Catholics *experienced* their belonging within the universal and global Church.

[9] See Matthew J. Cressler, 'Black Power, Vatican II, and the Emergence of Black Catholic Liturgies,' *US Catholic Historian* 32, no. 4, After Vatican II: Implementation and Responses (Fall 2014): 99–119.

[10] Newman, *Desegregating Dixie*, 247.

[11] Cressler, *Authentically Black and Truly Catholic*, 142–47.

2. Civil Rights, Black Power, and New Black Catholic Organizations

In the years following Vatican II, the most pressing issues in Black Catholic communities were civil rights rather than conciliar interpretation. The council's preparation and conciliar meetings coincided with the civil rights movement of the 1950s to 1960s. Although Vatican II showcased the worldwide diversity of the Catholic Church, the experience at the council stood in stark contrast to the Black Catholic experience of the US Catholic Church.[12] *De iure* segregation remained in the South and *de facto* segregation remained in the North, including within Catholic institutions. Although individual bishops began the desegregation of schools, the process of desegregation was long and conflictual. The years 1966 to 1976 were ones of 'massive' white Catholic resistance to the desegregation of public and Catholic spaces.[13] Many public school districts and Catholic school systems would not begin desegregating until the mid-1970s. The Black Catholic interpreters of Vatican II were shaped by their involvement in civil rights as a struggle to integrate their own Church. New organizations of Black Catholic clergy, religious, and laity contributed to a collective voice.

At the first 1968 meeting of the National Black Catholic Clergy Caucus (NBCCC) in Detroit, Black priests interpreted the council in the immediate historical context of the Detroit Uprisings.[14] The Catholic Clergy Conference on the Interracial Apostolate (CCCIA) was planned for 16–18 April 1968 at the Sheraton-Cadillac Hotel in Detroit, just blocks from where fires burned in the previous year's uprisings, and days after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Herman A. Porter, a Black pastor of St. Ann Church in Warren, Illinois, invited Black priests to meet prior to the opening of the CCCIA meeting.[15] Martin de Porres Grey, RSM (now Dr. Patricia Grey Tyree) was the only woman in attendance for the meeting of the Black Catholic clergy.

[12] M. Shawn Copeland, 'African American Catholics and Black Theology: Experience and Interpretation' in *Black Theology: A Documentary History Volume II: 1980–1992*, eds. James H. Cone and Gayraud S. Wilmore (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 99–115.

[13] Matthew Cressler (historian) in discussion with the author, 11 March 2022. See Matthew J. Cressler, '"Real Good and Sincere Catholics": White Catholicism and Massive Resistance to Desegregation in Chicago, 1965–1968,' *Religion and American Culture* 30, no. 2 (2020): 273–306. doi:10.1017/rac.2020.7

[14] See Joe T. Darden and Richard W. Thomas, *Detroit: Race Riots, Racial Conflicts, and Efforts to Bridge the Racial Divide* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2013).

[15] *The Catholic Advocate*, 'Negro Priests to Caucus' (11 Apr. 1968), 3.

The Black clergy produced a manifesto entitled 'A Statement of the Black Catholic Clergy Caucus, 1968.' It articulated the need for a radical re-evaluation of the mode of operation of the Catholic Church in the US within Black communities. The manifesto opened with a fiery statement: 'The Catholic Church in the United States, primarily a white racist institution, has addressed itself primarily to white society and is definitely a part of that society.' Its stated concern was that the Catholic Church is out of touch with the changing exigencies of the Black community: 'The present attitude of the black community demands that black people control their own affairs and make decisions for themselves.' Autonomy and self-sufficiency were key principles of the Black Power movement. The statement's response to Black militancy reflected Black Power ideas. It affirmed the right of Black people to self-defense against racist violence, stating, 'the appropriateness of responsible, positive militancy against racism is the only Christian attitude against this or any other social evil.' The embrace of a Black Power idiom suggested the limitations of white Catholic liberalism to overcome entrenched racism in Catholic institutions. Lawrence Lucas, one of the attendees of the caucus, later described the inclusion of Blacks in the Church that maintains subservience of Black people: 'the point is not primarily whether the master is good, bad, or indifferent: the point is that as long as the master is *master*, he must go. In the Church to be white is to be master.'[16] It is with tragic irony, then, that the 'Statement' was produced amid the exclusion of women. At the meeting, several priests, in an 'overtly misogynistic' confrontation, opposed the presence of Sr Martin de Porres Grey.[17] Although she was allowed to be an unofficial observer, she was not a signatory of the document. While Black clergy were organizing in opposition to racism within the Catholic Church, they failed to oppose male clerical mastery.

The NBCCC that stated for the Church to be relevant in Black communities, it must have Blacks in leadership and 'allow them to direct, for the most part, the mission of the Church in the black community.' Its concrete demands reflected the need for independence and self-sufficiency, calling for Black priests to have leadership and consultatory roles, for recruitment of Black men for the priesthood, training for work in Black communities, funds for Black leadership training, and setting up an advocacy office in

[16] Lawrence Lucas, *Black Priest/White Church: Catholics and Racism* (New York: Random House, 1970), 57.

[17] Williams, *Subversive Habits: Black Catholic Nuns in the Long African American Freedom Struggle* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2022), 175.

the US Catholic Conference.[18] The demands were concerned exclusively for Black male priests. Although the statement asserts the need for Black leadership, it does not advocate Black separatism, a contrast with some figures in the Black Power movement, including Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael.[19] Despite its radical tone, the manifesto's positive proposals echoed affirmations at Vatican II of the pastoral exigency of developing self-sustaining local churches. While the manifesto does not directly cite the council, the demands reflect the missionary vision in Vatican II of developing 'autochthonous churches … under a hierarchy of their own' (*Ad Gentes* 6).

In the aftermath of her exclusion at the NBCCC, Sr Martin de Porres Grey founded an organization for Black Catholic religious sisters. She organized a week-long meeting of 155 Black religious sisters in August 1968 at Mount Mercy College in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. They came from 79 different religious congregations from the United States, Africa, and the Caribbean.[20] At the conference, they made plans for incorporating a new organization, the National Black Sisters' Conference (NBSC). Sr Martin de Porres was elected as its first president.[21] At the University of Dayton in August 1969, they drafted a statement that affirms their commitment to racial justice and their religious vocation:

> We black religious women see ourselves as gifted with the choicest of God's blessings. The gift of our womanhood, that channel through which the Son of God Himself chose to come into the human race, endows us with those qualities and prerogatives which are designed for the deliverance of humanity. The gift of our Blackness gives us our mandate for the deliverance of a special people, our own black folk. And the gift of our religious vocation makes accessible to us that union with Christ which guides us to the task, strengthens our determination, and sustains our efforts to free ourselves and our black brethren from the intolerable burden forced upon us as the victims of white racism.[22]

[18] 'A Statement of the Black Catholic Clergy Caucus, 1968,' 111, in *'Stamped with the Image of God': African Americans as God's Image in Black*, eds. Cyprian Davis, OSB and Jaime Phelps, OP, American Catholic Identities: A Documentary History (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003).

[19] See Stokely Carmichael, 'Toward Black Liberation,' *The Massachusetts Review* (Autumn 1966).

[20] M. Shawn Copeland, 'A Cadre of Women Religious Committed to Black Liberation: The National Black Sisters' Conference,' *US Catholic Historian* 14, no. 1, Beyond the Walls: Women Religious in American Life (Winter 1996): 123–44.

[21] More research needs to be done on the reception of Vatican II within the NBCCC, the NBSC, and religious orders. See Williams, *Subversive Habits*.

[22] National Black Sisters' Conference, 'The Survival of Soul: National Black Sisters' Conference Position Paper,' in Davis and Phelps, *'Stamped with the Image of God'*, 114.

While the statement did not directly cite Vatican II, its description of the gift of Black women religious mirrors Vatican II's description of the diverse gifts of religious communities and their apostolic activities (*Perfectae Caritatis* 8) that are directed to the Church's mission of salvation (*Lumen Gentium* 43).

The adoption of Black Power language held various tensions. Interracialist Catholics had advocated for the integration of Catholic institutions; advocates of Black Power were, however, calling for separate institutions. Should Black Catholics work toward integration (still resisted by many white Catholics) as a legal and moral exigency mandated by the Church's teaching on discrimination (*Gaudium et Spes* 60) or support self-determining Black Catholic institutions envisioned in the missionary theology of *Ad Gentes*?[23]

Members of the nascent NBCCC and NBSC did not reflexively embrace Black Power. Rather, the ideas within the Black Power movement—pride in one's own culture, resistance to racism, the need for self-determination and autonomy, drawing from Afro-centric roots—were elements also authorized by council documents. Black Power provided a grammar for what it means to be Black and Catholic and enabled Black Catholics to connect their efforts to broader social movements.[24] Yet, Black clergy and the Black sisters' statements presented Black Power in different ways. Whereas the Black clergy statement tended toward Black clerical power, the Black sisters' statement described a vocation to community.

In 1969, a planning group composed of representatives of the NBCCC, NBSC, and lay people, originally meeting to discuss a Black vicariate or ordinariate, developed a proposal for a national organization attending to needs of Black Catholics.[25] The National Office for Black Catholics (NOBC) launched in July 1970, functioning as an umbrella organization

[23] This question confronted Black Catholics across the United States during this period. See Andrew S. Moore, 'Black and Catholic in Atlanta: Challenge and Hope,' in *Catholics in the Vatican II Era: Local Histories of a Global Event*, eds. Kathleen Sprows Cummings, Timothy Matovina, and Robert A. Orsi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 135–52.

[24] Kathleen Dorsey Bellow, director of the IBCS, describes a Catholic young adults group associated with St. Cecilia Church in Philadelphia in which members would discuss civil rights, Black Power, and Vatican II. Kathleen Dorsey Bellow (scholar) in discussion with the author, 24 Mar. 2022.

[25] Joseph M. Davis and Cyprian Lamar Rowe, 'The Development of the National Office for Black Catholics,' *US Catholic Historian* 7, no. 2/3, The Black Catholic Community, 1800–1987 (Spring–Summer 1988): 271. See also 'Catholic Unit Eyes Separation,' *Washington Post* (15 Feb. 1969); Ronald L. Sharps, 'Black Catholic Gifts of Faith,' *US Catholic Historian* 15, no. 4, Spirituality and Devotion (Fall 1997): 29–55.

of the NBCCC, NBSC, and the newly launched National Black Lay Catholic Caucus (NBLCC). The plan was developed with support from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. The NOBC was structured by three departments: Education, the Black Catholic Lay Caucus, and Culture and Worship, the latter directed by Fr Clarence Rivers. The persistence of segregation in Catholic institutions and a corresponding lack of Black agency contributed to pastoral challenges. Out of concern that Blacks were leaving the Catholic Church in high numbers, in 1971, five representatives of the NOBC were selected 'to take the black Catholic case directly to Rome,' seeking a meeting with the pope during the assembly of the Bishops' Synod on the Priesthood.[26] They met with Undersecretary of State Archbishop Giovanni Benelli and Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, later, Archbishop of Chicago. *Jet* magazine reported that the delegation was protesting that American bishops 'have been lying to the Vatican' about Blacks in the American Church.[27]

The NOBC's support of Black Catholic ministry had greater influence than its lobbying with Rome. The NOBC produced a monthly newsletter, *Impact*, and the Department of Liturgy and Culture published the journal *Freeing the Spirit*. The NOBC planned annual liturgical workshops, one which resulted in the production of a music album, educational workshops, and the publication of *This Far by Faith: American Black Worship and Its African Roots* (1977). Clarence Rivers's book *Soulful Worship* (1974) documents the liturgies he led, with commentary on worship, spoken word, African American culture, music, and other aspects of liturgical celebration.[28] These efforts led eventually to the publication of *Lead Me, Guide Me: The African American Catholic Hymnal* (1987), a widely used worship resource.

The NOBC also published resources and reports of research. Responding to the Third Ordinary Assembly of the Synod of Bishops in 1974, the NOBC published *Black Perspectives on Evangelization of the Modern World* (1974). Echoing previous concerns about the building of a local church, it stated:

> Historically evangelization has often been used by the Church for the purpose of extending and strengthening itself as an institution. In the day-to-day practical order, the formation of the Body of Christ and the building

[26] Davis and Rowe, 'The Development of the National Office for Black Catholics,' 273.
[27] 'U.S. Black Christians Score Race Gaps in Christian Religions,' *Jet* (28 Oct. 1971), 24.
[28] Clarence Joseph Rivers, *Soulful Worship* (Washington, DC: National Office for Black Catholics, 1974).

> of the Kingdom were frequently lost sight of. Because of this, *missionary efforts have frequently remained static in that they have not led to the development of an indigenous local church* under its own capable leadership.[29]

The NOBC argued that the challenges of evangelization of Black Americans are, in part, due to a colonial form of mission that confuses the majority culture with the gospel and refuses the development of a 'local Church.' Its 1976 report, *The Crisis of Catholic Education in the Black Community*, described Catholic schools as the 'medium' of evangelization, 'through which a large number of black people have become Catholics.'[30] It argued that the Catholic Church's investment in new schools in the white suburbs and concomitant divestment in Catholic schools in Black neighbourhoods was contributing to their collapse.[31]

The NOBC interpreted Vatican II in areas of evangelization, liturgy, and catechesis for Black Catholics and enabled Black Catholics to speak with one voice. Yet, its structure had disadvantages. Cyprian Rowe expressed that when he took over the direction of the NOBC in 1978, there remained a feeling that 'what had taken place over the first decade of the "movement" had failed to make blacks/black Catholics part of the ordinary processes within the church and its structures.'[32] NOBC was positioned as a quasi-umbrella organization but exercised no significant governance within its various constituencies, with diocesan-level organizations, or with the US bishops. In this way, the NOBC institutionally manifested the experience of marginalization and lack of agency.[33] The NBCCC and NBSC withdrew from association with the NOBC in 1981.

[29] National Office for Black Catholics, 'Black Perspectives on Evangelization of the Modern World,' in Davis and Phelps, *'Stamped with the Image of God'*, 123. Emphasis added. Originally published as *Black Perspectives on Evangelization of the Modern World* (Washington, DC: National Office for Black Catholics, 1974).

[30] Quoted in Matthew J. Cressler, 'Investing in Whiteness: Race and the Catholic Schools Crisis of the 1970s,' paper presented at the Organization of American Historians, 12–14 April 2018.

[31] See Katrina M. Sanders, 'Catholic Social Teaching, Vatican II, and Civil Rights: A Social Justice Trinity in the Fight to Save a Central Louisiana Black Catholic School,' *US Catholic Historian* 33, no. 2 (Spring 2015), 83–101.

[32] Davis and Rowe, 'The Development of the National Office for Black Catholics,' 281.

[33] Efforts toward independent Black ecclesial structures have often been quashed. For example, consideration of an African American rite was proposed in the NBCCC in 1971. While Auxiliary Bishop Harold Perry of New Orleans believed the rite would be 'divisive,' the idea continued to gain traction in the 1980s. A Black Liturgy Subcommittee was created in 1984 by the US Bishops; it produced *In Spirit and Truth: Black Catholic Reflections on the Order of Mass* in 1987. When George Stallings founded the independent Imani African American Catholic Congregation in 1989, the NBCCC renewed its efforts

Black Catholic scholars developed two organizations that supported theological research, graduate-level education, and formation: the Black Catholic Theological Symposium (treated below) and the Institute for Black Catholic Studies (IBCS). The IBCS was founded at Xavier University, New Orleans, with the support of Xavier University's president, Norman Francis. The program began in the summer of 1980 with 16 students. As Michele Peseux McCue explains, its programs were 'meant to affirm one of the insights of Vatican II, that a faith community flourishes when bound to the Church universal while retaining its own specific identity.'[34] Over the last four decades, the IBCS has offered programs for catechists, certificate and enrichment programs, youth ministry programs, and master's-level programs. It remains the only institute in the Americas offering graduate-level theology and pastoral ministry programs in specifically the Black Catholic tradition.

3. Theological Receptions: Black Theology and the Local Church

At the end of the Second Vatican Council, no Black Catholics held terminal degrees in theology. Because of this, the earliest Black Catholic scholarly interpretation of Vatican II was produced by liturgical practitioners, pastors, religious sisters, and leaders in the various Black Catholic organizations, operating primarily in pastoral settings outside of the academy. Black Catholic academic scholarship would appear later, as a reflection upon practice.[35] In 1973, the Catholic Theological Society of America (CTSA) asked its only Black member, Fr Joseph R. Nearon, SSS, to form a committee to research Black theology and Roman Catholic theology. He released his 'Preliminary Report' the following year. It confirms a fundamental problem: 'Blacks have been accepted (or more accurately allowed to join) to the extent that they assimilate to an already

to investigate the possibility of a separate African American rite. See Ronald L. Sharps, 'Black Catholic Gifts of Faith,' *US Catholic Historian* 15, no. 4, Spirituality and Devotionalism (Fall 1997): 29–55.

[34] Michele Peseux McCue, 'Tapping a Treasure: The Impact of the Institute for Black Catholic Studies on Black Catholicism and the American Catholic Church' (ThD diss., La Salle University, 2017), http://digitalcommons.lasalle.edu/religion_thd/3, citing *Gaudium et Spes* 58.

[35] For an examination of the historical development of Black Catholic theology, see Copeland, 'African American Catholics and Black Theology.'

established cultural pattern.'[36] At the 1975 CTSA convention, Nearon presented 'A Challenge to Theology: The Situation of American Blacks,' a paper proposing a more profound investigation of the distinctive Black Catholic theological contribution. Explaining that *Lumen Gentium* gave attention to the local Church as an integral community from which diverse expressions of catholicity emerge, he argued that Vatican II provides warrant for a shift toward theological pluralism.[37]

In 1978, Black Catholic theologians would gather at the first meeting of the Black Catholic Theological Symposium (BCTS) to outline the contours of a Black Catholic theology. The secretary of the NBCCC, Thaddeus Posey, OFM Cap., helped to organize a conference convening Black Catholic scholars and theologians in 1978 at the Oblate Sisters of Providence motherhouse. Those in attendance were or would become significant interpreters of Black Catholicism in the US in the post-conciliar period, including academics, liturgists, and pastors.[38] It also included attendees who would be unable to reconcile Black identity with membership in the Roman Catholic Church.[39] Its papers were collected in *Theology: A Portrait in Black*—referred to by BCTS members as the *Green Book*—a snapshot of the theological interpretation of the council and theological developments following it.[40]

A few months before the meeting, however, Battista Modin, an Italian Xavierian priest, published a broadside against Black American theologians in the official Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano*

[36] Joseph R. Nearon, 'Preliminary Report: Research Committee for Black Theology,' The Catholic Theological Society of America Proceedings 29 (June 1974): 413–17.

[37] Joseph R. Nearon, 'A Challenge to Theology: The Situation of American Blacks,' The Catholic Theological Society of America Proceedings 30 (June 1975), 193–94.

[38] The group included Jaime Phelps, Cyprian Davis, Shawn Copeland, Joseph Nearon, Thea Bowman, Ferdinand Cheri, August Thompson, Clarence Rivers, James Lyke, and Joseph Perry.

[39] Fr George Stallings founded Imani Temple African-American Catholic Congregation, a breakaway Catholic Church, and was subsequently excommunicated. Marist brother Cyprian Rowe, director of the National Office for Black Catholics from 1977 to 1980, left the Catholic Church in 1997 to join Imani Temple. Rowe described his painful decision to leave the Catholic Church not as a matter of race but one of culture. He returned to the Catholic Church in a private meeting with Cardinal James A. Hickey: https://www.archbalt.org/cyprian-rowe-leading-african-american-catholic-figure-dies-at-74. Rowe's story is suggestive of how Black Catholics after the council struggled with the lack of receptivity by the American Catholic Church to their culture and human dignity.

[40] Thaddeus J. Posey, OFM Cap., ed., *Theology: A Portrait in Black: Proceedings of the Black Catholic Theological Symposium* 1 (Pittsburgh: National Black Catholic Clergy Caucus, 1980). See Kimberly B. Flint-Hamilton, 'Theology, a Portrait in Black: Product of Vatican II and the Civil Rights Movement – Catalyst for Future Black Catholic Scholarship,' *The Journal of the Black Catholic Theological Symposium* 9 (2016): 39–59.

entitled 'Teologia nera o teologia africana?' (Black theology or African theology?).[41] Modin backhandedly praised African theologians for creating a theology that 'finds expression in categories of thought that come from the philosophy of the African people' but which 'so far managed to produce fairly modest results.'[42] He accused Black American theologians of theological racism by grounding their theology in racial identity rather than universal truth. Modin's article, appearing in the Vatican's newspaper, a widely distributed periodical that is vetted by the Vatican's highest authorities, accused Black American theologians as a group of serious theological error.

Theologians at the BCTS conference were aware of the article and the necessity of responding to its accusations.[43] The preface, written by Thaddeus J. Posey, OFM Cap., distances Black theology from simplistic interpretations of the Black Power movement, explaining that Black theology should not be associated with 'violence' or 'separatism.'[44] Posey employs the conciliar language of *adaptation* in the worship to speak of theological adaptation to Black experience. Among the aims of the council was that the Church 'adapt more suitably to the needs of our own times those institutions which are subject to change' (*Sacrosanctum Concilium* 1). The liturgical constitution principally concerns the adaptation of liturgy and ritual to the culture of the people. For Posey, however, adaptation is not limited to liturgical revision. Adaptation has *already* occurred. The divine accommodation to Black people means they have experienced God's presence. Black theology is an intellectual articulation arising from the Black Catholic experience of God.

The Green Book developed an extensive range of themes that would critique false universalisms and affirm a distinctive theology implicit in the Black Catholic encounter with God. The essays articulated a Black Catholic theology, which the authors justified with reference to the council's documents and post-conciliar literature. First, the authors affirmed that because God is the creator of Black people (and not racist colonialism), God affirms and assumes their historical and cultural specificity.[45]

[41] Battista Modin, 'Teologia nera o teologia africana?' *L'Osservatore Romano* (17/18 July 1978), 2.

[42] Modin, 'Teologia nera o teologia africana?' 2. My translation.

[43] Charles Burns mentions the article in Charles Burns, 'Christian Catechesis and Its General Inclusion of the Black Experience,' in Posey, *Theology: A Portrait in Black*, 135.

[44] Posey, 'Preface,' in Posey, *Theology: A Portrait in Black*, 3.

[45] Abram, 'Black Christian Values,' in Posey, *Theology: A Portrait in Black*, 33; Jeanmarie, 'Black Catholic Worship: Celebrating Roots and Wings,' in Posey, *Theology: A Portrait in Black*, 76.

Therefore, Black 'customs and traditions … wisdom and their teachings, their art and sciences, and everything in fact is absorbed can contribute to proclaiming the Glory of God' (*Ad Gentes* 22). Second, the essays drew from the *General Catechetical Directory* (1971) and *National Catechetical Directory* (1975) to affirm that the Church's missionary vocation and the catechetical needs of diverse people require culturally attentive efforts at evangelization and teaching.[46] Third, the essays referenced *Sacrosanctum Concilium* to argue for the continued development of a Black indigenized liturgy. Fourth, authors drew from *Lumen Gentium* to press for a Black 'local Church' modelled upon indigenous African churches, in which leaders and pastors are cultivated who assume its direction with a rightful self-sufficiency and autonomy.[47]

4. Conclusion: Black Catholics as a Missionary People

The earliest responses to Vatican II affirmed that the mission of Black Catholics in the world arises from their experience of God and the gifts God has given them.[48] '"What We Have Seen and Heard": A Pastoral Letter on Evangelization from the Black Bishops of the United States' (1984), composed by 10 Black bishops, promulgated a vision of Black Catholics as a missionary people.[49] The mission of evangelization, they explain, was carried out by their first evangelizers, 'our fathers and mothers and all our ancestors who kept alive an unflagging commitment to Christ.'[50] Discussing the mission of the Black Catholic laity in evangelization, the bishops ground their mission theology in *Ad Gentes* 21, which explains that each people must express the 'newness of life in the social and cultural framework of their own homeland, according to their own national traditions.'[51] '"What We Have Seen and Heard"' states that the

[46] See Burns, 'Christian Catechesis and Its General Inclusion of the Black Experience,' 132–39.

[47] See Jaime Phelps, 'Black Self Concept,' in Posey, *Theology: A Portrait in Black*, 58; Toinette Eugene, 'Developing Black Catholic Belief: Catechesis as a Black Articulation of the Faith,' in Posey, *Theology: A Portrait in Black*, 140–60; and Joseph Nearon, 'The Question of the Church,' in Posey, *Theology: A Portrait in Black*, 7–14.

[48] NBSC, 'The Survival of Soul.'

[49] United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, '"What We Have Seen and Heard": A Pastoral Letter on Evangelization from the Black Bishops of the United States' (1984), https://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/cultural-diversity/african-american/resources/upload/what-we-have-seen-and-heard.pdf.

[50] USCCB, '"What We Have Seen and Heard,"' 2.

[51] USCCB, '"What We Have Seen and Heard,"' 18.

blossoming of the local Church requires the cultivation of an indigenous Church with indigenous clergy and the development of their own liturgical and catechetical practices.[52] The bishops, describing the liturgy, confirm, 'It should be authentically black. It should be truly Catholic.' 'Authentically black' and 'truly Catholic' is not a plea for recognition or inclusion in white Catholic society. Instead, it is a requirement of the missionary vocation of Black Catholics. Having welcomed Christ, they are called to employ their personal and cultural gifts to be a missionary people. This affirmation is what Black Franciscan religious sister Thea Bowman, in her 1989 address to the US bishops, would eloquently express in these words:

> What does it mean to be black and Catholic? It means that I come to my Church fully functioning. That doesn't frighten you, does it? I come to my Church fully functioning. I bring myself, my black self, all that I am, all that I have, all that I hope to become, I bring my whole history, my traditions, my experience, my culture, my African American song and dance and gesture and movement and teaching and preaching and healing and responsibility as a gift to the Church.[53]

Since the end of the Second Vatican Council, the situation of Black Catholics in the Catholic Church in the United States has radically changed, and so has the face of American Catholicism. Black Catholics created new educational, scholarly, and pastoral institutions in service of evangelization. It was Black Catholic nuns who led the desegregation of Catholic parishes, educational institutions, and hospitals.[54] Since the council, immigration of Black immigrants has influenced the cultural and linguistic makeup of Black Catholicism. Of the approximately 3 million Black Catholics in the United States, 32 per cent were born outside the US, with 11 per cent from the Caribbean and 12 per cent from Sub-Saharan Africa.[55] Only 25 per cent of Black Catholics attend a parish where most of the attendees are Black.[56] The USCCB registers 400 African American religious sisters and 50 religious brothers, 250 African American

[52] USCCB, '"What We Have Seen and Heard,"' 21.

[53] Sr. Thea Bowman, 'Sr. Thea Bowman's Address to the US Bishop's Conference, June 1989,' United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, https://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/cultural-diversity/african-american/resources/upload/Transcript-Sr-Thea-Bowman-June-1989-Address.pdf.

[54] See Williams, *Subversive Habits*.

[55] Jeff Diamant, Besheer Mohamed, and Joshua Alvarado, *Black Catholics in America*, Pew Research Center (15 Mar. 2022), 18. https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2022/03/PF_03.15.22_Black.Catholics.report.pdf.

[56] Diamant, Mohamed, and Alvarado, *Black Catholics in America*, 6.

priests, 437 deacons, and 75 men of African descent in seminary formation for the priesthood.[57] As of 2022, there are eight African American bishops, five of whom head a diocese. When Pope Francis appointed Wilton Gregory as the Archbishop of Washington in 2019, Gregory also became the first Black American Cardinal. The 2023 National Black Catholic Congress was the 12th nation-wide gathering of Black Catholic lay people. In lay, religious, and clerical vocations, Black Catholics understand themselves as a people actively engaged in evangelization and justice, reflective of the Vatican II's call for conversion and renewal.

[57] Subcommittee on African American Affairs, 'African American Affairs: Demographics,' United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, https://www.usccb.org/committees/african-american-affairs/demographics.

THE RECEPTION OF VATICAN II AMONG US LATINAX CATHOLICS

NANCY PINEDA-MADRID

The reception of Vatican II among US Latinax[1] Catholics has many chapters, evident in this community's cultural religious practices, innovative yet faithful theological interpretations, and committed endeavours to bring about a fuller expression of the reign of God in the here and now.[2]

The purpose of this chapter is to offer a preliminary overview of some of the ways US Latinax Catholic faith communities have thus far received and applied the teachings of the Second Vatican Council. Indeed, a comprehensive treatment is well beyond the bounds of this chapter or even the bounds of a single book. That said, this brief and preliminary overview first necessitates a clarification of 'reception,' with an eye to how it will be understood and addressed in this chapter. The reception of Vatican II brought about a fresh rereading of US Latinax Catholicisms, transforming the experience of Catholicism for many US Latinax faithful. This newness comes into clearer focus when considered in light of the long-standing pre-Vatican II sensibilities of US Latinax Catholics, the focus of the second section. Also, in the 1950s and early 1960s, preceding Vatican II, a providential synergy of forces contributed

[1] Throughout this essay, I use the term 'Latinax' to refer to people of Latin American ancestry. The second 'a' in Latin**a**x affirms the contributions that have been made by Latina women (often overlooked), and the 'x' in Latina**x** recognizes both the fluidity of sexual orientation and identity and the limitations of thinking strictly in male/female binary terms, the presumption operative when Latino/a is used. I refer to women living in the United States and whose ancestry is traced back to a Latin American country on either continent as 'Latina,' a term widely used today. I only use 'Hispanic' or 'Hispana' if that is the term used by the organization or the person whose work I am describing. In my own work, I do not use Hispana or Hispanic because these terms have been used very often (but not always) in the United States to promote the assimilation of Latinax peoples into the Euro-American culture and/or to negate the value of the cultures, especially Indigenous cultures, from Latin American countries in general and/or Mexico in particular. This assimilation practice is much more pronounced in the west and southwest United States, and less so in the east and southeast. In addition, 'Hispanic' is a term often used to privilege Spanish roots and to minimize Indigenous roots.

[2] I am deeply grateful to Timothy Matovina for his counsel regarding the substance of this essay.

to an anticipatory ferment among US Latinax Catholics just as the Catholic ecclesial leadership across the US began announcing and wrestling with the significance of Vatican II. This background sets the stage for two snapshots of reception that comprise the remainder of this chapter. One snapshot is ecclesial; the other is theological. These two illustrate the complex character of Latinax reception and suggest that the reception of Vatican II among Latinax Catholics deserves a more sustained study.

While demographics do not tell the story of reception, they nevertheless must not be ignored because they provide a framework suggestive of the significance of the US Latinax experience of reception. A brief demographic overview offers a useful perspective for what follows. Since Vatican II, the US Catholic Church has increasingly become more conscious of the presence of Latinax Catholics—and with good reason given the quickly changing demographics in the US. The 2014 Religious Landscape Study, undertaken by the Pew Research Center, reported that of all persons in the US who identify as Catholic, 34 per cent of them also identify as Latino. This percentage is up from 29 per cent for the same study done in 2007.[3] Moreover, the Pew Research Center has reported that the overall US Latino population is growing, having reached '62.1 million in 2020, up from 50.5 million in 2010.' This means that in 2020, Latinos were 19 per cent of the US population, which is up from 16 per cent of the total in 2010. Most of the growth is due to Latinax birthrates and not immigration, which has slowed significantly since the beginning of the 21st century.[4] Relatedly, US Latinax Catholics make up a growing percentage of the entire US Catholic population. And of Latinos/as teens (ages 13–17) living in the US, roughly half (47%) identify as Catholic, whereas only about one quarter (24%) of all US teens of the same ages identify as Catholic.[5] These demographics signal the current and growing importance of US Latinax Catholics in any consideration of the reception of Vatican II in the US.

[3] 'Religious Landscape Study,' Pew Research Center, https://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/religious-tradition/catholic.

[4] Jens Manuel Krogstad and Luis Noe-Bustamante, 'Key Facts about U.S. Latinos for National Hispanic Heritage Month,' Pew Research Center, 9 Sept. 2021, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/09/09/key-facts-about-u-s-latinos-for-national-hispanic-heritage-month.

[5] Elizabeth Podrebarac Sciupac, 'Hispanic Teens Enjoy Religious Activities with Parents, but Fewer View Religion as "Very Important,"' Pew Research Center, 20 Sept. 2020, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/09/22/hispanic-teens-enjoy-religious-activities-with-parents-but-fewer-view-religion-as-very-important.

1. Reception

When Catholic theologians address the nature of reception, they almost always invoke Thomas Aquinas's famous principle: *quidquid recipitur ad modum recipientis recipitur*, which translates as 'that which is received is received in the mode of the receiver.' So central was this idea to Aquinas that he published different versions of this same principle.[6] If an understanding of the faith is to be received in the mode of the receiver, this suggests that that the social, cultural, political, and historical context of the receiver matters in the reception of God's gift of revelation. Indeed, this Thomistic insight recognizes that the Holy Spirit offers a gift to the faithful in the transmission of the message of revelation—a transmission that advances the possibility of understanding. Understanding and then interpretation become a possibility because this gift is offered in an idiom, vocabulary, voice, and narrative that the recipients will not only understand but also recognize. Of course, this process is complicated. Theology still lacks a theological anthropology 'of the reception of the Christian gospel' and its corresponding theological epistemology, as Joseph Komonchak has observed.[7] We are in need of an epistemology that spills wide of the strictly cognitive and intellectualized realm. A satisfactory understanding of 'reception' depends on just such an epistemology.

The reception of Vatican II rests upon a theology of the *sensus fidelium*, 'the supernatural appreciation of the faith of the whole people, when, "from the bishops to the last of the faithful" they manifest a universal consent in matters of faith and morals' (*Lumen Gentium* 12). This grace-filled appreciation of the faith of the whole people finds expression in varied ways, reflecting the diverse cultural treasures of the Christian faithful. These expressions of the faith most often emerge in forms like those found throughout Christian history, 'oral, experimental, and symbolic,'[8] which is indeed evident in the US Latinax reception of Vatican II.

[6] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 1a, q. 75, a. 5; 3a, q. 5.

[7] As quoted in Ormond Rush, *The Eyes of Faith: The Sense of the Faithful and the Church's Reception of Revelation* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 2009), 6.

[8] Orlando O. Espín, *The Faith of the People: Theological Reflections on Popular Catholicism* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1997), 66.

2. Setting the Stage: Long-standing Sensibilities and Providential Synergies

The reception of Vatican II comes into sharper focus and more apparent textures when appreciated in the context of the US Latinax Catholic experience prior to Vatican II both in terms of enduring experiences of displacement and in terms of the immediate experience in the decade just prior to Vatican II.

For US Latinax Catholics, the common experience is not immigration but rather the 'common shared … experience of vanquishment and domination.'[9] Indeed, generations of US Latinax Catholics have known the experience of a colonized Catholicism, from within and from without. US Latinax Catholics have had an experience quite distinct from their Latin American sisters and brothers, owing, in part, to the ways the culture of modernity has contextualized and more directly confronted US Latinax Catholic reality for centuries.[10] 'Modernity is the impetus behind traditional and colonial historiography. Modernity, understood as a period in time, emerged with Columbus's voyage to the Amerindian territories and developed through the period of the Reformation, the Renaissance, the scientific revolution, and the Enlightenment.'[11] The impact of this history is felt across the centuries.

However, modernity is not simply a historical period, it is also a discourse defined by 'beliefs, characteristics, cultural trends, and rules.' Further, as Hjamil Martínez-Vázquez observes:

> The period of the conquest and colonization of the Amerindian territories gave Europe, represented by Spain, a reason to locate itself in the center of a world-system – the modern/colonial system – while events like the Enlightenment and the scientific revolution helped northern Europe displace Spain as the center of the system. The Reformation was also part of this process of displacement and marginalization because it locates Catholicism at the periphery of the Christian world.[12]

[9] Espín, *Faith of the People*, 36.

[10] Allan Figueroa Deck, SJ, 'Introduction,' in *Frontiers of Hispanic Theology in the United States*, ed. Allan Figueroa Deck, SJ (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1992), xv.

[11] Hjamil A. Martínez-Vázquez, '*Dis*-covering the Silences: A Postcolonial Critique of U.S. Religious Historiography,' in *New Horizons in Hispanic/Latino(a) Theology*, ed. Benjamín Valentín (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2003), 51.

[12] Martínez-Vázquez, '*Dis*-covering the Silences,' 51.

Importantly, the *discourse* of modernity has led to ongoing experiences of displacement, marginalization, and domination, not only politically, economically, and intellectually, but also ecclesially. This pattern has a long history with multiple chapters.

Indeed, 19th-century Latinax Catholics living in the lands of the northern half of Mexico, the Florida territories, and Puerto Rico all had the experience of the border crossing them when the US took possession of these lands from Mexico and Spain. A settler colonialism mentality presumed by Euro-Americans justified the taking of these lands and the ensuing oppression of the peoples living there: Indigenous and Latinax.

In addition, Latinax Catholics had the experience of an ecclesial border crossing them. Suddenly, their new US Euro-American Catholic ecclesial authorities largely dismissed and/or suppressed what had been the Latinax normative practice of Catholicism. Many of their previous Latino or Hispanic priests returned to Mexico and Spain or, if they remained, new ecclesial leadership displaced them with the objective of deliberately minimizing the influence of all Latino priests. The Americanization project advanced the ideology of white Euro-American exceptionalism: this project had not only political meaning but also ecclesial meaning. Generally, incoming Catholic priests and bishops strongly encouraged Latinax Catholics to leave behind their past practices of the faith and become 'more authentic' Catholics—meaning Euro-American Catholics, which in turn meant being a liberal Protestant version of Catholic. These ideas were prominent throughout the 19th century and most of the 20th century. What is more, a racialized prejudice against US Latinax peoples with roots dating back to the beginnings of the 19th century, particularly a prejudice against those of Mexican and Puerto Rican ancestry, further underscored the US Latinax peoples' ecclesial displacement throughout the 20th century.

In the 1950s and early 1960s, US Latinax Catholics found themselves coming into their own during a time of widespread and general anti-Catholic prejudice in the US, which understood itself to be a Protestant nation. In 1960, when a Catholic, John F. Kennedy, became the first major party nominee for president of the US, the press constantly discussed whether his election would lead to the US being controlled by the Vatican. In response, US Catholic ecclesial leadership focused their attention on teaching European Catholic immigrants to be good Americans. Catholic bishops promoted the idea that being a good American and being a good Catholic were all but one and the same. US Latinax Catholicism, with a few exceptions, was marginalized to the point of being all but invisible

and unquestionably subordinate to Euro-American Catholicism. One notable exception was immigrant Cubans, who in 1959 lost their country, freedoms, livelihoods, and properties due to the Communist takeover of Cuba. Generally, the Catholic ecclesial leadership of the southeast embraced these Cuban immigrants and attempted, with mixed results, to support their particular practice of Catholicism.

Even a cursory understanding of this history makes possible a more perceptive reading of the reception of Vatican II among US Latinax Catholics. Without a doubt, the reception of Vatican II meant a dramatic and at times tense process of ecclesial transformation for US Latinax and all other Catholic faithful. This ecclesial transformation, with all its drama and tension, continues to this day.

In the US, the 1950s and 1960s were times of heightened social consciousness and potent social justice movements that had an impact on US Latinax peoples. What I call *providential synergies* emerged during this heady time. For example, in 1946 and 1947 in California, the legal case of *Mendez v. Westminster School District* (Orange County) ended segregation in public schools. Filed on behalf of 5,000 Mexican American students, this case fought against race discrimination, ultimately serving as a model for the more widely known 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education*, which ended segregation throughout the US. In 1948, Texas passed a similar law banning the segregation of Mexican children in Texas public schools. The 1960s saw the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The former made it illegal to discriminate on the basis of race, sex, colour, religion, or national origin; the latter eliminated barriers to Blacks (and other minorities) voting. In 1964, US President Johnson launched the war on poverty, which brought greater attention to the Latinax community. A number of civil rights and social justice movements gained significant momentum during the 1960s, all of which raised social consciousness: the civil rights movement; the women's movement; El Movimiento (the Chicano movement); and the Black Power movement, among others. These 1960s movements created a climate in the US among minorities and women that sharply raised consciousness in terms of identity, civil rights, and social empowerment.[13] Without a doubt, this time of social ferment, coupled with the ecclesial renewal advanced by Vatican II, created a *providential synergy* that deepened the reception of Vatican II among US Latinax Catholics.

[13] Moises Sandoval, *On the Move: A History of the Hispanic Church in the United States* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1990), 62–64.

In addition, Fr Virgilio Elizondo, widely recognized as the father of US Latinax theology, had the opportunity to deepen his awareness of the theological contributions of Fr Gustavo Gutiérrez at the 1968 Medellín (Colombia) gathering of the Catholic Bishops of Latin America (CELAM) together with Pope Paul VI. Elizondo was present as a translator for and aide to Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio, Texas. Gutiérrez was present as a theological advisor to the Latin American bishops and, on behalf of the bishops, helped to draft some sections of Medellin's concluding document. According to Gutiérrez, 'the Medellin conference set out to consider the human and social reality of these lands, reflecting and offering guidelines for the proclamation of the Gospel there in light of the message of the Council,'[14] meaning Vatican II. A few years later, in 1971, Gutiérrez published his towering work, *A Theology of Liberation*, and in it developed a new method for doing theology. In 1974, Elizondo invited Gutiérrez to teach at the pastoral ministry institute that he directed: the Mexican American Cultural Center (MACC) in San Antonio, Texas. MACC had been co-founded in 1972 by the leadership of Las Hermanas, an organization of Latina women religious, and that of PADRES,[15] an organization of priests to which Elizondo belonged. Gutiérrez's 1974 visit would be the first of several occasions in which he taught at MACC and developed a friendship with Elizondo.[16] Elizondo completed his doctorate in 1978; his many subsequent publications reflect the imprint of Gutiérrez's theological approach or method. Even so, Elizondo's own theological commitments vary in important respects from those of Gutiérrez.[17] The meeting and ongoing friendship of Elizondo and Gutiérrez created another *providential synergy* that made possible the vital reception of Vatican II among US Latinax Catholics.

[14] Gustavo Gutiérrez, OP, 'Medellín: A Spiritual Experience,' in *The Grace of Medellín: History, Theology, and Legacy*, eds. Margaret Eletta Guider, OSF, Félix Palazzi, and O. Ernesto Valiente (Miami: Convivium Press, 2018), 13.

[15] Lara Medina, 'Transformative Struggle: The Spirituality of Las Hermanas,' in *New Horizons in Hispanic/Latino(a) Theology*, ed. Benjamín Valentín (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2003), 225–26.

[16] Timothy Matovina, 'Gustavo Gutierrez y la teologia Latina en Estados Unidos,' en *Memoria, presencia y futuro: a los 50 años de Teología de la liberación. Perspectivas*, eds. Andrés Gallego, Carmen Lora, and Pedro De Guchteneere (Lima: Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones, 2021), 530–40.

[17] Christopher D. Tirres, '"Liberation" in the Latino(a) Context: Retrospect and Prospect,' in *New Horizons in Hispanic/Latino(a) Theology*, ed. Benjamín Valentín (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2003), 138–62.

Elizondo's then emerging theological vision would end up laying a foundation for the ongoing ecclesial, ministerial, and theological reception of Vatican II among priests, lay ministers, and theologians committed to the US Latinax Catholic faith experience and practice. Due to Elizondo's experience of Medellín as well as his subsequent friendship and theological exchanges with Gutiérrez, Elizondo became an ecclesial leader and theologian whose work facilitated the reception of Vatican II among US Latinax Catholics. His fortuitous experience of Medellín, and his friendship with Gutiérrez, offer another example of a *providential synergy*, one that continues to bear huge fruitful consequences.

Given the marginalization of US Latinax Catholics prior to Vatican II (and after) as well as the grace-filled providential synergies of the 1960s and 1970s, the reception of Vatican II took on a vitality, intensity, and visibility among US Latinax Catholics. This energy was palpable and, in many cases, visceral, as will be clear in the two snapshots of reception that follow. That said, these snapshots remain, at best, only suggestive of the reception of Vatican II. A full account of this reception would require a much more sustained study than is possible in this brief chapter.

3. Two Snapshots of Reception

While Vatican II transformed the experience of Church for almost every Catholic around the world, before changes began to take effect in the US, Latinax Catholics already had a deep-seated hunger for Vatican II's far more open ecclesial attitude toward the world, an attitude that deviated significantly from 'the previous 150 years.'[18] The 'reception' of Vatican II by US Latinax Catholics (and arguably by all Catholics) is best conceived in hermeneutical terms, that is, in terms of 'the interrelated moments of "understanding," "interpretation," "application,"' as Ormond Rush has noted. Indeed, 'hermeneutical reception' means 'the interpretive process at the heart of revelatory experience, and the expressions of faith that emerge within that experience.'[19] This notion echoes Aquinas' principle mentioned above. The following two snapshots of reception exemplify this hermeneutical understanding of reception.

[18] Joseph A. Komonchak, 'Vatican Council II,' in *The New Dictionary of Theology*, eds. Joseph A. Komonchak, Mary Collins, and Dermot A. Lane (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1987), 1076.

[19] Rush, *Eyes of Faith*, 11.

3.1. *An Ecclesial Snapshot*

'Reception' is unavoidably a relational concept, meaning one in which human beings centred in their own identity are open to receiving the other and being stretched by a widening encounter 'with something new or unfamiliar.'[20] During the 1960s and 1970s, the great majority would be Latinax priests and women religious who, while in formation, were instructed to deny their racial/ethnic background, to stop speaking Spanish regardless of the ministerial context, and to become 'American' if they wanted to be ordained or to take vows. However, the 1960s *Movimiento* for civil rights encouraged many Latino priests and Latina women religious to embrace much more deeply their own Latinax identities—identities historically marginalized by long-standing ecclesial pressures on them to assimilate into and advance Euro-American expressions of Catholicism and to 'accept gradualism in the face of social injustice.'[21] Gradualism meant accepting small incremental steps as *the* path to social justice, thus not demanding more than small measures. Understandably, 'the Church itself became one target of the *Movimiento*.'[22] Latinax priests and women religious had mostly experienced enormous dissonance due to the hypocrisy of the Church's stated commitment to justice and yet its silence in the face of the extreme injustices suffered by Latinax peoples, especially Latino/a farmworkers and immigrants. This pressure cooker prompted early visionary ecclesial leaders to take seriously their Latinax Catholic identity, a move that in turn enabled them to till the soil for a more prophetic reception of Vatican II.

Fr Ralph Ruiz, a diocesan priest of San Antonio, had long been on a mission 'to promote the good of Mexican American poor people within their own Catholic church.'[23] To this end, he regularly gathered Chicano priests in the San Antonio region and beyond to discuss their experiences of being priests and the experience of the Mexican American Catholic community. In time, this led to an October 1969 gathering in San Antonio of 50 Mexican American priests from seven states and the District of Columbia. This gathering was the founding of a new national organization

[20] Rush, *Eyes of Faith*, 8.

[21] M. Shawn Copeland, 'Black, Hispanic/Latino, and Native American Theologies,' in *The Modern Theologians: An Introduction to Christian Theology in the Twentieth Century*, ed. David F. Ford, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1997), 268.

[22] Sandoval, *On the Move*, 96.

[23] Juan Romero, 'Charism and Power: An Essay on the History of PADRES,' in 'Hispanic Catholics: Historical Explorations and Cultural Analysis,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* 9, nos. 1 and 2 (Winter/Spring 1990), 150–51.

called PADRES, which would eventually call for a Mexican American bishop and a mobile model of ministry to better serve the large numbers of poor Spanish-speaking Catholics.[24] Both Fr Virgilio Elizondo and then Fr Patricio Flores (later the first US Latino bishop since the mid-19th century) were members of PADRES. Their experience in this group shaped their consequential leadership in the reception of Vatican II among US Latinax Catholics. Early PADRES members, all Chicano Catholic priests, made a decision that the organization would remain exclusively Chicano, which it did, from its inception in 1969 until its dissolution in 1989.[25] Early on, PADRES enjoyed success in getting the first four Hispanic bishops appointed, each of whom advocated for their people. However, by the late 1980s, new Hispanic bishop appointees were 'meek and mild' and tended to support assimilation into North American culture. This significantly contributed to the dissolution of PADRES.[26]

Somewhat analogously, in early 1971, 50 Latina women religious, most of them Chicanas, gathered in Houston, Texas, to form a national organization named Las Hermanas. Lara Medina, a religious studies scholar, brilliantly captures this organization's beginnings:

> Influenced by the renewal represented by Vatican II, American Catholic feminism, the black and Chicano(a) civil rights movements, and Latin American liberation theology, Las Hermanas organized to fight the overt discrimination within the church *and* society toward Chicano(a) and other Spanish-speaking communities. The invitation to unite Mexican American sisters came from Gregoria Ortega, a Victorynoll sister, and Gloria Gallardo of the Sisters of the Holy Ghost. Ortega had been transferred out of the diocese of Abilene, Texas, where she had opposed the severe abuse of Chicano(a) youth by teachers, police officers, and judges. Gallardo worked as a community organizer and catechist in San Antonio, among Chicano/as suffering chronic unemployment, inadequate health care, and malnutrition. Together they decided to organize Chicana sisters "who have tried to become more relevant to our people and because of this, find themselves in 'trouble' with either our own congregation or other members of the hierarchy."[27]

By September of 1971, Las Hermanas already had some 900 members and had conceived of itself as grounded in 'a spirituality and a theology rooted in the Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican Roman Catholic faith,'

[24] Romero, 'Charism and Power,' 147–63; Sandoval, *On the Move*, 66–67.

[25] Richard Edward Martinez, *Padres: The National Chicano Priest Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005).

[26] Sandoval, *On the Move*, 77–78.

[27] Medina, 'Transformative Struggle,' 219.

and as such its membership and leadership reflected this same Latina diversity; it was not exclusively Chicana.[28] Indeed, even Latin American women religious serving in Mexico, Guatemala, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru had joined by the fall of 1971. In the following years, some women religious faced a choice: either remain in their religious community with leadership that would not allow them to serve the needs of the Latinax Catholic community or leave their religious community, become a lay person, and follow their call to serve the needs of their own people. In response, by 1975, Las Hermanas expanded its membership to include lay Latinas as well.[29] In 1991, 20 years after its founding, Las Hermanas membership still numbered about a thousand. It was still operational as late as 2016. In the latter half of the 2010s, it dissolved due to waning interest and a lack of funding.[30]

In many respects, the thinking of the visionary leaders of Las Hermanas and PADRES reflected a decidedly prophetic 'reception' of Vatican II within the broader context of the US Catholic reception of Vatican II: in effect, what I term a 'reception within a reception.' This 'reception within a reception' was the intention of these Latinax ecclesial leaders when they made several decisions that usurped a seat at the proverbial table of US Catholicism: a seat previous denied Latinax Catholics that was now taken as unapologetic US Latinax Catholics.

Lumen Gentium underscored the Church as Mystery, 'as the community of men and women called together into a participation in the life of the Triune God … The whole church is this People, and the Council stresses the fundamental equality in dignity and activity which underlies the distinctions it makes between the hierarchy, the laity and the religious.'[31] In the wake of Vatican II, several national initiatives contributed to the reception of Vatican II among US Latinax Catholics. That said, the role played by Las Hermanas is notable given its early and decisive impact, yet it is a role that is far too often minimized or ignored. Their membership went far in helping US Latinax Catholics reimagine and respond to a new way of being Church.[32] Given that members of Las Hermanas were not ordained priests, as were their counterparts in PADRES, members of

[28] Medina, 'Transformative Struggle,' 218.
[29] Medina, 'Transformative Struggle,' 218, 221–23.
[30] Interview with Yolanda Tarango, CCVI, 13 July 2022.
[31] Komonchak, 'Vatican Council II,' 1074.
[32] Amirah Orozco, 'Learning from Las Hermanas: How a Chicana feminist group modeled synodality before anyone was talking about it,' *Commonweal: Religion, Politics, Culture* 149, no. 1 (Jan. 2022): 22–27.

Las Hermanas experienced greater freedom to act boldly, which they did. Indeed, Las Hermanas was less tied into the clerical organization of the Church, less invested in its male-dominated structure and patriarchal culture. Among their national initiatives was 'co-planning the first two historic national gatherings of Latino Catholics,'[33] named the National Encuentros of Hispanic/Latino Ministry. The first two of what would become five Encuentros were in 1972 and 1977.[34]

The Encuentros were an ecclesial reception of Vatican II, a Latinax Catholic response to *Gaudium et Spes*'s summons that 'At all times the Church carries the responsibility of reading the signs of the time and of interpreting them in the light of the Gospel, if it is to carry out its task' (GS 4). The Encuentros grew from a suggestion made by a Latin American priest and educator, Edgar Beltran, as a way for Latinos/as 'to discuss their concerns on a national level' in the form of a dialogue mobilized by lay and religious leadership across the country. This dialogue allowed grassroots Latinax Catholics to deepen their collective sense of their Catholic identity; to give voice to the pain they knew at the hands of the Church; to brainstorm a list of initiatives that could transform pain into a life-giving experience of being Catholic; and, ultimately, to mobilize them, supporting their contribution to emergence of a transformed Church and society.

The Encuentros began in 1972. This first Encuentro was a learning exercise which brought together 250 people, including a couple of bishops, for a three-day gathering that generated 78 demands that were presented to the United States Catholic Conference of Bishops (USCCB).[35] The following Encuentros, particularly the second (in 1977) and the third (in 1985), served the purpose of discussing the Second Vatican Council and its implications for Latinax Catholics. These discussions always began at a local level in parishes, continued at diocesan and regional levels, and culminated in a national gathering with representatives from all over the country who were chosen to represent their own locales and thinking. Indeed, the dialogues and pastoral planning at the Encuentros

[33] Lara Medina, *Las Hermanas: Chicana/Latina Religious-Political Activism in the U.S. Catholic Church* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 68.

[34] For an excellent overview of the Encuentros, see Timothy Matovina, *Latino Catholicism: Transformation in America's Largest Church* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 67–97; See also Allan Figueroa Deck, SJ, 'The Hispanic/Latino National Pastoral Encuentro Processes: Harbingers of Pastoral Conversion and Synodality,' in *American Catholic Studies* 132, no. 2 (2022): 97–109.

[35] Medina, *Las Hermanas*, 78–79.

continued to model a new way of being Church, a precursor to the synodal listening process inaugurated by Pope Francis these many years later. Of course, the Encuentros generated challenges for the US bishops, but they also generated challenges for all ecclesial leaders and Latinax Catholic faithful, encouraging all to envision and take concrete steps forward in response to the vision articulated at Vatican II. The leadership guiding the II Encuentro process was half women and half men. The 1977 national gathering had 'five hundred delegates, 700 hundred observers, and thirty-four predominantly Euroamerican bishops [in attendance], showing the growing activism among laity and the increased endorsement of the hierarchy.'[36] The process always included time for praying together, listening for the Holy Spirit's presence, listening to the voices of Latinax Catholics from across the country, and discerning a path forward. In 1983, the USCCB approved a pastoral letter[37] that called for a national pastoral plan for Hispanic ministry and a III Encuentro.

The III Encuentro culminated in a national gathering in 1985. Even though the first two Encuentros were convened by Latinax laity and religious leaders, the US bishops initiated and convened the III Encuentro with the purpose of developing and promulgating a National Pastoral Plan. The vision driving III Encuentro and the resources that went into it meant that it reached out to a much more numerous and more diverse range of Hispanic Catholics. And, while the role and concerns of women had previously been recognized and taken seriously, at the III Encuentro, the US Catholic bishops made clear that their conclusions on women would affirm women's gifts in private domestic roles and in subordinate roles in the Church. In the words of Medina, 'The status of women, however, remained sorely ignored in the bishops' final drafts [of the National Pastoral Plan] … Clearly, the bishops were most comfortable with women remaining at home.'[38] At the III Encuentro, Latinas sought support for a much more public role in the Church and society. Even so, the III Encuentro gave impetus for writing 'The Pastoral Plan for Hispanic Ministry' (1988), which offered a vision and pastoral initiatives for the coming years. Through the course of two years of preparation for the 1985 national gathering, altogether some 600,000 Latinax Catholics

[36] Medina, *Las Hermanas*, 79.

[37] United States Catholic Conference of Bishops, *The Hispanic Presence: Challenge and Commitment* (12 Dec. 1983).

[38] Medina, *Las Hermanas*, 109; see also Matovina, *Latino Catholicism*, 84.

participated in the listening sessions.[39] The USCCB would end up sponsoring two additional Encuentros: one in 2000 and another in 2018. In fits and starts, these Encuentros served as vehicles to foreground the 'fundamental equality in dignity and activity which underlies the distinctions [the Church] makes between the hierarchy, the laity and the religious.'[40] This kind of deep consultation and listening served to transform the ways that many Latinax Catholics understood what it means to be Church. In the words of Timothy Matovina, 'the Encuentros and the bishops' statements on Hispanic ministry are the most conspicuous means that Hispanics have engaged in conversations and debates about the renewal of Catholicism in the United States since Vatican II.'[41] For close to five decades, the Encuentros were a listening process that was unheard of and unthinkable in the US beyond those who were involved in this process.

3.2. *A Theological Snapshot*

US Latinax Catholic leadership—women religious, priests, and laity—heard Pope John XXIII's Vatican II goal of spiritual renewal of the Church as a call for pastoral conversion of the Church's leadership and faithful alike and heard the goal of *aggiornamento* as a call of turning toward the demands of the modern age. Indeed, the US Latinax leadership not only heard this message but also began taking it to heart, wrestling with what it might mean for them and for their communities of faith. Suddenly, the particularity of the US Latinax Catholic faith experience mattered as it had never mattered before.

Because US Latinax Catholic faith experience mattered, then Catholic theology, if it was to be informed by this faith experience, would need to be rethought from the ground up. Recognizing this new moment in the development of Catholic theology, some US Latinax Catholic leaders, with years of pastoral experience, grasped the theological gravity of this moment. These leaders—namely, Virgilio Elizondo, Allan Deck, SJ, Arturo Bañuelas, María Pilar Aquino, and Orlando Espín, among others—instinctively sensed the council's wisdom in recognizing that the universal Church is enriched when distinct cultural groups share with each other

[39] Hosffman Ospino, 'Encuentros: 50 Years of Synodal experience,' *National Catholic Reporter* 58, no. 6 (24 Dec. 2021–6 Jan. 2022): 6.
[40] Komonchak, 'Vatican Council II,' 1074.
[41] Matovina, *Latino Catholicism*, 95.

their distinctive cultural experience of the Catholic faith. Elizondo was first to discern the theological riches inherent in the popular religious practices of US Latinax communities. He identified these religious practices as a *locus theologicus* and, accordingly, focused his own research on drawing out theological insights from narratives, theo-dramas, and practices honoring Our Lady of Guadalupe and those commemorating the Passion of Jesus Christ.[42] Indeed, 'the Council placed great stress on the theology of the local church, that is, on the principle that the mystery of the church is always realized in local communities, in parishes, dioceses, larger geographical and cultural areas.'[43] Strikingly, US Latinax Catholics found an affirmation of their faith experience in *Lumen Gentium*'s use of the phrase '*supernaturalis sensus fidei totius populi*' ('the supernatural sense of the faith of the whole people') (LG 12). This social ecclesial sense, identified as the *sensus fidelium*, emerged at the forefront of US Latinax theology in the work of theologian Orlando Espín. Early on, he turned his attention to the *sensus fidelium* and US Latinax Catholics' experience, arguing that 'popular religion can be theologically understood as a cultural expression of the *sensus fidelium*, with all that this understanding would imply for the theology of Tradition in the Roman Catholic context.'[44] He argued that 'popular Catholicism is "popular" because it is the people's own'; even so, he also noted that 'Although it is evident that not every single Latino Catholic person shares in this tradition within Catholicism, most Latinos do, and all of our cultures are clearly grounded in it….'[45] Deepening Elizondo's initial insight, Espín's theological work further recognized the rare richness present in these popular religious practices, a richness that bears significant and vital theological fruit.

Notably, several women as well as men were among the very first US Latinax theologians: María de la Cruz Aymes, Marina Herrera, Gloria Loya, María Pilar Aquino, and Ada María Isasi-Díaz. All these women began writing theology in either the 1970s or 1980s, and all had significant catechetical and pastoral ministry experience that informed their theological work. Their theological writings draw on US Latinax faith experience as a source of theological insight. This experience is not

[42] *Gaudium et Spes* 56; Virgilio P. Elizondo, *La Morenita: Evangelizer of the Americas* (San Antonio, TX: MACC, 1980); Virgilio Elizondo, *Galilean Journey: The Mexican-American Promise* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983); Deck, 'Introduction,' ix–xxvi.

[43] Komonchak, 'Vatican Council II,' 1074.

[44] Espín, *Faith of the People*, 64.

[45] Espín, *Faith of the People*, 3.

merely a catechetical pastoral problem.[46] The theological work of these Latinas instantiates the reception of Vatican II.

US Latinax theological work came into its own depth and breadth through the Academy of Catholic Hispanic Theologians of the United States (ACHTUS), an academy whose very existence exemplifies the reception of Vatican II. This academy began as the dream of Allan Figueroa Deck, SJ and Arturo Bañuelas roughly in the mid-1980s. Together with six additional US Latinax theologians—María Pilar Aquino, Roger Luna, Roberto Goizueta, C. Gilbert Romero, Virgilio Elizondo, and Orlando Espín—ACTHUS was founded in 1988. Seven of the eight founders had previous significant full-time pastoral ministry experience as either ordained priests or a woman religious. Not surprisingly, this group of founders wrote and developed theology that was deeply grounded in their pastoral experience. Their writing of theology grew from the pastoral conversion that Vatican II ushered in with its attention to the *sensus fidei fidelium* (LG 12). Moreover, these founders knew that attention to the ways that ministerial and theological gifts are both interrelated and fecund would enrich the Church, and they knew that the diverse national groups making up US Latinax faith experience had a wellspring of theological insight. This vision, fostered by Vatican II, made possible new ways of understanding God's movement within the world and among Catholic believers. This academy of theologians is

> dedicated to promoting research and critical theological reflection within the context of the U.S. Hispanic experience … [And its goals are fivefold, that is, to] accompany U.S. Hispanic communities, helping to critically discern the movement of the Spirit in their historical journey; thematize the faith experience of the people within their historical, socio-economic, political and cultural contexts; encourage interdisciplinary scholarly collaboration; create resources, instruments and a professional network to develop a U.S. Hispanic *teología de conjunto*; and support U.S. Hispanics currently engaged in theological research and studies.[47]

In 1993, Orlando Espín founded the *Journal of Hispanic Latino Theology* (JHLT). Published by ACHTUS, it advances 'Latinoax Christian scholarship in systematic, pastoral, and practical theology, scriptures, ethics, and religious history.'[48] In short, neither ACHTUS nor the JHLT would exist but for the reception of Vatican II.

[46] Deck, 'Introduction,' xvii–xviii.

[47] Academy of Catholic Hispanic Theologians of the United States (ACTHUS) website, 'About Us,' https://achtus.us/about.

[48] Orlando Espín, 'About the JHLT,' *Journal of Hispanic / Latino Theology* 24, no. 1 (2022): 5–6. https://repository.usfca.edu/jhlt/vol24/iss1/3.

4. Conclusion

Much more needs to be said about the Latinax reception of Vatican II. For example, in addition to the preceding ecclesial and theological snapshots, a mission snapshot is without question of equal importance. A mission snapshot would necessarily foreground the work of the United Farm Workers under the leadership of Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta; the Sanctuary Movement led by Father Luis Olivares; the faith-based non-partisan community organizing work of the Industrial Areas Foundation inspired by Saul Alinsky and led by Edward Chambers; and the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops' Campaign for Human Development, the Catholic Church's anti-poverty program created to address structural injustices.[49] Many Latinax Catholic faithful invested in these impactful justice initiatives motivated by the vision and teachings of *Gaudium et Spes* and *Ad Gentes*. That said, a further explication of a mission snapshot is beyond the limits of this chapter.

US Latinax Catholic faithful today owe the vitality and strength of their religious practice to the reception of Vatican II over the last several decades. Vatican II shone a spotlight on the pastoral concerns of all Catholics. And this spotlight encouraged US Latinax Catholics to know and embrace the fullness of their distinctive practice of Catholicism and to cherish its richness. It is the Holy Spirit's never-ending gift. Moreover, and arguably, US Latinax Catholics, with their decades-long experience of Encuentros, foreshadowed Pope Francis's ongoing fundamental commitment to a synodal Church. Today, Francis's papacy creates a sphere of recognition for US Latinax Catholics and summons these faithful Catholics to a deepening reception of Vatican II.

[49] Mario T. García, ed., *The Gospel of Cesar Chavez: My Faith in Action* (Lanham, MD: Sheed & Ward, 2007); Mario T. García, *Father Luis Olivares, a Biography: Faith Politics and the Origins of the Sanctuary Movement in Los Angeles* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2018); Edward T. Chambers, *Roots for Radicals: Organizing for Power, Action, and Justice* (New York: Continuum, 2003); for the USCCB's Catholic Campaign for Human Development, see https://www.usccb.org/committees/catholic-campaign-human-development.

FROM ASIA TO AMERICA: VATICAN II AND ASIAN CATHOLICS IN NORTH AMERICA

ANH Q. TRAN, SJ

Sixty years ago, from 1962 to 1965, the Catholic Church experienced a transformation in ecclesial landscape and direction. Nearly one third of the attending bishops of the Vatican II ecumenical council were from Asia and Africa. For the first time in Church history, according to Karl Rahner's assessment, Vatican II marked the beginning of a world Church.[1] For many faithful of the Church in Asia, the council breathed in fresh air, signifying a change of direction in how Asian Catholics should relate to their fellow countrymen and -women, both in Asia and in North America, where many have made their home.

Meanwhile, another similar change was about to happen in the United States. Starting with the Johnson Civil Acts of 1964, which forbade racism and other forms of discrimination, followed by the Immigration and Nationality Acts of 1965, which removed barriers against immigrants who did not come from western and northern Europe, the door was open to Asian immigrants—among them, Asian Christians and Catholics.[2] These acts reversed decades of discriminatory laws and the exclusion of Asians by the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act of 1924. For the first time in US history and the American Church, Asian American Catholics were treated as equal members in their own country and Church.

This essay describes the reception of Vatican II's teachings for Catholic Asians who live and work in Canada and the United States. In particular,

[1] Karl Rahner, 'Toward a Fundamental Theological Interpretation of Vatican II,' *Theological Studies* 40 (1979): 716–27.

[2] In this essay, 'Asia' and 'Asian churches/Catholics' refer mostly to the Catholic communities of East Asia (China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Hongkong), Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, the Philippines, Indonesia, East Timor, Singapore, Malaysia-Brunei, Thailand, and Myanmar), South Asia (India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka), and Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan). The churches of West Asia (Armenia, Georgia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan) are often not identified as Asian. However, this designation might change in the future.

I trace how the theology promoted by the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences (FABC), particularly the triple dialogue—with the poor, with other cultures, and with other religions—has influenced the formation of the Asian North American Catholic identity. I will start with the formation of the FABC and its theological orientation as a context to understand the transmission and reception of Vatican II's spirit. Then I will move to the context of North America, describing the situation of Asian Catholics and their Church experience in the US. Next, I will discuss the contribution of Asian American theologians, particularly the works of Catholic theologians. I will conclude by offering some reflection on the future of Asian North American Catholic churches.[3]

1. From Vatican II to the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences

The story of how Vatican II's insights have been appropriated in North America cannot be told apart from the influence of the Asian bishops' theological approach propagated by the FABC. In fact, 60 years after the council, the leading Asian Catholic theologians in North America are still exploring the richness of FABC dialogical methodology. The reason is twofold.

First, the Asian Catholic population has been largely an immigrant experience, with ties to their ancestral homes. These Catholics who come to the US and Canada bring with them the history, language, and culture of Asia. Unlike immigrants in an earlier era, who came from Europe and elsewhere, Asian immigrants are not eagerly assimilating into the American melting pot. Modern communication and transportation also make it easier for Asian Catholics to move back and forth between the old and the new worlds. As a result, whatever develops in the churches in Asia also impacts their Church experiences in North America.

Second, many, if not most, Asian Catholic theologians of the first generation were responsible for introducing Vatican II's reform to the Asian immigrants through the dialogical theology of the FABC. In short, the reception of Vatican II's spirit among Asian Catholics who lived in the US and Canada is filtered and delivered through the issues and

[3] Although this chapter will primarily focus on the situation of Asian Catholics in the US, there are also some Asian Catholic theologians in Canada, such as Julia Ching, who also exerted influence on the academic and pastoral circles in the US.

concerns of the FABC. Thus, it is appropriate to start by recalling the problems and circumstances of the FABC, especially its orientation toward collegiality, dialogue, and the laity, before exploring how it was adopted in North America.

Vatican II was the first time in Church history that bishops from Asian countries participated. Although their presence was small, about 250 to 300 out of an estimated 2,000 to 2,500 attendants in each of the four sessions, their influence was felt in various committees. These bishops, both Western missionaries and native ordinaries, made some modest but significant contributions to the council. They participated in the debates and deliberations that produced essential changes in the council, especially in inculturation, mission, and interreligious dialogue. Before Vatican II, the bishops of Asia rarely gathered. For the most part, they were isolated in their own countries, facing their own pastoral challenges, and occasionally meeting each other in Rome. Most Catholic bishops in Asia were European missionaries, often aligning themselves with the national interests of their countries of origin. Not until the pontificate of Pius XI did the churches of Asia begin to have indigenous priests appointed to the episcopacy, first in China (1926), followed by Japan (1927) and Vietnam (1933).

In the immediate years after Vatican II, one of the urgent tasks was to translate the teachings of Vatican II into Asian languages and find creative ways to implement them. Asian Catholic reception of Vatican II was mainly pastoral, to the extent that the teachings and practices reflect the contexts and concerns of Asian churches. Contextual theologies began to develop as a new generation of Asian theologians and Church leaders incorporated Asian philosophical thought and wisdom, its cultural and spiritual practices, into the socio-political and theological reflection of the Asian realities.[4]

The Asian bishops' collaborative experience at Vatican II urged them to seek new ways of working together and sharing resources to transform their churches according to the council's vision. An opportunity came in 1970, when Pope Paul VI attended a Eucharistic Congress in Manila with 180 bishops. Following the three-day gathering, the Asian bishops chose to seek a more permanent structure to continue their solidarity

[4] The most prominent and prolific of the new theologians are D.S. Amalorpavadass, Michael Amaladoss, G.G. Arevalo, Tissa Balasuryia, Aloysius Pieris, George Soares-Prabhu, Samuel Rayan, and Felix Wilfred, among others. They have not only been influential among Asian Catholics but also have received attention worldwide.

and support. The Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences was born out of this reality and concerns. It was a way for the Asian churches to implement the vision of *Gaudium et Spes* and other Vatican II documents.[5]

The message issued by the bishops at the end of the Manila meeting stressed the importance of cooperation between members of the Church and all people of goodwill in search of human development, freedom, justice, and peace. The bishops' main concern was the urgent need for the Asian churches to be more truly the Church of the Asian people in dialogue with all people, cultures, religions, and socio-political-economic contexts of Asia. Coming together as 'a voluntary association of episcopal conferences' whose purpose is 'to foster among its members, solidarity, and co-responsibility for the welfare of Church and society in Asia,'[6] the organization presently comprises 19 members and eight associate members from the many different regions of Asia, as ethnically, culturally, linguistically, and politically diverse as the countries they represent.

Loosely structured as a federation, the Asian bishops' association has a horizontal structure and communication that foster collegiality, communion, and collaboration as the mode of being Church. Since that historic meeting in Manila in 1970, the bishops have continued to convene every four years to discuss a particular theme for each plenary session that reflects the situation of the Asian churches, following more or less the themes of the worldwide Synod of Bishops. To date, 12 plenary assemblies have been held:

- FABC I: *Evangelization in Modern Day Asia* (Taipei, 1974);
- FABC II: *Prayer: The Life of the Church in Asia* (Calcutta, 1978);
- FABC III: *The Church: A Community of Faith in Asia* (Bangkok, 1982);
- FABC IV: *The Vocation and Mission of the Laity in the Church and the World of Asia* (Tokyo, 1986):
- FABC V: *Journeying Together Toward the Third Millennium* (Bandung, Indonesia, 1990);
- FABC VI: *Christian Discipleship in Asia Today* (Manila, 1995);

[5] For a history of the FABC, see Edmund Chia, 'Thirty Years of FABC: History, Foundation, Context, and Theology,' FABC paper no. 106 (Hongkong, 2003): https://fabc.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/FABC-Epoter/106.pdf; Tom Fox, *Pentecost in Asia: A New Way of Being Church* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002). All quotations of the final documents of Vatican II are from *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils: From Nicaea I to Vatican II*, ed. Norman P. Tanner (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990).

[6] FABC website, 'Welcome,' http://www.fabc.org.

- FABC VII: *A Renewed Church in Asia on a Mission of Love and Service* (Samphran, Thailand, 2000);
- FABC VIII: *The Asian Family Towards a Culture of Integral Life* (Daejong, South Korea, 2004);
- FABC IX: *Living the Eucharist in Asia* (Manila, 2009);
- FABC X: *FABC at Forty: Responding to the Challenges of Asia* (Xuan Loc, Vietnam, 2012);
- FABC XI: *Catholic Family in Asia* (Colombo, Sri Lanka, 2016);
- FABC XII: *Working for a Better Asia* (Bangkok, 2022).[7]

After each session, the FABC publishes the statements and summaries of these meetings, which become a great resource to understand how the Asian bishops have attempted to live out of and expand on Vatican II's vision in Asia.[8]

Dialogue, as an operative principle laid out by Pope Paul VI in *Ecclesiam Suam* (1964) and a way of proceeding during Vatican II, became a guide for the Asian bishops' approach to Church renewal. One can argue that dialogue became the mode or way of being Church in Asia (*fides quaerens dialogum*). The Asian churches are to be the dialogical Church, a bridge between the universal Church and the local churches, between Catholicism and the Asian context. The Church in Asia is to become less doctrinal but more pastoral in its theological approach and engagements with Asian realities. At the first meeting, in Taiwan (FABC I, 1974), the bishops adopted the 'triple dialogue' as the way of being Church in Asia. The Church must engage with the poor of Asia, with its cultures, and with its great religious traditions, not as a strategy to win more converts but as a constitutive way of living out the gospel in the realities of Asian churches.

[7] The Plenary Assembly Statements, the formal and authoritative documents of the first 11 plenary meetings, were reissued in one volume for ease of reference. See FABC, *Fifty Years of Asian Pastoral Guidance*, ed. Vimal Tirimanna (2020), https://fabc.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Fifty-Years-Asian-Pastoral-Guidance-1.pdf.

[8] The FABC documents for the first 45 years, its statements of the plenary assemblies and institutional meetings, are collected and edited in the six-volume work *For All the Peoples of Asia* (Quezon City, Manila: Claretian Communications): Vol. 1 (1970–1991), eds. G. Gonzales and C.G. Arevalo (1992); Vol. 2 (1992–1996), Vol. 3 (1997–2001), and Vol. 4 (2002–2006), ed. Franz-Joseph Eilers (1997, 2002, 2007, respectively); Vol. 5 (2007–2012) and Vol. 6 (2012–2016) ed. Vimal Tirimanna (2012, 2017, respectively). This set of documents is indispensable for anyone who wants to study FABC theology and its application in Asia. Other documents can be found on the FABC website.

Living in the Asian economic, cultural, and religious contexts, the FABC fosters theological ideas and pastoral practices that involve liberation, inculturation, and interreligious dialogue—all of which were inspired by *Gaudium et Spes* and other Vatican II documents. For the FABC, these are not three distinct and separate activities of the Church but three aspects of one evangelizing mission of the Church—a mission of service and presence. The overall concern for the Asian churches looms on addressing the issues in each aspect through dialogical means.

2. From Asia to North America

The Asian experience in the United States, like that of African Americans, includes struggles with discrimination, the most notorious of which were the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and the Japanese internment during World War II. Furthermore, Asian Catholics constitute a numerical minority, so they tend to preserve the traditional language, customs, and forms of Catholic life from their Asian homeland. The dialogue with other Catholics, ethnic groups, and religious adherents was limited and did not inform their Catholic practices. This situation was about to change in the 1970s with the large influx of Vietnamese and Korean Catholics, who joined their Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino co-religionists to produce a multicultural tapestry of American and Canadian Catholic churches.

In 2012, the Pew Research Center conducted extensive research into the faith and practices of Asian Americans—an umbrella term meant to include anyone who traces their ancestry back to East Asia, South Asia, or Southeast Asia. The report pointed out that the percentage of Asian Americans has jumped fivefold, from less than 1 per cent of the US population in 1965 to over 5.8 per cent of the population, or 18.2 million people, in 2011.[9] At the time, 42 per cent of Asian Americans surveyed self-identified as Christian (compared to 14% Buddhist, 19% Hindu, 4% Muslim, 3% other faiths, and 26% non-affiliated). Of the Asian American Christians, 23 per cent were affiliated with Protestant or non-denominational Christian churches, and 19 per cent identified with the Catholic Church.

What can be said of this data is that Christianity is by far the largest religion practised by Asian Americans, especially among the following: Chinese Americans (31%), Filipino Americans (89%), Indian Americans

[9] Pew Research Center, *Asian Americans: A Mosaic of Faiths* (19 July 2012), https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2012/07/19/asian-americans-a-mosaic-of-faiths-overview.

(18%), Vietnamese Americans (36%), Korean Americans (71%), and Japanese Americans (38%). As of 2017, these were the six largest subgroups of Asian Americans living in the United States. The total number of Asian Americans at the time was around 22 million. Within these subgroups, Filipino and Vietnamese Americans are overwhelmingly Catholic: 65 per cent and 30 per cent of their population, respectively.[10] Protestants are more dominant among Koreans (61%), Japanese (33%), and Chinese (22%). The number of Protestants among Filipino Americans (21%) and Indian Americans (11%) is also significant.

The story of 19th-century American Catholics, the Church of immigrants, is repeated by these new Asian Catholics, but there is a difference this time. Belonging to both worlds, Asia and America, these immigrants try to accommodate the existing American and Catholic cultures but without the pressing need to be 'melted down' in a generic American pot. As their numbers increased, they tended to anchor their roots in the traditions of their homeland and yet, at the same time, they took the opportunity to explore a new way of living the Catholic faith beyond the ethnic enclaves. Vietnamese American theologian Peter Phan captures this 'betwixt and between' spirit as characteristics of Asian Catholics of North America, who strive for personal and social transformation.[11]

The separation of Asian Catholics into 'national, ethnic churches' continued to some degree due to languages and resources, depending on the resettled population in a particular geographical area. Asian Catholics tend to settle in larger, multi-ethnic cities along the West Coast (from Seattle to San Diego) and the South (from Atlanta to Houston) of the United States, where they find the climate more favourable. Still, one can find vibrant Asian Catholic communities across the cities in the Midwest and Northeast (Saint Paul, Chicago, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, etc.) as well as in Canada (Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, etc.). Many Asian Catholics, however, share the worship spaces with other Asian or Hispanic communities in so-called multicultural parishes. This microcosm reality could be captured when one visits the largest church in the United States, the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, DC, where Asian oratories represent the Filipino (Our Lady

[10] See also Secretariat for Cultural Diversity in the Church, Asian and Pacific Island Affairs, *Asian and Pacific Island Catholics: A Demographic Summary (15 February 2022)* (Washington, DC: USCCB, 2018), https://www.usccb.org/resources/asian-and-pacific-island-catholics-demographic-summary.

[11] Peter Phan, 'Betwixt and Between: Doing Theology with Memory and Imagination,' in *Journeys at the Margin*, eds. Peter C. Phan and Jung Young Lee (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1999), 113–33.

of Antipolo, 1993), Asian Indian (Our Lady of Good Health, 1997), and Vietnamese (Our Lady of Lavang, 2006) Marian devotions (as well as a mosaic and relief of the Chinese and Korean communities), alongside another 70-plus chapels.

Compared to other ethnic or mainstream Catholic churches in the US and Canada, Asian Catholics, especially the Vietnamese and the Filipinos, are smaller in number but no less visible and have made significant contributions to the North American religious scenes. Common to these churches are a robust devotional life and a commitment to church volunteerism and participation. Roughly two thirds of Asian American Catholics mentioned that religion is important in their lives, compared to 54 per cent of white Catholics: 60 per cent attend Mass at least once a week, compared to 39 per cent of white churchgoers, according to the 2012 report by the Pew Forum of Religion and Public Life.[12]

A casual visit to any church with a sizeable Vietnamese or Filipino population can testify to the vibrancy of Church life. Like many other ethnic groups, these Catholics are deeply concerned with preserving their language, customs, and devotional practices. Notably, they are devoted to Marian and other saints' processions, a pious practice inherited from the Iberian missions to their respective countries in the 16th century. Church participation among Filipinos is also high. A 2015 study records that 40 per cent of Filipino Americans stated that they were involved in forms of parish social outreach in their community; over 71 per cent said that social justice issues are of great concern to them. These numbers are higher than any other Asian or Pacific Island Catholic population.[13]

The priestly and religious vocations among these Asian Catholics is also significant. Among the foreign-born priests in the US, Vietnamese make up 12 per cent of the seminarians and comprise about 500 priests in the US, according to the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB).[14] American journalists even dubbed the vocation among the Vietnamese as the 'new Irish priests.' Priestly vocations among Filipinos are no less significant. The USCCB reports

[12] Pew Research Center, *Asian Americans: A Mosaic of Faiths*.

[13] Tricia C. Bruce and Jerry Z. Park, 'Asian and Pacific Island Catholics in the United States,' Report prepared for the USCCB Secretariat of Cultural Diversity in the Church (Oct. 2015).

[14] See USCCB website, 'Vietnamese Vocations': https://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/vocations/vocation-directors/vietnamese-vocations. The data was collected around 2010–12 and is not updated, but it was significant enough to attract the attention of the US Catholic bishops.

that 30 per cent of the ordination class in 2018 were foreign born, 5 per cent were Vietnamese, and 2 per cent were Filipino.[15]

Due to the different histories of the Vietnamese and Filipino churches, there are some minor differences between how Catholicism is practised in the two populations. The Jesuits first evangelized Vietnam, but then the French missionaries of the Paris Foreign Mission Society were put in charge of the bishoprics, which they partly shared with the Spanish Dominicans from Manila. Furthermore, Catholicism was prohibited and persecuted severely during the 18th and 19th centuries and is still limited in contemporary Communist Vietnam. Finally, Vietnamese immigrants to the US and Canada were primarily political refugees of the post-Vietnam war. These factors make Vietnamese Catholics more conservative than Filipino Catholics, who enjoy relative religious freedom.[16] Nevertheless, Vietnamese Catholics are thoroughly embedded in Vatican II's understanding, even though they retain much of the hierarchical organizations from their home churches.[17]

The contribution of these Asian Catholics did not go unnoticed by the American hierarchy. In 2001, the US bishops approved the document *Asian and Pacific Presence: Harmony in Faith*, formulated by the Committee on Migration of the USCCB. In this document, the American Church publicly acknowledges the gift that Asian American Catholics bring to the Church, whether first, second, or later generations. There is also a refreshing historical consciousness by acknowledging that Asian and Pacific people were marginalized or silenced until very recently. The message of the US bishops was loud and clear: the Asian American Catholic population is finally being recognized and is growing. The bishops wanted to take steps to nurture and guide this vibrant population. The early 2000s saw not only the publication of *Asian and Pacific Presence* but also the appointment of several Asian Americans to the episcopacy in the United States as auxiliary bishops.[18]

[15] USCCB website, 'Clergy and Religious' (25 February 2020): https://www.usccb.org/offices/public-affairs/clergy-and-religious.

[16] For a history of Vietnamese American Catholics, see Peter C. Phan, *Vietnamese-American Catholics* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005); Peter C. Phan, 'Vietnamese Catholics in the United States: Christian Identity Between the Old and the New,' *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 48, no. 1 (2000): 19–35.

[17] Carl L. Bangston, III, 'Vietnamese-American Catholicism: Transplanted and Flourishing,' *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 48, no. 1 (2000): 36–53.

[18] Chinese Ignatian Chung Wang (Archdiocese of San Francisco, 2002–09), Dominic Mai Thanh Luong (Diocese of Orange, 2003–15), Filipino Oscar Solis (Archdiocese of Los Angeles, 2004–17). Solis later became the first Asian American to be bishop of Salt Lake City, in 2017.

3. Vatican II and the Development of Catholic Theology among Asian American Catholics

In the mid-1970s, around the time the FABC was formed, the first waves of Vietnamese refugees settled in the United States in the aftermath of the Vietnam war. Among them was Peter C. Phan, who made significant contributions to the theological scene in America in the 1990s. Phan was by no means the only Asian American Catholic theologian, but he belongs to the first generation of Asian Catholics who successfully transitioned from Asia to North America. The Asian reception of Vatican II was brought to US soil by Phan and his contemporaries.

By this time, the Asian churches, both Catholic and Protestant, had already engaged in contextual theology, creating a dialogue between faith and Asian social, historical, cultural, and religious realities. The term 'contextualization' was first coined by the late Taiwanese Presbyterian theologian Shokie Coe (born Ng Chiong-hui, 1914–88) when he was a member of the Theological Education Fund of the World Council of Churches. In an influential article titled 'In Search of Renewal in Theological Education,' published in 1973,[19] he used 'contextualization' to signify the process of making the Christian faith relevant to the needs and concerns of actual people in the contemporary world against the abstract universalist approaches of traditional theologies. Early efforts of indigenization of Christianity in Asian settings yielded little more than merely giving the Gospel message a cultural robe. Instead, Coe argues that theological reflection should begin with a 'missiological discernment of the times, seeing where God is at work and calling us to participate in it.'[20] Stephen Bevans, a Catholic missiologist and theologian, went further. He argues that all theologies are 'contextual theologies' and asks theologians—Asian and others—to seriously consider 'the culture, history, contemporary thought forms, and so forth, along with scripture and tradition, as valid sources for theological expression.'[21]

[19] Shokie Coe, 'In Search of Renewal in Theological Education,' *Theological Education* 9 (Summer 1973): 233–43. Parts of this essay have been reprinted in several anthologies.

[20] Coe, 'In Search of Renewal in Theological Education,' 241. Although Coe was not a Catholic, we can see the echoes of *Gaudium et Spes*'s reading of the signs of the times here.

[21] Stephen B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 4.

The benefit of Asian Catholics living and teaching in North America is its ecumenical environment. American Catholic theologians are part of the greater Asian American Christians. Unlike in Asia—where Catholics and Protestants are treated as two separate religions — Catholic theologians in the US and Canada enjoy tremendous cross-fertilization and sharing theological thoughts with their Protestant colleagues. In comparison with African American and Hispanic American theologians, Asian American theologians are younger siblings. Most only came to the US and Canada after 1965, and few have been interested in academic careers in the humanities, especially in philosophy and theology, as opposed to scientific or practical vocations such as law, medicine, engineering, business, or political science. Being the numerical minority does not negate their contribution. Asian American theologians bring the theological fruits from their living situation in Asia. They help introduce Asian theological works to the North American academy.

Catholic theologians constituted a minority among Asian American population, since most Asian American theologians are predominantly Protestant or Evangelical/Pentecostal. However, they share with other Asian Christians a similar background, distinctive cultural and religious traditions, deep faith, and devotion. Whether they are Protestants or Catholics, they follow a similar approach to theologizing, embracing contextualization as a method of proceeding. They start from the situation of poverty, exploitation, and oppression in Asia and racism in the US. They deal with cultural marginalization 'in between and betwixt' and religious diversity in North America. Asian American theologians read the Bible through a post-colonial and cultural lens, stressing God's preferential treatment of the poor and outcast, something Latin American theologians have stressed.

Nevertheless, their sources and resources for theology are not limited to the Western canon. They draw from the narratives and folklore of the Asian people, the wisdom of the sacred texts, and ethical as well as spiritual practices of Asian religions and philosophies. To give a few examples, Chinese Catholic scholar Julia Ching (1934–2001) employs Confucian philosophy in her theology; Korean Methodist theologian Jung-young Lee (1930–96) adapts the philosophy of yin and yang and constructs a theology of God; Taiwanese Presbyterian Choan Chengsong (b. 1929) fosters narrative theology from the 'womb of Asia'; and Filipino-born Ruben Habito (b. 1947) takes on comparative spirituality engaging Catholic practices with Zen Buddhism. In their early phase, two other Catholic theologians, Korean-born Anselm Kyongsuk Min (d. 2020) and Vietnamese-born Peter C. Phan, stayed with the mainstream for a while before turning their attention to Asian theology.

4. The 1998 Synod of Asia and Its Impacts on Asian North American Catholics

A significant event that influenced the theological development and formation of Asian Catholic identity in the US is the 1998 Synod of Asia. To prepare for the renewal of the Church in the third millennium, Pope John Paul II proposed a series of extraordinary synods for the bishops of different continents in the Church. Among the various synods, the one for Asia caught the attention of both the media and the hierarchy. Unlike the synods on other continents, the news that Japanese and Indonesian bishops rejected the agenda set by Rome and preferred their own theological approach startled many American theologians.[22] Instead of going along with the preparation (*lineamenta*) set out by the Roman Curia, the Asian bishops decided to have their own agenda and working document (*instrumentum laboris*). The rejection by the Asian bishops of anyone outside of Asia setting the direction for the future of the Church in Asia was surprising to many. After much negotiation, the synod went on, and Pope John Paul II responded with the apostolic exhortation *Ecclesia in Asia* the following year. Much of the controversy is not about the content but the procedure.[23] The Asian bishops, being used to the FABC structure and operation, wanted a more consultative, horizontal approach to the discussion table, not a top-down decision from the Roman Curia. Furthermore, the Asian bishops wanted more nuanced language in evangelization. Proclaiming Christ as Saviour is not a problem, but how to present him to Asian audiences is another matter.

Post-synodal reaction from Rome caught the attention of American theologians. Several Asian theologians and their works were called into question by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF), namely, Tissa Balasuryia, Jacques Dupuis, and even the late Anthony De Mello—all of whom were engaged in interreligious dialogue in Asian contexts. In addition, the CDF issued *Dominus Iesus* in 2000, using the disciplinary language of the necessity to uphold the traditional position on Christ and the Church as an oblique critique of the FABC theology. These series of events brought Asian Catholic theologians in North America, still very few, into the spotlight.

[22] Fox, *Pentecost in Asia*, ch. 11; Peter C. Phan, ed., *The Asian Synod: Text and Commentaries* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2002).

[23] See Fox, *Pentecost in Asia*, ch. 11 to ch. 13 (149–97), where he recounts the politics surrounding this synod.

In this context, American theologians learned about the theology of FABC. Peter Phan was instrumental in introducing FABC theology to the public by publishing the documents, including the working instruments, of the Synod of Asia.[24] With the support of the editors of Orbis Books, a publishing house of the Maryknoll Missionaries which has been introducing the work of Asian theologians since the 1980s, Phan published his trilogy of theology following the triple dialogue of the FABC.[25] In these three collections of essays, originally written for theological journals in Asia, Europe, and the US, Phan demonstrates how the triple dialogue of FABC can guide Asian theologians, and not only Catholics, in theologizing in the multiethnic, multicultural, and multireligious realities of North America. In other words, Phan takes the pluralistic contexts of the US as a mirror of the diversity in the Asian continents to formulate a workable Asian American theology. Besides these trilogies, Phan also edited and published other books on the history and theology of Asian Christianity, making him a pre-eminent Asian American theologian, not only a Catholic thinker.[26] Phan's work on interreligious dialogue following the method of FABC got him into trouble with the CDF in 2006, leading to a lengthy investigation. Eventually, it was quietly resolved.[27]

The theological approach by Asian bishops continues to make impacts not only in Asia but also in the US academy. To date, there have been about 30 doctoral dissertations on various themes of the FABC, including six from US and Canadian theological schools.[28] FABC theology inspired

[24] Peter C. Phan, ed., *The Asian Synod: Text and Commentaries* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002).

[25] Peter C. Phan, *In Our Tongue: Perspective from Asia on Mission and Inculturation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003), *Christianity with an Asian Face: Asian-American Theology in the Making* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003), and *Being Religious Interreligiously: Asian Perspectives on Interfaith Dialogue* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2004).

[26] See Peter C. Phan, ed., *Christianities in Asia* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011); Peter C. Phan, *Asian Christianities: History, Theology, Practice* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2018).

[27] One can learn about the whole saga in Peter C. Phan, *The Joy of Religious Pluralism: A Personal Journey* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2017), esp. 1–19, 173–225.

[28] Don Bosco M. Mariampillai, 'The Emerging Asian Theology of Liberation in the Documents of the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences, 1974-1986' (PhD diss., Saint Paul University, Ottawa, 1993); Nguyen Van Am, 'Laity in Asia: Mission as Inculturation in the Documents of the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences' (STD diss., Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley, 2001); Jonathan Y. Tan, '"Missio ad gentes" in Asia: A Comparative Study of the Missiology of John Paul II and the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences (FABC)' (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 2002); Abraham Kadaliyil, 'Toward a Relational Spirit Ecclesiology in Asia: A Study on the Documents of the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences' (ThD diss., Graduate Theological

the next generation of Asian American theologians. Among them, we can count the Malaysian-born Edmund Chia and Jonathan Y. Tan, both of whom have actively promoted the theology of FABC through their works.[29] Chia headed the interreligious dialogue office of the Asian Bishops from 1996 to 2004. Before moving to Australia, he taught at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago and produced a number of works on interreligious dialogue from the FABC perspective.[30] Tan completed his doctorate under the tutelage of Peter C. Phan at the Catholic University of America and has been focused on FABC theology and missiology.[31]

In recent years, the number of Asian American Catholic theologians has been growing.[32] Many of them, formed in Asia, come to teach theology in the US and bring with them the dialogical approach of the Asian churches—a direct application of Vatican II dialogical spirit. One begins to feel their impacts in professional societies like the Catholic Theological Society of America, which had its first Asian president in 1999, Peter Phan; some of them have served as board members.

Union, 2006); Bernardus Agus Rukiayanto, *A New Way of Being Church: A Study of Inculturation in the Church of Asia and of Indonesia—A Roman Catholic Perspective* (STD diss., Weston Jesuit School of Theology, 2007); Thao Nguyen, *A New Way of Being Church for Mission: Asian Catholic Bishops and Asian Catholic Women in Dialogue—A Study of the Documents of the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences (FABC)* (ThD diss., Graduate Theological Union, 2013). For a complete list, see http://www.fabc.org.

[29] I have written a couple of book chapters but not yet any monographs on FABC theological approaches: Anh Q. Tran, 'Contextual Theology as Dialogue: An Asian Catholic Approach to Shoki Coe's Theological Legacy,' in *Wrestling with God in Context: Revisiting the Theology and Social Vision of Shoki Coe*, eds. M.P. Matthews, Po-ho Huang, and Victor Hsu (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018), 143–60; and Anh Q. Tran, 'Being Church Among Asians: Perspectives and Insights of the Asian Theology of FABC,' in *Theology Without Borders*, ed. Leo Lefebure (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2022), 29–46.

[30] Edmund Kee-Fook Chia, *Edward Schillebeeckx and Interreligious Dialogue: Perspectives from Asian Theology* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2012); Edmund Kee-Fook Chia, ed., *Interfaith Dialogue: Global Perspectives* (New York: Macmillan, 2016); Edmund Kee-Fook Chia, *World Christianity Encounters World Religions: A Summa of Interfaith Dialogue* (Minneapolis: Liturgical Press, 2018). His most recent work is *Asian Christianity and Theology: Inculturation, Interreligious Dialogue, Integral Liberation* (New York: Routledge, 2021).

[31] Jonathan Y. Tan, *Christian Mission Among the Peoples of Asia* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2014). His latest work on the subject is Jonathan Y. Tan, *The Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences: Bearing Witness to the Gospel and the Reign of God in Asia* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2021).

[32] In a survey by Jonathan Y. Tan, *Introducing Asian-American Theologie*s (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2008), he acknowledges the scarcity of Asian American Catholic theologians—only Anselm Min and Peter Phan are listed. But the situation is changing now.

5. Contemporary Challenges in North American Asian Churches

Compared to their brothers and sisters in Asia, Asian Christians who live in the US and Canada have experienced some identity crises. One of the largest issues that Asian Americans face is the question of ghettoization versus assimilation. Unlike the immigrants from the previous era, who were encouraged to assimilate into the American melting pot regardless of their original ethnic identities, most Asian Americans today are proud of retaining their ethnic identities. Still, the questions of both their ethnic and religious identity were at issue. Since the number of Asian Americans has risen significantly in the past 50 years or so, many Asian Christians of first-generation immigrants are caught in their dual identity: Should they be Asian first and Christian second, or vice versa? The question is not insignificant since most Asian Christian subgroups, with the exception of Filipinos, have a higher percentage of Christians in the United States compared to their countries of origin.

This is a distinct question since it has implications not only on the type of Christian practice by Asian Americans but also on how they understand their own ethnic identity. Many first- or second-generation Asian immigrants often see themselves as an extension of their Asian churches by retaining the language and religious customs of their countries of origin. It is estimated that 70 per cent of Asian American Catholics are foreign born. Inculturation as a principle of Asian theology continues to flourish among Asian Catholics as they strive to maintain their religious expressions and customs from the ancestral lands and give them a fresh remaking on US soil. The devotion to Our Lady of Lavang, popularized in many Vietnamese Catholic communities across the US, is one example. An obscure cult from a little village in Central Vietnam has become a common expression of Vietnamese religiosity. Another example is the Simbang Gabi, a nine-day series of Masses in anticipation of Christmas in the Philippines that has added Filipino elements to share with the large US Church.

However, among younger Asian American Christians (and Catholics), a growing pan-Asian identity is forming. They begin to see themselves as part of a bigger Asian American community that must pay attention to the local and present reality in the US. Since the first-generation Asian immigrant's experience of religion is specifically tied to the culture they grew up in, it is not readily transferred to the next generation, especially because of the language barrier. Children of these immigrants, born in the US, were more ready to assimilate into the mainstream. The ethnic

churches of their parents do not seem to have a place for those who are struggling to navigate the complex identity of the two worlds—the old and the new. Many younger generations of Asian Americans leave the ethnic faith of their parents and instead find a place within the mainstream churches that stress colour blindness. What becomes important for these people is worshipping God in a way that makes sense to them without the cultural baggage from their parents. The customs and religious expressions from their ancestral lands seem no longer relevant because of the language barrier. The younger generation communicates primarily in English and has few connections to Asia. It is as much a spiritual and cultural division as it is a generational one. However, this can be seen as both a challenge and an opportunity to form an Asian American Catholic identity.[33]

6. Concluding Reflection

The world has changed in the 60 years since the end of Vatican II, and even more after 9/11 and the ongoing military conflicts, such as what has happened between Russia and Ukraine. From geopolitical and economic perspectives, the relationship between the United States and other rising Asian powers, like China and India, will likely play a significant role on the global stage in the 21st century. As in the case of Christian–Muslim relations in the Middle East, the government's treatment of Catholics and Christians in a particular country in Asia is related to geopolitics and the relationships between the United States and those countries. Asian American Christians could help to be a bridge between the country of their origin and their present home.

'The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ…': the opening line of *Gaudium et Spes*, the Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World, rang true in 1965 among Asian Catholics

[33] The US bishops have been aware of this concern, and they have discussed it in the report issued by the Secretariat for Cultural Diversity in the Church, Asian and Pacific Island Affairs. See United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Encountering Christ in Harmony: A Pastoral Response to Our Asian and Pacific Island Brothers and Sisters* (Washington, DC: USCCB, 2018), https://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/cultural-diversity/asian-pacific-islander/upload/asian-and-pacific-island-pastoral-response-encountering-christ-in-harmony-2018.pdf.

and still does so today. Asian American Catholics share with their Asian brothers and sisters the joys and sorrows, the hopes and anxieties of the churches in their respective countries. Asian American churches have intrinsic ties with their counterparts in Asia—not only of linguistic, cultural, and religious heritages but also their status of being a minority in a larger society that will treat them as 'perpetual foreigners.'[34]

Thanks to globalization and immigration, the West in general and American society in particular are becoming increasingly multi-ethnic, multicultural, and multi-religious. In addition, the Christian world is shifting from the North Atlantic to the global South. The move of the Christian population to the majority world (that is, Asia, Africa, and Latin America) in the decades to come is changing Christianity into a post-Western religion, as sociologists have warned.[35] Consequently, in the process of reception of the council, Asian and Asian American theologians can contribute to the larger Church through their own dialogical approach, theological vision, intercultural and interreligious experience, and vibrant communities.[36] In the eloquent words of Peter Phan, 'the gift that Rome gave to Asia 50 years ago is now brought back to Rome, enlarged, enhanced, enriched.'[37]

[34] Joseph Cheah has addressed some of these issues in *Anti-Asian Racism: Myths, Stereotypes, and Catholic Social Teachings* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2022).

[35] The new situation of Christianity has been documented by Philip Jerkins, among others. See his *Next Christendom: The Coming Future of Global Christianity*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[36] In the US, for example, the impacts of Vietnamese and Filipino Catholics are the most obvious. Although they comprise a small percentage of the total US Catholics population, the number of Asian clergy and religious is disproportionately high. Consult the USCCB website for statistics.

[37] Peter C. Phan, 'Reception of and Trajectories for Vatican II in Asia,' *Theological Studies*, 74, no. 2 (2013): 302–320, at 320.

THE RECEPTION OF VATICAN II BY WOMEN IN AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA

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To write on the reception of Vatican II by the women of Australia and Oceania is to cover a vast range of experiences and responses to the council. The title 'Oceania' refers to an immense area of the planet, stretching in a triangular shape from Hawaii in the north to Easter Island in the south-east and New Zealand but encompassing Papua New Guinea in the west. This chapter will compare Australia and the nations of Oceania with regard to the response of their women to Vatican II. In the past 50 years, there have been quite different responses to the teachings of Vatican II by women in Australia and New Zealand on the one hand and by women in the Pacific Islands on the other.

In Australia and New Zealand, women—whether as religious or lay women—were free enough socially and economically and enabled by a sufficient level of education to engage directly with the documents and to push for reform in their own lives, in the life of the parish, especially its liturgy, and in the wider Church. Within Australia and New Zealand, there has been a range of responses by women to Vatican II. While most women were enthusiastic about the new dignity and freedom that Vatican II seemed to encourage, there has always been a small minority that resisted change and wished to return to the pre-Vatican II Church. Over time, some women have become impatient with what they perceive as a failure to implement the vision of Vatican II and have walked away from the Church; a small number has opted for a return, insofar as it is possible, to the Church of the 1950s. In the past decade, the revelations of the extent of clergy sexual abuse of children in Australia, through the work of the Australian government's Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, has probably led both groups to believe all the more firmly in their perception of the Church and in their responses to it.[1]

[1] For a detailed history and the work of this Royal Commission, which was announced in November 2012 and produced its Final Report of 17 volumes in December 2017, see

Over the half-century since the council, the decline of Catholic women's religious orders has meant a certain gap in leadership among women. Catholic lay women in the Church are responding individually and, to some degree, in organized mutual support. One hopeful sign for women in the Australian Catholic Church as it prepared for its Plenary Council 2021–2022 is the decision that in choices about who will participate in that council, women, especially lay women, will be favoured even at the expense of good men. In the end, women had the consultative (non-binding) vote at the council; bishops had the deliberative (decision-making) vote. For many women in Australia, this gathering was 'make or break' for the Church: if it did not engage with women seriously and set the Church in this country on a radically new tack, many of the women who have persevered to this point with the Church will walk away.

In the Pacific Islands, by contrast with Australia and New Zealand, women experienced some freedom as a result of Vatican II, but it was filtered largely through what the mostly European or Anglo-Saxon missionary clergy or female religious would allow or could enable for them. It is only relatively recently that women in the Pacific Islands have begun to have access to sufficient formal post-secondary school education and personal formation, that they might be able to have more personal autonomy and to exercise a more significant public role in the Church.

As Vatican II began, the Catholic Church in Australia, New Zealand, and Oceania appeared to be on the crest of a wave of prosperity and expansion. However, as Graeme Davison observes, as the 1960s began, 'The suburban affluence that had prospered the churches gradually undermined them … [and] the Sunday afternoon drive soon eclipsed … the Sunday school.'[2] What made the impact of Vatican II on Australia and New Zealand dramatic was that as the Church rethought and reorganized itself, the Western world, especially the United Kingdom and the United States, which influenced Australia and New Zealand, was also changing rapidly as post-war technology, prosperity, and new social mores challenged the existing order. Social commentators identify 1963, a year in which a number of major political and social events occurred in the northern hemisphere, as a turning point. Callum Brown, commenting on

Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, *Final Report: Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, Vols 1–17* (Barton, ACT: Attorney-General's Department, 2017).

[2] Graeme Davison, 'Religion,' in *The Cambridge History of Australia, Vol. 2: The Commonwealth of Australia*, eds. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre, 215–36, at 227 (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 2015).

secularization in Britain writes, 'For a thousand years, Christianity penetrated deeply into the lives of the people … then really quite suddenly in 1963, something very profound ruptured the character of the nation and its people, sending organized Christianity on a downward spiral to the margins of social significance.'[3]

In the southern hemisphere, as news of upheavals in the northern hemisphere English-speaking wartime allies of Australia and New Zealand travelled south, the Beatles toured Australia and New Zealand in June 1964. They were mobbed by teenage girls whose wildly excited screaming for the new phenomenon was universally described as 'hysterical.' A reporter describing the girls' response to the Beatles' concert as 'delirium' wrote, 'Was there ever such noise? It was a din that would have muted anything short of a major wartime artillery barrage.'[4] This was Beatlemania; it disturbed parents and teachers, who saw their daughters responding to a powerful force beyond adult control.

One other development of the 1960s changed life for women and set up an inevitable conflict between women and the Catholic Church. In 1961, the contraceptive pill became available in Australia. Within two years, one tenth of women in the city of Melbourne were using the Pill, with the rapid uptake assisted by falling prices.[5] The consequences were smaller families, but in the nation at large, 'more radically, women's reproductive systems were no longer so widely assumed to be at the nation's disposal. [T]he threads that had long tied female sexuality to nation-building were loosened.'[6]

When the Australian Family Law Act of 1975 introduced no-fault divorce, Australian women were set free from sexual entrapment in marriage, free to enjoy the benefits of the employment market of a strong economy, free to travel and to participate in consequence-free sexual activity, as men were.[7]

The Church, however, had always disapproved of contraception, just as it had always held a very particular view of women, focused on their role as mothers. Ivy Helman, in her survey of Vatican statements on women from the 1880s through to the 2000s, sums up that 'Before the

[3] Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain* (London: Routledge, 2001), 1.

[4] Robin Gerster and Jan Bassett, *Seizures of Youth: The Sixties and Australia* (Melbourne: Hyland House, 1991), 7.

[5] See Frank Bongiorno, *The Sex Lives of Australians: A History* (Collingwood, Vic.: Black, 2012), 228.

[6] Bongiorno, *Sex Lives of Australians*, 232.

[7] See Bongiorno, *Sex Lives of Australians*, 231–32, at 236.

1960s little is said about women outside of their capacity of motherhood and their role as wives.'[8] A classic example of Vatican attitudes to women is expressed in Pope Paul VI's Address to Women of 8 December 1965, in which he asserts that women are about to have an influence never before seen in the world. He appeals to women, 'Reconcile men with life and … hold back the hand of man who, in a moment of folly, might attempt to destroy human civilization. Women, you do know how to make truth sweet, tender and accessible; make it your task to bring the spirit of this council into institutions, schools, homes and daily life.'[9]

Helman notes that along with a call for women to save the peace of the world by restraining men from violence, this document 'seems to make [women] responsible for society's failure if they cannot or will not help men be peaceful, just and respectful of life.'[10] There was to be more of this attitude to women, noted below.

1. Principal Characteristics of Reception History of Australia, New Zealand, and Oceania

Despite the paternalism of Paul VI's Address to Women, the attitude toward the world that Vatican II expressed in a document such as *Gaudium et Spes*, promulgated on 7 December 1965 in a final flurry of council documents, raised the hopes of Catholic women in Australia and New Zealand that the Church was truly ready to communicate with them about real life. Already, during the council, women had been following the promulgation of the council's documents and listening to the reports of bishops as they returned from the sessions of the council; women were ready to see the results that would flow from this unprecedented gathering.

1.1. *The Contribution of Australians to the Conciliar Process and Implementation*

Australian Catholic women at the time of the council were not theologically sophisticated. What religious education they had received would have been catechetical and practical, provided by religious sisters and

[8] Ivy A. Helman, *Women and the Vatican: An Exploration of Official Documents* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2012), 19.

[9] Helman, *Women and the Vatican*, 30. Note that this document was addressed to all women of the world, believers or not.

[10] Helman, *Women and the Vatican*, 26.

brothers with little theological education beyond their own schooling and a very devotional, behaviourist novitiate. Parish homilies in the main were moralistic and exhortatory. Thus, most people—even priests and religious—in Australia received Vatican II with very little theological or historical context against which to understand the import of the thought or the ecclesiastical politics that lay behind the changes.

There were rare exceptions: individuals who not only understood but actually contributed to the work of Vatican II. Archbishop Guilford Young of Hobart, the youngest archbishop in Australia when he was appointed, was noted at the council for his particular interest in the liturgy; Pope Paul VI appointed him to the Consilium whose task was to oversee implementation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.[11] An Australian lay woman, Rosemary Goldie, who was undersecretary of the Pontifical Council for the Laity from 1967 to 1976 and an auditor at the council, influenced the writing of paragraph 9 of *Apostolicam Actuositatem*. Her *View from a Roman Window* details the influence she had on behind-the-scenes work in consultations and conferences before, during, and after the council, particularly with reference to the laity and women.[12]

2. Specific Instances of How This Teaching Was Received

2.1. *Australia and New Zealand*

Aspects of Vatican II received positively by women in Australia and New Zealand

In the Western nations of Australia and New Zealand, the general vision conveyed by the documents of Vatican II of the Church as awake, in touch with the real world, and recognizing the call to holiness of all the baptized was received enthusiastically. It was hoped that Pope John XXIII's

[11] See the summary of Young's contributions to the liturgy in Australia and internationally in Clare V. Johnson, Bill Burke, Paul Inwood, Patrick Fr Jones, and Paul Turner, 'Sacrosanctum Concilium at Fifty: Reports from Five English-Speaking Countries,' *Worship* 87, no. 6 (2013): 482–89.

[12] Rosemary Goldie, *From a Roman Window: Five Decades – The World, the Church and the Catholic Laity* (Blackburn, Vic.: HarperCollins, 1998). See the frequent references to Goldie in Carmel McEnroy, *Guests in Their Own House: The Women of Vatican II* (New York: Crossroad, 1996), where McEnroy calls her a 'conciliar celebrity' who taught at the Lateran University for 19 years and who, in Goldie's own words, had 'the dubious honor of being the only curial woman for ten years – 1966–1976.' See 54, 238.

frequently cited wish for an *aggiornamento* in the Church would give new energy and direction to the Church.

For all women, the first and most striking encounter with the impact of the council was in the liturgy. Depending on the local bishop and his clergy, the Mass began to be celebrated in the vernacular, English, as translations became available. People felt a sense of immediacy in the fact that the liturgy spoke to them in their language. Women were involved in the liturgical experimentation that occurred through the 1970s, whether through music ministry, hosting Mass in private homes, or beginning to take on other roles, such as proclaiming the Scriptures at Mass.

One of the most visible effects in the Church in the years following the council was the renewal of religious life in response to *Perfectae Caritatis*. As Margaret Beirne, RSC, documents, religious women engaged energetically in updating their lives in every way imaginable.[13] Sisters in hundreds of religious congregations read the documents of Vatican II and went to meetings and seminars in the evenings, on weekends, and in vacation time. They held the general chapters that *Perfectae Caritatis* required of them, rewrote constitutions, and, most visibly, changed from their pseudo-medieval habits with their outlandish head-dress, so unsuitable for the hot summers of Australia. They restructured much of the semi-monastic way in which they lived toward more liberal, humane, and realistic arrangements. In Australia and New Zealand, under pressure from governments requiring secondary school teachers to have tertiary-level qualifications, many religious women began part-time university studies by correspondence while teaching full-time, often taking a decade to complete their degrees. In the process, many religious women were exposed to a wider world of knowledge, to serious adult encounters with secular people, and, above all, to critical thinking. This would lead eventually to thinking in a more searching fashion about the Church, religious life, and apostolic ministry. In the midst of this upheaval, and for a range of reasons, many left religious life.

Wherever possible, religious women in the few large cities of the nation pursued theological education, both formally and informally. This was encouraged by the council, which stated that lay people, both men and women, should be properly prepared to participate in the mission of

[13] Margaret Beirne, 'Old Habits Die Hard: The Experience of Australian Religious Women in the Wake of Vatican II,' in *Vatican II: Reception and Implementation in the Australian Church*, eds. Neil Ormerod, Ormond Rush, David Pascoe, Clare Johnson, and Joel Hodge (Mulgrave, Vic.: Garratt, 2012), 154–75.

the Church by access not only to spiritual formation but also to 'solid doctrinal instruction in theology, ethics, and philosophy adjusted to differences of age, status, and natural talents' (AA 29). Formal theological education in Australia was available only in seminary theologates until the 1990s. It was taken up by some women, mostly religious, once it became available to them from the very late 1970s onward. Some completed higher degrees and made an impact on the world theological scene; of these, the most eminent is without a doubt Elaine Wainwright, rsm. Many would identify themselves as feminist; many have more recently begun to write in an eco-theological mode. The decline of religious life has meant a dearth of women studying theology formally, which is to the detriment of the Church in general.

In Australia, women, both religious and lay, still take up in much larger numbers than men opportunities in informal theological education, especially in Scripture. These opportunities are usually provided by Catholic tertiary education agencies such as universities, theological institutes, or diocesan pastoral agencies and are presented in the form of a series of evening or weekend lectures and some forms of e-learning. Moving into the 1980s and '90s, Australian women took up the opportunity to be more involved in parish administration, sitting on parish councils where a parish priest allowed them to do so, as ministers of the Eucharist at Mass, and, on very rare occasions, offering a 'reflection' in place of the homily. In the 2000s in Australia, girls have been allowed to be altar servers.

One consequence of Vatican II for Catholic women in Australia has been a change in lay female organizations. From early in the 20th century, the Catholic Women's League has sought to present the Church's social and ethical teachings to the wider world. Claiming to have around 1,650 members in the state of New South Wales, the League would tend toward a conservative view.[14] At the other end of the spectrum was the organization Women and the Australian Catholic Church (WATAC), founded in 1984 in Sydney by a lay woman, Camille Paul, and two religious women, Pauline Smith, RSM, and Patricia Bartley, RSJ, to support an inclusive vision of Church in which women's potential would be fully realized. WATAC was supported by Catholic religious orders but was open to all religious traditions. It operated through regular conferences and the publication of a feminist journal, *Women-church*, which ran for 40 years, from 1987 until 2007. The journal promoted Australian Catholic feminist writing, addressing such topics as sexism in the Australian

[14] See the Catholic Women's League's national website at https://cwla.com.au.

Church; a theological understanding of the roles of laity, clergy, and leadership of the Church; women's ordination; historical accounts of women's organizations in the Australian Church; women, Bible, and theology; and the potential future for women in the Church. The articles, written by women and men, were of high academic quality; the message was conveyed perhaps as much, however, by cartoons lampooning clerical smugness and naivety about the real world of women.[15]

Provoked by the impact of feminism, Catholic leadership in Australia and New Zealand sought to address the issues of sexism in the 1990s. Sponsored by the New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference, Christine Cheyne published a project researching sexism in the Catholic Church in New Zealand. The findings, entitled *Made in God's Image*, detail the aim, methodology, research techniques, and results of the project.[16] The project identified more than 30 themes related to sexism operating in the New Zealand Catholic Church and affecting both Indigenous Maori and the mainstream population. They highlighted the lack of access of women to ordination, subtle behaviours limiting the roles of both women and men, and the negation of women's experiences.[17]

In Australia, a similar study investigated the participation of women in the Catholic Church in Australia.[18] Launched in 1996 by the Australian Catholic bishops, the study produced its lengthy report, *Woman and Man: One in Christ Jesus*, in 1999. The report identified contrasting views about the participation of women in the Catholic Church: one wanting to return to a pre-Vatican II church and the other wishing to see women participating more publicly in the Church. The report found that Catholics were concerned about the lack of women in decision-making roles in the Church, that there was 'a strong sense of pain and alienation resulting from the Church's stance on women,' and that 'there should be open discussion of the issue of women's ordination.'[19] The report also noted that churchgoers tended to be older than the general population and that women outnumbered men three to two.[20]

[15] See *Women-church*, 1987–2007; cartoons drawn by Graham English.

[16] Christine Cheyne, *Made in God's Image: A Project Researching Sexism in the Catholic Church in Aotearoa (New Zealand)* (Wellington, NZ: Bayley's Print, 1990).

[17] See Cheyne, *Made in God's Image*, vi.

[18] Marie Macdonald, Peter Carpenter, Sandie Cornish, Michael Costigan, Robert Dixon, Margaret Malone, SGS, Kevin Manning, and Sonia Wagner, SGS, *Woman and Man: One in Christ Jesus* (Sydney, NSW: HarperCollins, 1999), vii.

[19] Macdonald et al., *Woman and Man*, viii, ix.

[20] Macdonald et al., *Woman and Man*, viii.

These statistics are confirmed by a 2018 study by Tracey McEwan, in which she contrasted the responses of four age cohorts of Australian women: from those born before World War II to those born between 1980 and 2001. Using data from an Australian ecumenical research project, the Australian Church Life Survey, and a similar Catholic Church Life Survey in the years 2001 to 2016, McEwan found that older female Catholics, those now in their 60s to 80s, have remained constant in weekly Mass attendance, while younger Catholic women have declined in attendance but report strong belief in God and private religious practice, such as saying the Rosary.[21] McEwan's overall finding is that 'Increasingly in the post-Vatican II era, Catholic religiosity involves the negotiation of institutional authority with lived experience and a religious chain of memory.'[22] Among Australian Catholic women, this comes down to a 'growing shift towards individualistic spirituality that is located beyond the bounds of institutions belonging.'[23]

In response to *Woman and Man*, the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference established two related agencies to implement decisions flowing from the report. These two agencies, the Office for the Participation of Women and the Commission for Australian Catholic Women, whose task was to advise the bishops about women in the Church, have run national conferences for women and have initiated a number of projects, such as a graduate education programme in leadership for young Catholic women, in collaboration with the Australian Catholic University.[24] In 2019, the position of director of these agencies was cancelled due to pressures on the national episcopal budget coming largely from the consequences of exposure of clerical sexual abuse in the Catholic Church in Australia.

[21] See Tracey McEwan, 'Changing Patterns of Religious Practice and Belief among Church-attending Catholic Women in Australia,' *Journal for the Academic Study of Religion* 31, no. 3 (2018): 194–95, for her summary that 'each successive generation of Catholic female respondents from Builders [those born before 1946] through to Gen X was statistically significantly less likely to report attending Mass weekly or more often.'

[22] McEwan, 'Changing Patterns of Religious Practice,' 210.

[23] McEwan, 'Changing Patterns of Religious Practice,' 211.

[24] See Office for the Participation of Women, https://www.opw.catholic.org.au.

Aspects of Vatican II not well received by women in Australia and New Zealand

Very many Catholic women in Australia and New Zealand would have only a general understanding of Vatican II as an event or of its documents and principal ideas. For many, the most conspicuous everyday consequences of Vatican II, namely the liturgy in English and religious women in ordinary dress, are all they have ever known. Some women have taken an interest in ecumenism and interreligious dialogue, but they would be the conscientious and probably theologically educated few.

Australian and New Zealand women have not actively rejected any Vatican II teachings, but they have tended to be alienated from the Church by issues around sexuality and gender where the Church has held to positions often significantly at odds with the stance of the wider secular Western society. Graeme Davison reports that in response to the promulgation of *Humanae Vitae*, published shortly after the council, Catholic women continued to use the Pill and stopped going to confession because there was no point in promising not to continue with a practice to which the married couple was committed.[25] In one moment, Catholic women experienced disobeying the Church, stepping away from the sacraments, and, in many cases, discovering an improvement in their own lifestyle in terms of freedom from frequent pregnancies and child-bearing and the ability to engage in work for income. Young Catholic women today might well say the Rosary from time to time, but they most likely use contraception, including before marriage.

Australian Catholic women are divided on the issue of the ordination of women. A small but vocal minority want to return to a pre-Vatican II church, including the Latin Mass and the devotional and moral practices of that time. For a different, larger, and also vocal minority of Australian Catholic women, the ordination of women is the make-or-break issue in the Church at this time. The great majority of thinking women want to see more women involved in high-level decision-making in the Church and can see no good reason for women not to be ordained. They have not been convinced by the arguments of *Inter Insigniores* (1975) about the necessary maleness of the priest for the efficacy of the Eucharist. While this is not a teaching of Vatican II, for many women it destroys the promise of the council.

[25] See Davison, 'Religion,' 231, citing a woman's plaint, 'You couldn't go along [to Confession] and say "I'm not going to do it again" when you already had the next month's supply.'

Crowning this negative experience was the revelation during the past 25 years of the extent of clerical sexual abuse of children in Catholic institutions in Australia. The Australian Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse sums up that 'Almost 2,500 survivors told us about sexual abuse in an institution managed by the Catholic Church. This was 61.8 per cent of all survivors who reported sexual abuse in a religious institution. It was 36.2 per cent of all survivors who came to a private session.'[26] In these Catholic institutions, of the children abused, 'The majority (73.9 per cent) were male and 25.9 per cent were female.'[27] In a nation whose population is just under 25 million, 2,500 children abused by Church personnel has been the final straw for many women. As a result, they have walked away from the Church.

Of those Catholic women in Australia who were still strongly committed to the Church, many were waiting on the outcome of a national plenary council, in preparation since 2018, to be held in two sessions: in October 2021 and July 2022. This is the first such council to be held in Australia since Vatican II. A long consultation process, open to all who wished to comment and moving through a number of dialogue phases, reached the point where 220,000 submissions were collated and published on the plenary website. With regard to women, the pattern from *Woman and Man* of 1999 holds: some want to return to the devotions and perceived simple faith of the pre-Vatican II church; others call for the ordination of women, for better selection and formation of seminarians and priests, for greater transparency and accountability in Church governance, and for an end to sexism in the Church.[28] It is not an exaggeration to say that many Catholic women in Australia are waiting to see the outcome of this plenary council to decide whether they remain as practising Catholics.

2.2. *The Indigenous Women of the Catholic Church of Oceania*

The many Pacific island nations of Oceania are very different economically, culturally, and socially from the more Western nations of Australia and New Zealand.[29] There is quality scholarship on the missionary

[26] See Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, *Final Report*, Preface and Executive Summary, 11.

[27] See Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, *Final Report*, 60.

[28] See the summary of issues listed under six large themes on the Plenary 2020–2022 website: https://plenarycouncil.catholic.org.au.

[29] For a discussion of the social situation of Oceania at the time of the council, see the chapter 'The Situation in Society and the Catholic Church in Oceania and Australasia on the Eve of the Council' in this volume.

churches in these islands but very little about women, especially about the reception of Vatican II by the Indigenous women of Australia and New Zealand and the women of Oceania.[30] To research this question, it was necessary to interview Australian women from three religious congregations whose members had worked in missions in the Pacific for some decades.[31]

From these interviews, a general impression of the position of Catholic women in these small countries emerged, despite the great variation in cultures and languages of these peoples. First, all the women interviewed insisted that the Catholic faith is very strong among the Indigenous women of Oceania. One very experienced missionary sister insisted vigorously, 'The Church is alive in Papua New Guinea!' Another sister, speaking about Aboriginal women living a traditional life in the centre of Australia, maintained that Aboriginal people connected with the sacramentality of Catholic faith, which they understood deeply on the basis of their own ancient spirituality.

Second, while much of the social organization of the various cultures in which these Indigenous women lived was dominated by the male tribal leaders, women were often the ones who held the society together, managing the social well-being of a village and the peace between villages. In villages where a priest may visit for Mass only on a monthly basis, the role of catechist developed to organize the life of faith, lead daily prayers, and see to the good conduct of all. Given the patriarchal nature of many cultures in the Pacific, it was taken as normative that the catechist should be male. It is quite a development that in the Solomon Islands, but only very recently, women have achieved sufficient education to be considered competent to fill the role of catechist. There are education programmes specifically for young religious women in Papua New Guinea; some are able to attend the new Divine Word Missionary University, based in Madang on the north coast. Wherever women have been educated in their faith and have some standing, there tends to be little violence against women.

[30] For a helpful general survey of Catholic missionary work in the Pacific, see Lawrence Nemer, SVD, 'Catholic Mission in Oceania and the Pacific 1910–2010,' in *A Century of Catholic Mission: Roman Catholic Missiology 1910 to the Present*, ed. Stephen B. Bevans, SVD, 67–74 (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2013).

[31] For a list of these women and the areas in which they worked as missionaries, see Appendix 1 in this chapter.

However, it was very difficult for any of the Sisters I interviewed to name any specific way in which it could be said that the Indigenous women of these parts of Oceania consciously received Vatican II. What most Indigenous women in Oceania received of Vatican II came filtered through whatever the local bishop, usually expatriate, would allow and could inspire in his priests. Religious sisters who often lived closer to the people in villages educated women and girls, providing health care and some level of protection from the harshness of their lives, in this way conveying a gospel message and the spirit of a compassionate Church animated by the spirit of Vatican II.

The major reason for this limited, explicit engagement with Vatican II is not only education but the deeper fact that the cultures of all of these peoples are oral. 'They are not readers' is a constant refrain. The texts of Vatican II, therefore, are impenetrable to the Indigenous women of Oceania.

Yet, it can be claimed that the Indigenous women of Oceania received Vatican II in Joseph Komonchak's sense of 'event,' that occurrence that 'do[es] not leave persons or institutions … what they were before.'[32] Yet again, these women have received what was useful to them of Vatican II, largely innocent of the European dramas that were played out between northern hemisphere clergy in Rome in the production of the Vatican II texts. If the great achievement of Vatican II was, according to Yves Congar, 'its departure from [the] Tridentine "system,"' that system had probably never taken hold in Oceania. If the crisis the Church lived through was 'a crisis of the metaphysics behind which the Church believed it could take refuge in order to confront modern culture,' then the women of Oceania have remained untouched by metaphysics and are bothered only at a pragmatic level by modern culture.[33] It is not surprising, then, that missionaries speak of the simple, powerful faith of the women of Oceania who have received from Vatican II whatever works for them in their culture as it is at this time.

[32] Joseph A. Komonchak, 'Afterword: The Council and the Churches,' in *Catholics in the Vatican II Era: Local Histories of a Global Event*, eds. Kathleen Sprows Cummings, Timothy Matovina, and Robert A. Orsi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 281

[33] Komonchak, 'Afterword,' 284.

3. Conclusion

The women of Australia and Oceania in all their variety have received the spirit of Vatican II and have endeavoured to implement the council's teachings to the degree that they understand them and have influence in the Church. It is a commonplace today to hear thinking and committed Catholic women in Australia and New Zealand wish for Vatican III, in the hope that the energy and sense of potential that surrounded the early days of implementation of Vatican II might be refreshed. The pace of change in the contemporary world means that a great deal of the world-view that sits behind the Vatican II documents has changed markedly. Yet, as the Church deals with the impact of revelations of sexual abuse in many countries, not just the West, we are probably not in the best place to embark on such a major undertaking. Perhaps the work of scholars and Church leaders is to break open the experience and the texts of Vatican II afresh to hear how they sound in the new millennium, already in its third decade, and to enter, with a greater maturity, into the event that the council strove to be for the Church.

Appendix 1
Sisters Interviewed about the Reception of Vatican II by Indigenous Catholic Women of the Pacific and Australia

Geraldine Kearney, SGS; Kiribati
Rosemary Kinne, OP; the Solomon Islands
Elizabeth Landon, OP; the Solomon Islands
Judy Lawson, OP; the Solomon Islands
Merrilyn Lee, OLSH; Kiribati
Robyn Reynolds, OSLH; Papua New Guinea and Central Australia
Anne Ryan, OP; Dominican Sisters the Solomon Islands people
Helen Warman, OLSH; Papua New Guinea
Liz Weimers, SGS; North Queensland and Torres Strait; Santa Teresa Mission, Alice Springs

PART C

THE FINAL DOCUMENTS. CONTRIBUTIONS, RECEPTION, PRESENT AND FUTURE OF VATICAN II IN NORTH AMERICA, AUSTRALIA, AND OCEANIA

DEI VERBUM ON REVELATION, TRADITION, AND SCRIPTURE: RECEPTION IN NORTH AMERICA AND OCEANIA

GERALD O'COLLINS, SJ †

North America comprises Canada and the United States, whereas Oceania includes Australia, New Zealand, and nations of the Pacific Ocean. Those attending the Second Vatican Council (1962–65) comprised cardinals, bishops (including auxiliary, titular, and retired bishops), (from May 1963) apostolic delegates (even those not ordained bishops), abbots, and superiors general of exempt clerical orders. In fact, 3,090 fathers attended at least one of Vatican II's four sessions: 416 were from North America, and 74 were from Oceania. Those from Oceania included 38 from Australia, six from Melanesia, three from Micronesia, 13 from New Guinea, six from New Zealand, and eight from Polynesia.

1. PRE-VATICAN II POSITIONS ON THE THREE THEMES

Like many Catholics prior to Vatican II, the fathers from North America and Oceania largely drew their understanding of revelation and tradition from the Council of Trent's 1546 decree on the Bible and traditions (plural). The constitution *Dei Filius* (On faith) of the First Vatican Council (1869–70) further shaped these views. Their understanding of the inspired Scriptures had, in some cases, been modified by the biblical movement and the teaching of Pius XII's encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943). Let us recall standard preconciliar views of revelation, Tradition, and Scripture.

1.1. *Revelation*

Much Catholic teaching identified revelation with divinely authenticated truths that were otherwise inaccessible to human reason and accepted on God's authority. This 'propositional' view represented revelation as primarily the disclosure of new truths about God. Vatican I, while speaking

once of God as being 'pleased to *reveal himself* and his eternal decrees,' emphasized a propositional approach. Hence it explained faith as assent to truths, or believing those things to be true that God has revealed.[1]

1.2. *Tradition*

The Council of Trent declared 'the gospel' to be 'the source of all saving truth and rule of conduct,' adding that 'this truth and rule of conduct are contained in the written books [of the Bible] and unwritten [apostolic] traditions.'[2] Despite Trent speaking in the singular about 'the gospel' being 'the source,' there emerged the 'two-source' theory of revelation, according to which Scripture and Tradition remain separate sources for revealed truths. Tradition contains some truths not found in the Bible. Scripture is not merely 'formally insufficient' (or needing to be interpreted and actualized) but also 'materially insufficient' (or not containing all revealed truths). This theory privileged a propositional view of revelation.

Josef Rupert Geiselmann (1890–1970), recalling that the Council of Trent had decided against speaking of revelation as found 'partly in written books' and 'partly in unwritten traditions,' showed that the two-source interpretation of revelation was erroneous. Trent reserved the term 'source' exclusively for 'the gospel,' the one message of salvation revealed by Christ.[3] Nevertheless, the schema 'the Sources of Revelation,' prepared by Vatican II's Theological Commission, began by reaffirming 'two sources' of revelation.

The 'two-source' theory of revelation not only treated Tradition and Scripture as separate sources but also encouraged identifying tradition with the magisterium or teaching office of the pope and bishops.[4] This reductive view of tradition and its witnesses led to words allegedly spoken by Pope Pius IX on June 19, 1870: 'Witnesses to tradition? There is only one witness[:] myself.'[5]

[1] Heinrich Denzinger and Peter Hünermann, eds, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, *Definitionum et Declarationum*, English trans. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2012), 3004, 3008; italics mine.

[2] Denzinger and Hünermann, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 1501.

[3] On Geiselmann and Trent, see G. O'Collins, *Tradition*: *Understanding Christian Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1–5.

[4] See Walter Kasper, *Die Lehre der Tradition in der Römischen Schule* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1962).

[5] J.R. Geiselmann, *The Meaning of Tradition*, trans. W.J. O'Hara (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966; German orig. 1962), 13–14, 16.

When they met at Vatican II, 'most Catholic bishops would have agreed with' Bishop Edward Doody of Armidale (Australia) in endorsing the 'two-source' theory of revelation: 'not everything revealed by God is contained in Holy Scripture.'[6] Doody made this remark in a written submission to the November 1962 debate on *De Fontibus Revelationis*.[7] Archbishop Romolo Carboni, the Apostolic Delegate to Australia, had been more circumspect in a preconciliar *votum* (request), asking that 'the relationship flourishing between holy Scripture and holy tradition be more accurately determined, notice being taken of more recent theological investigation.' Cardinal Norman Gilroy, Archbishop of Sydney, was likewise discreet in requesting that 'the mutual relation between Holy Scripture and Holy Tradition' was a question that 'ought to be prominent in the council's treatments.'[8]

1.3. *Scripture*

Between Pius XII's *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943) and the opening of Vatican II in 1962, many bishops ignored the encyclical's call to respect (a) the 'literal' meaning of the Bible (that is, the meaning intended by the human authors and conveyed through their literary styles), and (b) the proper freedom of Scripture scholars.[9] The nature of biblical truth and the historical reliability of the gospels remained contentious issues.

Apart from Carboni and Gilroy, the *vota* submitted by bishops from North America and Oceania prior to Vatican II rarely raised explicit issues on revelation, Tradition, and Scripture. Bishop Leo Arckfeld of Wewak (Papua New Guinea) asked that non-Catholic translations of the Bible be permitted where no Catholic versions existed. Bishop Alexandre Poncet (Wallis and Fortuna Islands) wanted clarifications about the interpretation of the Bible.[10] Americans of the Pontifical Biblical Institute supported a request submitted by the Swiss rector, Ernst Vogt, on his own behalf and that of 18 other professors. They asked that the council address the scandal of anti-Semitism and clarify biblical texts wrongly used

[6] Jeffrey J. Murphy, 'Of Pilgrims and Progressives: Australian Bishops at Vatican II (the First Session 1962),' *Australasian Catholic Record* 79 (2002): 189–213, at 207.

[7] *Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani II*, *I/III* (Vatican City: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1970), 319–20; hereafter AS.

[8] Cited in Jeffrey J. Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II: 1959–1965' (PhD diss., Griffith University, 2001), 355.

[9] Denzinger and Hünermann, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 3826–31.

[10] Denzinger and Hünermann, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 371, 381.

against Jews. The 19 included notable American Jesuits: Mitchell Dahood, Robert Dyson, Francis McCool, and William Moran. Vatican II responded to these questions—not in *Dei Verbum* but in *Lumen Gentium* 16 and *Nostra Aetate* 4.[11]

2. Contributions to the Three Themes during the Council

To introduce what bishops from North America and Oceania contributed to *Dei Verbum*, let me summarize what the constitution said on revelation, Tradition, and Scripture.

Dei Verbum presents revelation as God's loving self-manifestation (DV 2). Christ is *primarily* the saving revelation of God in person rather than the revealer of otherwise unknown doctrines. *Secondarily*, revelation discloses truths about God and human beings. A propositional view of revelation is not dropped but is understood as the 'deposit of faith' (DV 10) or 'treasure of revelation' (DV 26) derived from the divine self-revelation. The model of 'revelation-information' (the truths) remains valid but is subordinated to the model of 'revelation-encounter' (the Truth).[12] This revelation-encounter reached its past fullness with the Christ-event (DV 4), is reactualized in present revelation (DV 5, 8), and will come to its definitive form in the final revelation (DV 4).

Dei Verbum taught that Tradition and Scripture are united in origin, function, and goal (DV 9). While tasked with 'authentically' interpreting Tradition and Scripture, the teaching office of the Church is not identified with Tradition, nor is it 'above the Word of God' (DV 10).[13] Vatican II subordinated the magisterium to the word of God and practised what it preached.[14]

Dealing with biblical truth, *Dei Verbum*, having presented the divine self-communication as revelatory and salvific, spoke of the Bible's 'truth for our salvation' (DV 11). Apropos of the historicity of the gospels, *Dei Verbum* proposed three stages in their formation: eyewitness testimony

[11] For the text of Vogt's request, see *Acta et Documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vatican II Apparando*, I/IV/I, 1 (Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1961), 131–34.

[12] See G. O'Collins, '*Dei Verbum* and Revelation,' in *The Second Vatican Council: Message and Meaning* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2014), 140–57.

[13] For Vatican II's teaching on tradition, see David Braithwaite, 'Vatican II on Tradition,' *Heythrop Journal* 53 (2012): 915–28.

[14] See G. O'Collins, 'Was the Teaching of Vatican II Nourished and Ruled by the Word of God?' in *The Second Vatican Council: Message and Meaning* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2014), 177–205.

to Jesus; traditions about Jesus handed on orally or in writing; and the work of the evangelists in writing their gospels (DV 19). *Dei Verbum* ended by exhorting the whole Church to be scriptural in life, witness, and prayer (DV 21–26).

Such, briefly, was the teaching in *Dei Verbum* on revelation, Tradition, and Scripture. What did the council fathers from North America and Oceania contribute?

2.1. *The Fathers from North America and Oceania: The First Session*

A dramatic debate (14–21 November 1962) led to *De Fontibus Revelationis* being withdrawn and eventually replaced by *Dei Verbum*. On the opening day of that debate, eight cardinals argued that the schema should be rejected and a new document on revelation, Tradition, and Scripture prepared. Two of those cardinals were from North America: Paul-Émile Léger, Archbishop of Montreal, and Joseph Ritter, Archbishop of St. Louis.[15] (The following year, Léger welcomed to Montreal the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches for its fourth world conference [12–26 July 1963]. Yves Congar, through prior consultation, and the American exegete Raymond E. Brown, who attended the conference, helped shape the final report. It endorsed an ecumenical consensus over the organic interdependence of Scripture and Tradition that would characterize *Dei Verbum*.[16])

Cardinal Gilroy a member of Vatican II's central preparatory commission who now belonged to its Council of Presidents, held that *De Fontibus* merited further discussion. Yet, in his address of 19 November 1962,[17] he 'supported the right of the Fathers to accept, reject or amend the schema over against the strongly expressed opinion' of Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani.[18] Gilroy, a conservative known for his *Romanità*,

[15] On this debate, see Giuseppe Ruggieri, 'The First Doctrinal Clash,' in *History of Vatican II*, vol. 2, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1997), 233–66.

[16] For the ecumenical convergence between the Montréal report and Vatican II, see O'Collins, *Tradition*, 10–18. While Congar helped create this convergence, one should remember George Tavard, a French theologian who from 1952 resided in the US and, with Brown, attended the Montreal conference as a Catholic observer.

[17] AS, I/III, 164–65.

[18] Murphy, 'Of Pilgrims and Progressives,' 204, n. 59. Ottaviani was supported by a *peritus* who was editor of the *American Ecclesiastical Review* and professor at the Catholic University of America, Joseph Clifford Fenton (1906–69). Fenton, a member of the preparatory Theological Commission and then a member of the Doctrinal Commission, campaigned against contemporary biblical scholarship.

disappointed Ottaviani and the authors of *De Fontibus* and facilitated the withdrawal of the document.

Other fathers from North America entered the debate on *De Fontibus*: Cardinal Albert Gregory Meyer, Archbishop of Chicago; James Griffiths, auxiliary of New York; Edward Howard, Archbishop of Portland, Oregon; and Maurice Roy, Archbishop of Quebec and Cardinal from 1965. Meyer, who had studied at the Pontifical Biblical Institute, asked for a new schema which would 'express faith in the exegetical work' of Catholic scholars and recall with gratitude Pius XII's biblical encyclical, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*. Griffiths associated himself with Meyer and criticized the lack of pastoral and ecumenical concerns in *De Fontibus*. Howard, in a written submission, offered the schema his *placet iuxta modum* but requested greater concern for pastoral and ecumenical matters and biblical scholarship. Roy, likewise in a written submission, objected to the scholastic tone of the schema and wanted it replaced.[19]

Thus, six fathers from North America and one from Oceania (Gilroy) opened the way for *De Fontibus* to be dropped and a new text, *Dei Verbum*, composed. An American *peritus* appointed by Cardinal Meyer, Barnabas Mary Ahern (1915–95)—editor of *The Bible Today* (1962–75) and president of the Catholic Biblical Association of America (1964–65)—also played a significant role. His lectures to bishops at the North American College updated them on biblical scholarship and helped convince them of the teaching about (a) biblical truth, (b) the composition and historicity of the gospels, and (c) the literary forms of the Scriptures being incorporated in *Dei Verbum*.[20] After Vatican II ended, Ahern promoted the reception of *Dei Verbum* in the United States and beyond. Other North American biblical scholars who had been *periti* at the council, such as Eugene H. Maly, also contributed to that reception.

The Pontifical Biblical Institute (PBI), with American Jesuits on the staff and a Canadian, Roderick MacKenzie, as rector and a *peritus* at the council, provided valuable briefing for bishops. Before Vatican II opened and during its first session, the institute came under fire.

Two American professors, Robert Dyson and Robert North, had been accused by Antonino Romeo of the Lateran University of harming Catholic teaching on Old Testament revelation. Another American biblical scholar who was not a member of the PBI, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, rebutted these

[19] AS, I/III, 169–70, 181–83, 319–20, 355–56.

[20] On Ahern's contribution to the debate on *De Fontibus*, see Ruggieri, 'The First Doctrinal Clash,' 261.

attacks.[21] The following year (1962), copies of his article were distributed to the bishops assembled for the first session of Vatican II. They also received influential handouts from Karl Rahner, Joseph Ratzinger, and Edward Schillebeeckx. But the only text from a biblical expert circulated among 'the fathers' was Fitzmyer's article. The PBI also distributed a pamphlet published in English, German, and Spanish: 'A New Attack against Catholic Exegesis and against the Pontifical Biblical Institute.'

On the eve of Vatican II, a former student of Antonino Romeo, Francesco Spadafora, published a pamphlet accusing Stanislaus Lyonnet, the dean of PBI, and another professor, Maximilian Zerwick, of denying the historicity of the gospels. They were removed from their teaching posts but rehabilitated in the spring of 1964. Lyonnet and Zerwick had their North American connections, since both belonged to the Catholic Biblical Association of America.[22]

The Canadian rector and several American professors of the PBI staged a defence of critical scholarship and its importance. On the morning of 21 November 1962, Pope John XXIII withdrew *De Fontibus* from debate and set up a 'mixed' commission, jointly presided over by Cardinal Ottaviani (president of the Doctrinal Commission) and Cardinal Augustin Bea, a former rector of the PBI and now president of the new Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity.[23] On the afternoon of 21 November, a German Jesuit, Norbert Lohfink, defended a thesis on Deuteronomy written under the direction of an American Jesuit, William L. Moran. The defence was attended by 12 cardinals, 150 bishops, and others involved in the first session of Vatican II. The occasion exhibited the standards of the PBI and the value of scriptural learning.

When John XXIII intervened to withdraw *De Fontibus* from the council's discussion, Cardinal Léger, who had met the pope the evening before, played a key role in the papal decision.[24]

[21] J.A. Fitzmyer, 'A Recent Roman Controversy,' *Theological Studies* 22 (1961): 426–44.

[22] Étienne Fouilloux puts the Lateran offensive in a wide context in 'The Antepreparatory Phase,' in *History of Vatican II*, vol. 1, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1995), 55–166, at 138–40.

[23] On 20 November, the council fathers had voted 1,368 to 822 to stop discussing *De Fontibus*, 115 votes short of the required two-thirds of 1,473 votes.

[24] Ruggieri, 'The First Doctrinal Clash,' 264–65. In August 1962, Léger had written to John XXIII and criticized the preparatory schemata; on the eve of Vatican II, he joined at least five other cardinals in signing a letter stating the need to adjust course.

2.2. *De Divina Revelatione at the Third and Fourth Sessions*

Cardinal Albert Meyer (1903–65), reckoned the intellectual leader of the American bishops, was one of the six cardinals John XXIII added to the Mixed Commission, charged with producing a new schema, *De Divina Revelatione*. Two North American *periti*, Ahern and the Canadian Gregory Baum (1921–2017), belonged to a group of four delegated by a sub-commission of the Mixed Commission to prepare a draft (largely produced by another member of this group, the Dutch theologian Pieter Smulders). The Mixed Commission received the draft in December 1962.[25]

By May 1963, a new text on revelation, Tradition, and Scripture had been produced by the Mixed Commission and sent to the council fathers. Less than fully satisfactory, this document was not debated at Vatican II's second session.

On 7 March 1964, the Doctrinal Commission established a sub-commission of seven fathers and 19 *periti*, along with its two secretaries, Sebastian Tromp and Gérard Philips. Neither Ahern nor Baum belonged to this sub-commission. Apart from the Canadian Bishop Georges-Léon Pelletier of Trois-Rivières, all the members were Europeans; the experts included Smulders, Yves Congar, Alois Grillmeier, Karl Rahner, and Joseph Ratzinger. Their revised version of *De Divina Revelatione* was discussed at the council (30 September–6 October 1964).[26]

The first day of this debate tackled what became chapter 2 of *Dei Verbum*; Cardinal Meyer spoke of the 'living, dynamic, and comprehensive tradition' of the Church but pointed to 'limits' and 'defects' which appear in particular traditions. The text should admit such defects and invoke the Scriptures as the norm that helps the Church correct and perfect her life.[27] Cardinal Meyer's suggestion was not adopted. But *Dei Verbum* did insist that the Scriptures should constantly 'rejuvenate' theology and the whole life of the Church (DV 24). Other documents of Vatican II

[25] As a member of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity, Baum was himself a member of the Mixed Commission. On difficulties to be faced, see Ruggieri, 'The First Doctrinal Clash,' 385–91. On Smulders and the making of *Dei Verbum*, see five articles by J. Wicks in the *Gregorianum* 82 (2001): 241–97 and 559–93; 83 (2002): 225–67; 85 (2004): 242–77; and 86 (2005): 92–134.

[26] On this debate, see Hanjo Sauer, 'The Doctrinal and the Pastoral: The Text on Divine Revelation,' in *History of Vatican II*, vol. 4, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004), 195–231. On the constitution and work of this sub-commission, see J. Wicks, 'Recent Scholarship on Vatican Council II,' *The Catholic Historical Review* 105 (2019): 543–45.

[27] AS III/III, 150–51, 266–67.

repeatedly involved traditions being retrieved or corrected in the light of the biblical message.[28]

On the second day, Cardinal Léger also praised the new schema and distinguished between (a) the apostles as witnesses of the resurrection, whose preaching conveyed the perfect revelation in Christ, and (b) their successors, tasked with authentically interpreting revelation.[29] An auxiliary Bishop of Louisville (USA), Charles Garret Maloney, defended the legitimacy of modern exegetical methods.[30]

The speeches and written submissions left the sub-commission and the Doctrinal Commission the work of revising the schema.[31] On 20–21 October 1964, explanations of the changes introduced into the document as a result of proposals were read out in the aula. A month later a revised text, with reasons for other changes, was in the hands of the fathers. Final discussions and emendations took place in September–October 1965, and on 18 November 1965, the council fathers voted 2,344 *placet* and 6 *non placet* to accept and promulgate *Dei Verbum*.

Christoph Theobald describes the schema's progress from November 1964 to its being solemnly approved in November 1965. During that final year of drafting *Dei Verbum*, bishops and *periti* from North America and Oceania contributed little. They had made their contribution at earlier stages—through Cardinal Léger, Cardinal Meyer, Cardinal Gilroy, and others.[32]

3. Reception of *Dei Verbum* in North America and Oceania

How did North America and Oceania receive the teaching of *Dei Verbum* on revelation, Tradition, and Scripture? Two cardinals who might have done much no longer headed their archdioceses: Meyer had died on

[28] O'Collins, *The Second Vatican Council*, 35–40.

[29] AS, III/III, 182–85. Another Canadian, Archbishop George Bernard Flahiff of Winnipeg, praised the schema and offered suggestions (AS III/III, 266–67). Cardinal Meyer again addressed the council, this time on the inspiration and truth of the Scriptures (AS III/III, 283–84).

[30] AS III/III, 301–303.

[31] Riccardo Burigana and Giovanni Turbanti, 'The Intersession: Preparing the Conclusion of the Council,' in *History of Vatican II*, vol. 4, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004), 514–18.

[32] Christoph Theobald, 'The Church Under the Word of God,' in *History of Vatican II*, vol. 5, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2006), 275–358; he notes the Canadian Bishop Pelletier's part in the discussion on the saving truth of the Scriptures (312).

9 April 1965; on 9 November 1967, Léger announced his resignation as Archbishop of Montreal and left to work among African lepers in Yaoundé, Cameroon. Other fathers took up the task of promoting *Dei Verbum* and further conciliar documents. John Francis Dearden (1907–88), the Archbishop of Detroit who was created a Cardinal in 1969, was outstanding. In 1966, he established the Institute for Continuing Education, which conducted well-attended courses on Vatican II, including its teaching on revelation, Tradition, and inspired Scripture. The Chicago archdiocese, loyal to Meyer and the message of *Dei Verbum*, renewed the Church biblically through its Summer Scripture Seminar. It proved to be a model in Australia for the Melbourne Scripture Seminar, which featured speakers from North America (such as Raymond Brown, Eugene LaVerdiere, John Meier, and Donald Senior) as well as scholars from Australia (such as Brendan Byrne, William Dalton, and Francis Moloney) and New Zealand (Anthony Campbell).

Compared with North America, Oceania has fewer academic resources. From the late 1960s, theologians and biblical scholars from North America and Europe visited Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands to lecture on *Dei Verbum* and other documents of the council. Thus, the Irish Scripture scholar Wilfrid Harrington taught in Papua New Guinea, and the German theologian John Fuellenbach in Micronesia.

Bishops of North America and Oceania set themselves to read the 'genuine signs of the presence or purpose of God' (*Gaudium et Spes* [GS] 11), interpreting them 'in the light of the divine word' (GS 44). Preaching, including preaching on the signs of the times, 'should be ruled by Sacred Scripture' (DV 21). Such preaching resulted in biblically based statements from National Conferences of Bishops in North America and Oceania: for instance, the United States Catholic bishops' conference's *The Challenge of Peace* (1983) and *Economic Justice for All* (1986).

Theologians expounded the Constitution on Divine Revelation and other Vatican II documents. In Oceania, engagement with *Dei Verbum* was initiated by my *Theology and Revelation* (1968, with a French translation in Canada) and continued for many years.[33] In North America, Avery (later Cardinal) Dulles, John O'Malley, Gilles Routhier, and Jared Wicks proved to be major commentators on *Dei Verbum* and further documents. Canadians such as Gregory Baum and René Latourelle interpreted the constitution, with the latter's *The Theology of Revelation* becoming a bestseller around the world.

[33] See, for example, Mark O'Brien and Christopher Monaghan, eds, *God's Word and the Church's Council*: *Vatican II and Divine Revelation* (Adelaide, Australia: ATF, 2014).

The reception of Vatican II, both in North America and in Oceania, often worked in an integral fashion—*Dei Verbum* combined with the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, the Decree on Ecumenism, the Decree on the Training of Priests, the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, and so forth. Guilford Young, Archbishop of Hobart, a leading proponent of liturgical reform at the Council[34] and one of the founding vice-presidents of the International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL), drew, for instance, on what both *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (24, 51) and *Dei Verbum* (21, 23–25) taught about the role of the Scriptures in liturgy.

Sacrosanctum Concilium mandated the restoration of the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults (RCIA) (SC 64). The Office for Divine Worship in the Archdiocese of Chicago, eventually directed by Ron Lewinski, helped introduce the RCIA in North America and through Melbourne in Australia. By presenting faith as a biblically enlightened, personal experience of the self-revealing God, the RCIA actualized the teaching of *Dei Verbum* (5, 25).

Catechetical publications, such as the new texts produced by the Melbourne Catholic Education Office, *My Way to God*, and, later, the *United States Catechism for Adults* (2003), treated revelation, Tradition, and inspired Scripture in the light of *Dei Verbum*. A detailed examination of changes from pre-Vatican II to post-Vatican II catechisms in North America and Oceania would show the constitution's impact. For catechisms around the world, the 1994 *Catechism of the Catholic Church* set the standard; it synthesized the teaching of *Dei Verbum*.[35]

3.1. *Biblical Scholarship*

Dei Verbum encouraged biblical scholarship, which was already flowering in North America. John L. McKenzie's *The Two-edged Sword*: *An Interpretation of the Old Testament* (1953), had introduced many Catholics and other Christians to a new world of scholarship. In 1956, Walter M. Abbott, who 10 years later would edit a bestselling translation of Vatican II's documents, founded *New Testament Abstracts*. It contained summaries in English not only of articles written in English but

[34] Archbishop Young commented on the Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests (*Presbyterorum Ordinis*) for the English translation of the council's documents edited by W.M. Abbott (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966), 526–31.

[35] *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1994), nos. 74–141.

also of those written in French, German, Italian, Spanish, and a dozen other languages. Daniel Harrington, who served as editor of *New Testament Abstracts* for 42 years until his death in 2014, offered this service for all students of the New Testament. Harrington did his best to promote the Scriptures in the life of the Church (DV 21–26). He edited the 18-volume *Sacra Pagina* commentaries on the books of the New Testament.[36] For *America* magazine, he wrote a regular column. He mediated to a wider public the best biblical scholarship.

Dei Verbum, calling the study of the Scriptures 'the soul of theology' (24),[37] encouraged seminaries and theology departments to improve their teaching of the Bible. This happened in North America, Oceania, and beyond—not least at the Gregorian University in Rome. From 1961 to 1997, the deans of theology, who maintained strong biblical programs, were Canadians (René Latourelle and Gilles Pelland), Americans (Francis Sullivan and Jared Wicks), and an Australian (me). Through the Gregorian's graduates, these deans from North America and Oceania spread a more biblical practice of theology for the life of the Church. This change extended beyond ordained ministers. Since the mid-60s, more and more lay women and lay men, as well as female and male religious, studied and eventually taught Scripture and theology—not least in North America and Oceania.

Biblical education was facilitated by such new translations as *The Jerusalem Bible* (1966), *The New American Bible* (NAB) (1970), and the *New Revised Standard Version Bible* (NRSV) (1989). Where the *Jerusalem Bible* involved British biblical scholars using an earlier French annotated translation (the *Bible de Jérusalem*), one of its literary advisers was an Australian poet, James McAuley. North American scholars produced the NRSV. Shortly after it had been founded in 1936, members of the Catholic Biblical Association of America (which came to include some Australians, Canadians, and other non-Americans) decided to prepare the NAB.

In 1939, the Catholic Biblical Association began publishing the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*. Originally, it published popular as well as scholarly articles. But its third editor, Edward F. Siegman, opted for scholarly articles and reviews, leaving it to a popular monthly, *The Bible*

[36] Daniel Harrington, *Sacra Pagina*, 18 vols (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2007–2008).

[37] On the Scriptures as 'the soul of theology,' see also Vatican II's Decree on the Training of Priests, no. 16; G. O'Collins, *Retrieving Fundamental Theology* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1993), 52.

Today (Liturgical Press, Collegeville), to share biblical scholarship with a wider public. An influential Canadian, David M. Stanley, contributed to the first issue in October 1962. *The Bible Today* began to enjoy a large circulation. Meanwhile, the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* became one of the leading professional journals in its field.

At a popular level, universities and colleges in North America promoted the teaching of Vatican II and not least the biblical studies that *Dei Verbum* encouraged. When the University of San Francisco began holding a summer school in 1962, two of the five lecturers were biblical experts. By 1966, the year after Vatican II ended, the summer school was drawing more and more participants; out of the 11 lecturers, four (including Barnabas Ahern and Raymond Brown) were Scripture scholars.

For 25 years (1966–80) at Trinity College in Burlington, Vermont, Miriam Ward organized an annual biblical institute. It brought together four or five lecturers each year to present the best scriptural scholarship to an average audience of over 150 participants. Its eventual list of 63 faculty members, starting with Brown, reads like a Who's Who of the current biblical world. Brown joined two other Americans, Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Roland E. Murphy, in editing the bestselling *Jerome Biblical Commentary* (1968) and then the equally successful *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (1990). The latter, with contributors from the US (62), Canada (six), and Australia–New Zealand (four), reflected the healthy growth of scriptural studies encouraged by *Dei Verbum* in North America and Oceania.[38] Fitzmyer contributed commentaries on Luke, Acts, Romans, and 1 Corinthians to the prestigious *Anchor Bible* series; Brown wrote the volumes on John and the epistles of John.

Catholics in North America, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as elsewhere, responded to *Dei Verbum* by increased study of the Scriptures in groups or alone. They often combined Vatican II's teaching on ecumenism with its call to become more scriptural. Even before the council, the Bible had become a common cause for Catholics, Anglicans, and Protestant churches rather than a focus of difference. During my studies of theology in Sydney (1960–63), I shared in a biblical study group that comprised Catholics, Anglicans, Protestants, and at least one rabbi. In 1963, the visiting speakers for an ecumenical conference at Sydney University included a German Protestant (Günther Bornkamm), an American

[38] The three editors summarized the progress made by Catholic biblical scholarship up to the late 1980s: *New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990), xix–xxiii.

Catholic (Robert North), and an Anglican from the UK (Dennis Nineham). At the University of Cambridge, I wrote my doctoral dissertation (1965–68) with Nineham.

Many Catholics received the biblical message of *Dei Verbum* in the context of the renewed liturgy. The high esteem for the homily expressed by *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (52) and *Dei Verbum* (24) won over many priests in North America, Oceania, and elsewhere. In place of preaching 'sermons,' understood as official church teaching, their homilies opened up the readings drawn from the whole Bible and prescribed in the new lectionary (SC 51). Popular scriptural commentaries prepared by Raymond Brown, Brendan Byrne, Francis Moloney, Ronald Witherup, and others (including such Anglicans as Bishop N.T. Wright) taught preachers to interpret the biblical readings more effectively. Such mediation of the Bible to serve not only liturgical homilies but also the biblical prayer or *lectio divina* promoted by *Dei Verbum* (25) was continued in the *Paulist Biblical Commentary* (2018). This commentary included contributors from the US (58), Canada (three), and Australia–New Zealand (four).

For young workers and students in New Zealand and elsewhere, post-Vatican II reception of biblical texts fed the 'see-judge-act' method of practising theology developed by (Cardinal) Joseph-Léon Cardijn. The contextual reading of the Bible, at the heart of liberation theology, also attracted many. *The Gospel in Solentiname* (Spanish original, 1965–77; English translation, 1976–82), which Ernesto Cardenal put together from what Nicaraguan peasants said about the gospels, enjoyed influence in North America and Oceania.

4. Conclusion

In theology, we still need better reception of *Dei Verbum*'s teaching on revelation and tradition (and their relationship to Scripture), biblical inspiration, and interpretation.

Some explanations of present revelation blur its distinction from the full, past revelation communicated through Christ and the coming of the Holy Spirit. They overplay human *experience* by forgetting that it is not a *source* of divine revelation but rather a *medium* through which we know God. Some works in catechetics set themselves to 'establish the meaning of revelation on non-Christian premises'[39] and even on the basis of human

[39] Gabriel Moran, *The Present Revelation*: *In Quest of Religious Foundations* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972), 22, n. 25.

experience outside the religious sphere.[40] This is alien to *Dei Verbum*, which primarily clarified revelation in the light of the New Testament and its classic texts on divine self-revelation (1, 2, 4).

Vatican II's account of Tradition and the discernment of traditions has been neglected. It can be illuminated through findings on tradition and culture coming from anthropologists, historians, and sociologists.[41]

The pre-eminent mode of Christian tradition is the liturgy, and the pre-eminent place of present revelation is the Eucharist. For English-speakers in North America and Oceania, the faulty 2010 translation of the Roman Missal hinders a full participation by priest and people.[42] Now, many of these same Catholics are threatened with an inferior translation of the lectionary. There is no place for self-inflicted wounds that hinder the essential forms of present revelation and Tradition.

In 1993, the Pontifical Biblical Commission produced an acclaimed document, *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church*. Among the 20 members of the commission were one from the US (Joseph Fitzmyer), one from Canada (Marcel Dumais), and one from Australia (Brendan Byrne). Its 2014 document (coming from a later group on the commission) *The Inspiration and Truth of Sacred Scripture*, which took *Dei Verbum* as its starting point, proved less successful.

Pope Benedict XVI gave the 2008 Synod of Bishops the theme of 'The Word of God in the Life and Mission of the Church' and published the results in a 2010 exhortation, *Verbum Domini* (VD). The announced aim, to 'rediscover' God's word for the Church's life and mission (VD 1), hinted at a failure among many Catholics to let the inspired Scriptures guide and revivify their thinking, practice, and worship. The biblical enthusiasm, which peaked from the 1960s to the 1990s, had waned by 2008 and, even more, by the time of my writing in 2020.

The dream of a Church that would be biblical in every phase of her life, expressed in the final chapter of *Dei Verbum*, is still far from being realized. Both in theory and in practice, a creative reception of the Constitution on Divine Revelation must continue and expand.

[40] Moran, *The Present Revelation*, 149.

[41] See G. O'Collins and David Braithwaite, 'Memory Studies and Tradition,' *Theological Studies* 76 (2015): 29–42; and the New Zealander Gerald A. Arbuckle, *Culture, Inculturation, and Theologians: A Postmodern Critique* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2010).

[42] See G. O'Collins with John Wilkins, *Lost in Translation: The English Language and the Catholic Mass* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2017).

Too often Catholics, including bishops, priests, deacons, and theologians, quietly persist in thinking of faith and Tradition—and even the Scriptures— in terms of statements and truths. This propositional view joins an even more fundamental failure to accept a biblically permeated sense of divine self-revelation in the person of Jesus Christ. He is the one Truth proclaimed in *Dei Verbum*; through the Holy Spirit, he calls all human beings to be intimately united with God. As Revealer and Revelation, he exists as *the* living reality constituting the faith of believers.[43]

[43] In writing this chapter, I gratefully acknowledge help from Brendan Byrne, Catherine E. Clifford, Neil Darragh, Massimo Faggioli, Philip Gibbs, and Ormond Rush.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS OF VATICAN II IN CANADA AND IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

GILLES ROUTHIER

Before dealing directly with the question of the development of the institutional proposals of Vatican II in Canada and in the United States of America, it is important to outline the horizon on which these developments take place. I will present here two elements of context—the first coming from the council itself and the second from North American culture—before examining the development of three institutions: episcopal conferences, priests' councils, and pastoral councils. I will limit myself to saying only a few words about diocesan synods.

1. A DEVELOPMENT IN CONTEXT

1.1. *The Inadequacies of Vatican II*

To criticize Vatican II for not having reflected sufficiently on the institutionality of the Church and by merely noting that canon law and the Holy Spirit were the great absentees of the council is undoubtedly far too short-sighted.[1] The problem is clearly multifaceted.

The difficulty is probably due, first of all, to the fact that, in the minds of several council fathers, the law reform, announced by John XXIII at the same time as the council, was to come shortly after the council. Thus, most of the questions concerning the institutionality of the Church were referred to the Law Reform Commission, implying that the council should deal only with ecclesiology. It would leave institutional questions to another body, as if these last were only technical questions that would come into play when the principles were implemented. Thus, theologians and canonists worked in a kind of double silo. Some observers note,

[1] See L. Bouyer, *L'Église de Dieu, corps du Christ et temple de l'esprit* (Paris: Cerf, 1970), 209.

however, that 'the lack of translation into ecclesial institutions of the best of the theology of Vatican II is a worm that is detectable throughout the second and third sessions.'[2] Today, many admit with Hervé Legrand that 'ecclesiologists have generally underestimated the importance of canon law for their discipline … Today they are discovering, a little late, that the beautiful conciliar texts pass into the life of the Church only through the mediation of law.'[3]

Moreover, the council only empirically opened up a few avenues by proposing institutional figures to be established in order to concretize, in practice, the ecclesiology of the People of God proposed by the council. This body put simply, in dotted form, the first outlines of the law that was to be formulated later and did not trace a clear outline of an image to guide the local church. This lack of elaboration of a theology of the local Church was noted by many observers who deplored its absence at the council.[4] Lacking an adequate elaboration of the theology of the local Church, the council preferred to navigate by sight rather than by vision; this had consequences for the conciliar proposals in the institutional field. Some authors have spoken of the empiricism of Vatican II.[5] According to them, the theology of the local Church was not sufficiently deepened but rather was determined by responding to the immediate wishes of the fathers. It was in this context that the council put forward a program for the renewal of the institutional models of the local Church. This empiricism was not without problems for jurists when they wanted to harmonize the new institutional forms with those still existing, especially the cathedral chapter, or to articulate correctly these new bodies among themselves: the College of Consultors, the priests' council, and the pastoral council. The problem is not only juridical. Jean-Marie Tillard

[2] H. Denis, *Église qu'as-tu fait de ton concile?* (Paris: Le Centurion, 1985), 195.

[3] H.M. Legrand, 'Le développement d'Églises-Sujets une requête de Vatican II,' in *Les Églises après Vatican II: dynamisme et prospective*, ed. G. Alberigo (Paris: Beauchesne, 1981), 158; J. Rigal also notes the institutional insufficiencies of Vatican II: see J. Rigal, *Préparer l'avenir de l'Église* (Paris: Cerf, 1990), 92.

[4] See E. Lanne, 'L'Église locale et l'Église universelle: actualité et portée du thème,' *Irénikon* 43 (1970): 481–511; H.M. Legrand, 'La réalisation de l'Église en un lieu,' in *Initiation à la pratique théologique*, eds. B. Lauret and F. Refoulé (Paris: Cerf, 1983), 155; Legrand, 'Le développement d'Églises-sujets,' 154–55; A. Nocent, 'L'Église locale, réalisation de l'Église du Christ et sujet de l'eucharistie,' in *La réception de Vatican II*, eds. G. Alberigo and J.P. Jossua (Paris: Cerf, 1985), 285; J.A. Komonchak, 'La réalisation de l'Église en un lieu,' in *Les Églises après Vatican II, dynamisme et prospective*, ed. G. Alberigo (Paris: Beauchesne, 1981), 108.

[5] See especially Legrand, 'Le développement d'Églises-sujets,' 155, 159.

observes that 'before being canonical, the question posed by the post-conciliar institutions is fundamentally a dogmatic problem.'[6]

Finally, in the years following the council, the Church entered a long period of *vacatio legis*, which went from the promulgation of the conciliar texts inviting the establishment of new organizations to the related laws that would specify their implementation. In practice, the long interval thus created was not only favourable to experimentation, but each one went about it according to their understanding of things. Thus, the ecclesiological developments of the council and the institutional forms it promoted were not always sufficiently closely connected, in such a way that the new organizations it put forward were not always sufficiently situated within the framework of an ecclesiology that could have ensured their solidity. This would have repercussions not only at the time of the elaboration of the new *Codex*, but also in the dioceses where new organizational charts were being set up and built without sufficient institutional creativity being resourced in a conciliar ecclesiology which had not penetrated deeply into the consciousness of believers. Therefore, in the area of *munus regendi*, the council has often been remembered for its proposals for the new organization of Church government, which resulted in the establishment of many participatory bodies. However, these new structures could not always be linked to a coherent theology. The relative empiricism of the council was thus perpetuated and could thus contaminate the practices in the dioceses. New institutional figures, poorly situated in a theological synthesis of the local church, were sometimes received and interpreted only in a bureaucratic or democratic perspective that was foreign to their original theological reference point.

1.2. *The North American Cultural Horizon*

This empiricism of Vatican II, combined with the pragmatic approach that characterizes North American culture, conditioned the development of institutional forms in North America. On the one hand, the Anglo-Saxon legal traditions differ from the continental legal tradition, which introduced a dissonance between the way institutions and procedures were conceived at the outset. On the other hand, the pragmatic approach valued by this culture gives importance to what works and proves to be effective. The value of an organization is measured by its results, its

[6] J.M. Tillard, 'Vatican II et l'après-concile. Espoirs et craintes,' in *Les Églises après Vatican II: dynamisme et prospective*, ed. G. Alberigo (Paris: Beauchesne, 1981), 356.

performance: in short, by its efficiency. We do not necessarily want to talk at length about the basics; we just hope that it will work.

Moreover, the cultural ethos had well-integrated democratic values, equality between people, and the importance of participation by all. These are the ideological foundations, if you will, that form the basis of institutions in a space where hereditary hierarchies are less well established. It is in this culture that the teaching of Vatican II on the participation of all the faithful and on the People of God is read, received, and understood.

In addition, during the post-conciliar period, a phenomenon appeared that was to play an important role: the ambient anti-legalistic mentality that was to spread like a contagion in Western societies and lead to a crisis of institutions and a challenge to authority.[7] People witnessed an emancipation movement of great magnitude: that of women, of Blacks, of youth, of peoples. People also wanted to exclude the shackles (clerical, sexual, etc.) in which they felt like prisoners. People wanted to free themselves from the authorities and social models, to opt for more spontaneity and freedom, and so on. Thus, one witnessed the emergence, unprecedented in the modern period, of community movements, from the American West Coast—movements that took over other institutions, notably universities, and promoted co-management and collegiality.

Finally, this institutional development in the Catholic Church must be situated in the context of the development and modernization of public and parapublic services that took off following the Second World War. Inspired by Keynesian theory, large social protection systems (unemployment insurance, health insurance, pension schemes, etc.), large state corporations, and health care and education systems were developed or modernized. Bureaucracies were expanding, resulting in a new organizational culture that emphasized a new elite of professionals who implemented new administrative processes. These bureaucracies borrowed management procedures developed in universities that included consultation procedures that broke with the administrative culture of the past.

It is in this context that the teachings of Vatican II would be taken up, interpreted, and understood.

[7] See J.L. Monneron, 'Présent et avenir de l'institution ecclésiale: l'exemple français,' in *L'Église: institution et foi*, eds. Michel Saudreau et al. (Brussels: Presses de l'Université Saint-Louis, 1984), 11–34; G. Defois, 'L'Église, acteur social,' in *L'Église: institution et foi*, eds. Michel Saudreau et al. (Brussels: Presses de l'Université Saint-Louis, 1984), 57–90.

2. An Institutional Renewal of Great Scope

One might be tempted to reduce the institutional renewal promoted by Vatican II in matters of governance to a few proposals: the episcopal conferences (*Christus Dominus* [CD] 37), the priests' councils (*Presbyterorum Ordinis* 7), and the diocesan pastoral councils (CD 27). The reality, however, was quite different. As was the case in the Roman administration with the creation of new curial bodies,[8] Vatican II brought in its wake a plethora of institutional development at all levels: in countries, dioceses, and parishes. Virtually every document proposes the creation of new bodies or the revival of existing ones. The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (SC), alone provided for the establishment of national liturgical commissions (SC 44), diocesan liturgical commissions (SC 45), and commissions for sacred music and art (SC 46, 126). In the same way, the decree *Inter Mirifica* (IM) called for the creation of a national office for the press, cinema, radio, and television (IM 21). Each conciliar document would lead to similar creations, at both the national and diocesan levels, and even at the parish level, in the fields of ecumenism, missions, the apostolate of the laity, social justice, catechesis, and more. To this, we must add the creation of regional or parish authorities: regional pastoral councils and parish pastoral councils.

Moreover, to link these various organizations together, the creation of a central coordinating body was to be promoted, with the word 'coordination' becoming in a way the magic word of the post-conciliar period. As far as the dioceses were concerned, the decree *Christus Dominus* proposed to promote, 'Under the direction of the bishop, a close and profound coordination of all the works of the apostolate, by means of which all the initiatives and institutions—catechetical, missionary, charitable, social, family, school, and of any other pastoral nature whatsoever—are to be brought to a concordant action' (CD 17). Here we have the germ of the principle that will lead to the establishment of the many executive offices or general secretariats that appear in organizational charts.

[8] Following the creation of the Secretariat for Christian Unity on 5 May 1960, one sees in the wake of the council the creation of the Secretariat for Dialogue with Non-Christians (announced on 12 September 1963 but created by the short *Progrediente Concilio* on 19 May 1964), the Secretariat for Non-Believers (9 April 1965), the Commission for Justice and Peace (6 January 1967), and the Pontifical Council for the Laity (6 January 1967). To this must be added the creation of the Synod of Bishops (motu proprio *Apostolica sollicitudo*, 15 September 1965).

3. An Ill-Informed Institutional Blossoming

What is too often underestimated is the fact that the mainline of institutional development promoted by Vatican II belongs properly to governance, or to the legislative power, so to speak—councils, synods, and colleges—while the actual development belongs to the domain of the implementation of the orientations or of the executive. The council, from which the important question of the reform of the Roman Curia[9] had been removed, did not reflect in depth on the diocesan curia.[10] Moreover, the articulation between legislative and executive bodies—between the synod of bishops and the Roman Curia, for example, or between diocesan councils and the diocesan curia—is never reflected upon. In short, the distinction between the legislative and the executive is not clarified, and the relationship between the two is never addressed. This is evident in *Christus Dominus* 27, entitled 'Organization of the Diocesan Curia and Creation of the Pastoral Council.' The two realities are mentioned but never articulated.[11]

During the period of the reception of Vatican II, the Curia, at all levels, would experience exponential growth, so much so that one can speak of an 'obese' Church. During the same period, the councils put forward by Vatican II were difficult to set up. This is indeed the case in North America. The study of the evolution of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops[12] and that of the Diocese of Quebec[13] illustrates well these parallel and asymmetrical evolutions of offices and councils or commissions.

[9] On the Roman Curia, see the general remarks found in *Christus Dominus*, nos. 9, 10: the reform of the Curia itself being left to the initiative of the pope. See G. Routhier, 'Riforma della curia romana,' *Scuola cattolica,* CXLIV, no. 144 (2016): 119–40.

[10] Three short paragraphs can be found concerning the diocesan curia in *Christus Dominus*, no. 27.

[11] The history of *Christus Dominus*, no. 27, was given by R. Pagé, *Le conseil diocésain de Pastorale, lieu du dialogue entre les laïcs, les religieux, les clercs et l'évêque* (Montréal: Fides, 1969), 20–33. The genesis of *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, no. 7, is also described by R. Wasselynck, *Les prêtres: Elaboration du décret de Vatican II. Histoire et genèse des textes conciliaires* (Paris: Desclée, 1968), 83–85.

[12] B.M. Daly, *Remembering for Tomorrow* (Ottawa: Concacan, 1995).

[13] G. Routhier, *Les pouvoirs dans l'Église. Étude du gouvernement d'une Église locale: l'Église de Québec* (Montréal: Paulines-Médiaspaul, 1993).

4. A Model of Development with Little Reference to the Teaching of the Council

In my opinion, the usual black stain when reflecting on institutional renewal in relation to episcopal governance following Vatican II is the neglect of the renewal of the diocesan curia and even of national curia. The late James H. Provost points out that the organization and functioning of diocesan apparatuses in the United States are of a particular type, which he refers to as 'business-oriented.'[14] He notes that this development is in stark contrast to the proposals made by legislators who follow more of a European model or the 'political model of state government.' His comparison of the two models is highly suggestive[15] and corresponds perfectly to what we have observed in Canada and, more particularly, in the Diocese of Quebec.[16] In this model, each sector is headed by a leader whose mandates and responsibilities are equivalent to those of an executive in large organizations. This person has broad delegated authority and must demonstrate that he or she has the authority. On the other hand, at the legislative level, the bishop proceeds by way of administrative decrees and listens to those he has chosen to be in charge of the different sectors of pastoral ministry, which means that it is the middle managers who define the general orientations, develop the policies, and see to their implementation. Consultative groups (priests' council or diocesan pastoral council) may exist, but the obligation to listen to them remains weak.

In contrast, the *Codex*, following the council, proposes a model in which legislation is established synodally, with the bishop first having to listen to representatives of the diocese, with the various consultative groups having the right to be heard and, sometimes, even the obligation to express their consent before the bishop can act. Provost concludes that while elements of either model can be borrowed, caution must be exercised in applying principles of business administration, government management, or the participatory model to the Church because of the unique character of the Church.[17]

[14] See J.H. Provost, 'Diocesan Administration: Reflections on Recent Developments,' *The Jurist* 41 (1981): 83, 93–96, 103. The author explains that this type of development is tied into the 'commercialist mood of the Country itself,' 95.

[15] See the chart comparing both models (the one of the Code and the one implemented in the United States) that he presents on pages 94–95.

[16] Routhier, *Les pouvoirs dans l'Église*.

[17] See Provost, 'Diocesan Administration,' 103.

In another article, Provost asks whether the reorganization of diocesan administrations does not routinely lead to a centralization of power in the hands of those in the 'power tower' and, correspondingly, to the marginalization of consultative bodies. His conclusion is clear: 'If this is the case, does it meet the expectations expressed by the magisterium?'[18] What Provost observes in the United States, we also find in Canada, at various levels (diocesan and national).

The 'business-oriented' model gives an increasingly dominant place to offices, secretariats, and positions and progressively marginalizes commissions and councils, if these have even had time to develop and emerge. This ecclesiastical administration has been built by replicating the form adopted by public administrations in the post-war period. Surprisingly, the consultative function, which contributes to the elaboration of orientations and decisions—a function normally devolved to the synodal councils and bodies—is absorbed by the bureaucracy. Thus, the consultation of the councils is often purely formal, since the questions submitted to their attention are already largely settled by other bodies and, outside the councils, by numerous organizational committees[19] which depend on various offices and whose members are closely or remotely attached to the central administration of the diocese. In short, they share the same ideas and the same culture as the officers of the curia who consult them. In fact, it is a well-known phenomenon generally referred to as 'consultative administration.'[20]

According to James Ian Gow, a leading analyst of Quebec public administration, 'we have witnessed [in Quebec, since the 1960s] the creation of a record number of commissions of inquiry and study committees,

[18] J.H. Provost, 'The Working Together of Consultative Bodies: Great Expectations?' *The Jurist* 40 (1980): 257–81, at 278.

[19] In the course of our investigation in the diocese of Quebec, we met with the Committee of Directors of Organizations, the Diocesan Goal Committee, the working group on the formation of Parish Pastoral Councils, the working group on Sacramental Initiation, the working group for Christian Education Counsellors, etc. In 1982, these 'working groups' were so numerous that the Pastoral Office had to look into the matter. It was noted that 'diocesan working groups' were increasing because of the search for co-responsibility (SP 25-82-83). The content of the debates of these different bodies is not published, and its members are all attached in some way to the diocesan administration.

[20] See Y. Weber, *L'administration consultative* (Paris: L.G.D.J., 1968); On the 'consultative administration' used by the Quebec government, one may turn to A. Baccigalupo, 'L'administration consultative au Québec,' *Revue administrative* 178 (1977): 409–20; L. Dion, 'Politique consultative et système politique,' *Revue canadienne de science politique* 2 (June 1969): 226–44; and A. Gélinas, *Organismes autonomes et centraux*: *Les organismes autonomes et centraux de l'administration québécoise* (Montréal: PUQ, 1975), 103–109 and 144–55.

as well as the proliferation of study and consultation bodies within the administration.'[21] He points out that 'the proliferation of committees and advisory boards is such that no one knows exactly in 1970, or even today, how many there are.'[22] What is most interesting is to see what A. Baccigalupo thinks. His survey clearly shows that these advisory bodies are not representative of the population. They recruit a homogeneous, educated, and rather wealthy population that manages to occupy all the seats in these special committees or advisory groups. According to Gow, 'many advisory bodies deal with technical matters among representatives of public or quasi-public agencies or professional groups and do so without publicity.'[23] Moreover,

> In this process, the administration plays a key role and increases its power. For, if advice is addressed to both political and administrative authorities, the latter determine, to a large extent, the framework in which it will be solicited and offered. The issues, the data and even the vocabulary are those of the administration. By the time the advisory body provides advice, it will have adopted the administration's way of thinking.[24]

Most analysts agree that consultative administration is ultimately a way of putting consultative processes at the service of government, providing both feedback and a means of disseminating government's views and issues.

This practice and form of consultation has passed into the Catholic Church. I have demonstrated this for the Diocese of Quebec, and a first glance allows me to say that it is also true in other dioceses. This was also the opinion of James Provost, whose conclusions were reported above.

[21] J.I. Gow, *Histoire de l'administration publique québécoise, 1867–1970* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986), 297; see my article on the modalities of Church governance in Quebec: G. Routhier, 'Fait culturel et exercice du gouvernement ecclésial: le cas du catholicisme québécois,' in *Valeurs de sociétés: Préférences politiques et références culturelles au Canada*, eds. C. Sorbets and J.P. Augustin (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2001), 104–30.

[22] Gow, *Histoire de l'administration publique québécoise*, 301. See the chart he provides on page 498. A. Gélinas numbers some 43 of them. However, aside from the stated bodies, there are a whole series whose existence we are not even aware of.

[23] Gow, *Histoire de l'administration publique québécoise*, 359.

[24] Gow, *Histoire de l'administration publique québécoise*, 360. According to Claude Ryan, these organizations tend to become 'discreet auxiliaries of power' (*Le Devoir*, 26 August 1965). The testimony of political scientist Léon Dion is also interesting: 'Of all the components of the political system, it is the administration that has contributed the most to the development of consultative politics. It has virtually succeeded in putting the latter at the service of its own objective.' Dion, 'Politique consultative,' 235 (my translation).

5. Dependence on the Development of Public Administration

It is significant that, in 1964, the Archbishop of Quebec, when setting up the diocesan pastoral council, took as his model the developments he observed in public administration rather than the teachings of Vatican II. In fact, the two draft circulars intended to introduce the new council to the diocesan people make no reference to Vatican II. They anchor the need for this institutional reform in the fact that 'Today we also see the civil and secular world giving itself the institutions it needs. Government structures are diversifying. The administrative machinery of commerce and industry is being perfected. Everywhere we build and coordinate. For its part, the Church does not want to be left behind.'[25]

The first draft of the circular made the same reference to civil society, without anchoring the constitution of this new council in the conciliar reflection.[26] It read: 'A more intense life calls for an ever more diversified organization. We see in the secular world how people are organized on all sides, how they are constantly structured….'[27] Moreover, one could not appeal to the idea of the representation of the People of God in its diversity of conditions and functions because, indeed, it was not the People of God who were represented there: the council was composed of a selection of high-ranking officials of the diocesan administration. It achieved a vertical and horizontal integration of the pastoral institutions of the diocese (diocesan agencies and pastoral regions) so that policy could be communicated effectively from the top down[28] and, horizontally, at the same administrative level, between diocesan agencies and between pastoral regions. In this situation, it was difficult to implement the still undeveloped proposals of Vatican II on the synodality of the Church. The motu proprio *Ecclesiae Sanctae* (6 August 1966), which was to provide the rules for the application of the decrees *Christus Dominus* and *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, came too late. Indeed, the instructions about

[25] 'Diocesan Pastoral Council,' Circular project, April 1964, *Archives de l'Archidiocèse de Québec* [AAQ], 1-J.

[26] The reference to the council is there but without any in-depth explanations. It is stated only that 'just as the Council instituted a coordinating commission above the various commissions, so we thought it would be opportune to set up an organization above the commissions of the pastoral sector in the diocese.' 'Diocesan Pastoral Council,' Circular project 2 [AAQ], 1-J.

[27] R. Doyon, 'Diocesan Pastoral Council,' Circular project [AAQ], 1-J.

[28] 'It is important that life pass from the head to the extreme parts of the diocesan body.' *Memoire*, 23 January 1963 [AAQ], 1-J.

diocesan councils came after the curias had already been established and occupied the entire field of central government of the diocese and after a culture of 'administrative consultation' had become well entrenched.

6. A Renewal Burdened by a Crisis of Culture in the West

In fact, the institutional development specifically foreseen by Vatican II was only gradually put in place. In the Diocese of Quebec, for example, the priests' council was not created until 1967; it had difficulty defining itself[29] and always carried the weight of the confusion that marked its birth.[30] Moreover, the 'clergy crisis' that shook the West in 1968 had strong repercussions for the serene development of the priests' councils, as relations between bishops and priests became increasingly tense, so much so that it was imagined that the priests' councils were, in the manner of professional associations, the channels through which the demands of their members could be conveyed. Following this logic, on 13 February 1968, 300 priests from 117 dioceses in the United States met in Chicago and voted in favour of a national organization of priests' councils and priestly associations.[31] That April, a meeting of 300 representatives of associations of priests or priests' councils was held in Chicago, while at the same time in Minneapolis, the assembly of the National Association of Laymen was held. Again, on 20–21 May, 230 delegates representing 127 of the 162 priests' councils in the United States met in Chicago and voted to form the National Federation of Priests' Councils.[32]

The ambiguity of the beginnings and the tumult of the late 1960s did not allow this institution to really take its place and play its role. The letter of the Sacred Congregation of the Clergy in 1970 would take stock of the experiments before the Bishops' Directory provided further clarification in 1973 and the *Codex* fixed things in 1983. In practice, however, it was never possible to manifest *the collegiality of priests*, according to the title of the historical study by A. Vilela published at the time.[33]

[29] The bylaws of the Priests' Council were revised in January 1969 and in April 1970.

[30] Restarted in 1971 after numerous draft constitutions, it lived on but never fully recovered from the crisis through which it passed from 1968 to 1971.

[31] *America*, 118, no. 9 (1968), 290–93.

[32] *America*, 118, no. 22 (1968), 731–33. See also M. Paquette, *Les conseils presbytéraux au Québec: coresponsabilité des prêtres et de l'évêque dans le gouvernement pastoral de l'Église particulière* (Montréal: Fides, 1973).

[33] A. Vilela, *La condition collégiale des prêtres au IIIe siècle* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1971).

As for the diocesan pastoral council, to take again the example of the Diocese of Quebec, it was not really brought to the baptismal font until 1971.

These institutions therefore arrived late in the institutional development of the diocese, at a time when the space was already occupied. They are like annexes and additions to an organizational chart in which the curia dominates, without coherence with the other elements that fit perfectly into each other. It can be said that what distinguishes the councils from the curial bodies is not only the difference in status between their members, who are volunteers in one case and attached to the diocesan administration by a contractual bond in the other, but above all the fact that they come from different reforming currents, that they carry different logics and convey a distinct administrative culture.

7. The Rise in Power of a New Clerical Elite

The basis for the institutional renewal envisioned by Vatican II was the image of the People of God represented or configured in the synodal institution or through a regime of councils. Now, copying the development of public administration, we are witnessing the rise of a new elite of middle managers and experts who occupy the functions made available by the creation of multiple secretariats, offices, etc.

In Quebec, the work of historian Jean Hamelin and sociologist Jean-Paul Montminy has led to the identification of the upper middle class, members of the liberal professions, senior executives and administrators, as being the great winners of the Quiet Revolution.[34] New elites were formed as a result of the development of large bureaucracies,[35] and

[34] J. Hamelin and J.P. Montminy, 'La mutation de la société québécoise, 1939-1976. Temps, ruptures, continuités,' in *Les idéologies au Canada-français 1940-1976* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1984), 33–70.

[35] It should be noted that the increase in employees attached to the Quebec government was 53 per cent from 1960 to 1963. Public service employees—in the strict sense of the term: the staff of ministries and public corporations—increased from 29,000 to 53,000. In addition to the public service itself, there were public companies and the parapublic sector (education and health). This does not include municipal or federal government employees working in Quebec. According to J.I. Gow, if we include all of them, in 1968 this represents 16.6 per cent of the workforce in Quebec. For questions on the evolution of public administration, see Gow, *Histoire de l'administration publique québécoise*, 444.

they completely displaced the traditional elites rooted in small local communities.[36]

A similar phenomenon was taking place in the Catholic Church, and the institutional renewal it has fostered has often only meant a new distribution of cards among the elites—a changing of the guard, as it were. A rising guard, which advocates rationality, change, and modernity, acquired a new status. This new elite is abundantly represented in the new curia ('power tower') with the risk that they may substitute themselves for the People of God, whom they try to make adopt their ideas, their projects, and their customs.

This rise in power of a new bureaucratic and technocratic elite brings us face to face with an astonishing institutional parallelism: on the one hand, the committees of permanent staff or experts and, on the other, the members of the councils. These two groups operate in parallel fashion, often living in ignorance of each other. While the committees of experts develop or make decisions through administrative consultation processes, the boards are simply called upon to endorse resolutions that have already been prepared, to subscribe to projects that have already been developed and formalized, or simply to be informed of decrees that have already been issued. And when a council has given its assent to a project, it can then be substantially modified by a committee of experts. The permanent staff of the various curias (national, diocesan, or regional) generally determine the orientations while the members of the councils distract themselves with peripheral questions.

Moreover, the means placed at the disposal of the two groups are out of proportion. The formation of council members is lacking, and the availability of information, the time for maturing questions, and the time allotted for decision making are often insignificant. All these factors contribute to marginalizing the councils in relation to the curia, which has impressive logistics at its disposal that the councils seriously lack: secretariat, research staff, permanent and full-time positions. On the other hand, the councils have no secretariat of their own, no research capacity, and generally no means of calling on consultants for expert advice or feedback, apart from those in the diocesan curia. The members of the councils participate in them in addition to their professional work.

[36] Concerning the upper middle class, see J. Grand'Maison, *La nouvelle classe et l'avenir du Québec* (Montréal: Stanké, 1979); J.J. Simard, *La longue marche des technocrates* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1979).

They therefore commit only a tiny part of their time and energy. A first imbalance arises from the disproportion between the means available to the bodies involved.

In analyzing various diocesan organizations in all the dioceses of France in the light of the principle of synodality, Jean Passicos said that the more functional and technical the organizations are, the more they call upon experts and the less synodality is affirmed in them.[37] These experts recruited for their technical competence do not represent the members of the People of God, as is the case for the members of the councils. Representation is then 'restricted and personal,'[38] even more so if the exercise of this competence is not organically linked to the councils. According to Passicos, a unitary diocese is more likely to use this mode of operation, whereas a more decentralized diocese will appoint as members of the central bodies people who maintain local solidarities rather than resorting to a small number of experts. Representation will then be broadened, and synodality will be strengthened. The central bodies will then be made up more of councils and commissions rather than of services or secretariats. This judgment, based on the observation of French dioceses, is largely the same in North America.

In his analysis of Quebec society, the sociologist Jacques Grand'Maison denounced a type of functioning where 'problems and solutions are siphoned upwards: the State, the staffs … the big offices.'[39] According to him, the weakness of control at the local level corresponds to the plethoric development of public services.[40]

What can be observed at the global level of Quebec society is not absent from the ecclesial functioning we observed. Our investigation has shown us that there is a gap between the diocesan administrations on the one hand and the people involved in the parishes on the other.

[37] See J. Passicos, 'Synodalité dans les divers organismes diocésains,' in 'La synodalite,' *L'année canonique*, hors-série, vol. 2 (1992): 745–56.

[38] Passicos, 'Synodalité dans les divers organismes diocésains,' 6 bis.

[39] Grand'Maison, *La nouvelle classe et l'avenir du Québec*, 183.

[40] Grand'Maison, *La nouvelle classe et l'avenir du Québec*, 206.

8. Conclusion

The impetus given by Vatican II to the renewal of institutional figures has not led to the development of synodality in the Catholic churches in North America. It has certainly led to a large-scale institutional renewal, but it has followed a model of development that is not homogeneous with the proposals of Vatican II, which put forward a regime of councils and assemblies (synods) able to reflect the People of God.

LAY ECCLESIAL MINISTRY IN THE UNITED STATES AFTER VATICAN II

EDWARD P. HAHNENBERG

Since the Second Vatican Council, the Catholic Church in the United States has experienced steady growth in the number of professionally prepared lay ministers working for the Church. Nearly 40,000 of these ministers are employed in US parishes today, serving in leadership roles as religious education directors, pastoral associates, liturgical coordinators, youth ministers, and outreach coordinators. These lay ministers now outnumber Catholic priests in the United States—a historic redistribution of pastoral responsibilities that has transformed the American Catholic experience of Church and ministry.[1]

The emergence of professional forms of lay ministry—what the US bishops have come to call 'lay ecclesial ministry'—represents one of the most visible and consequential ecclesial developments in the reception of the Second Vatican Council in the United States.[2] Given its prominence in post-conciliar life, it is thus surprising that Vatican II had so little to say about lay ministry within and on behalf of the Church. Rather, the council's focus was the role of the laity in the secular realm. In the council documents, 'ministry' (*ministerium*) is something the clergy do; lay people have an 'apostolate' (*apostolatus*). This distinction of terms, though not entirely consistent, reflected the actual distinction at the time between the well-defined ecclesial ministry of the ordained and the still developing, general apostolate of the laity.[3] The council had much to say

[1] The historical narrative here draws on Edward P. Hahnenberg, 'A Patient Firmness: The Beginnings of Lay Ecclesial Ministry in the United States, 1967–1987,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* 35 (2017): 1–29.

[2] United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Co-Workers in the Vineyard of the Lord: Resources for Guiding the Development of Lay Ecclesial Ministry* (Washington, DC: USCCB Publishing, 2005).

[3] Of the over 200 uses of the words 'minister' and 'ministry' in the documents, only 19 apply to lay activity. See Elissa Rinere, 'Conciliar and Canonical Applications of "Ministry" to the Laity,' *The Jurist* 47 (1987): 204–27; Louis Ligier, 'Lay Ministries and Their Foundations in the Documents of Vatican II,' in *Vatican II: Assessment and Perspectives*, vol. 2, ed. René Latourelle (New York: Paulist Press, 1989), 160–76.

about that apostolate, but it did not foresee what would soon come: lay people taking up theological study and pastoral preparation in order to serve full-time in new ministerial roles within Catholic parishes, dioceses, schools, hospitals, and social service organizations.

This chapter considers the post-conciliar development of lay ecclesial ministry in the United States as an unanticipated elaboration of Vatican II's vision of Church. After a brief review of Vatican II's teaching on the laity, the narrative traces the 'ministry explosion' of the 1970s and 1980s and then surveys official ecclesial responses that have been important in the US context. The chapter concludes by identifying some of the challenges and opportunities facing lay ecclesial ministers today. What the story reveals is a grassroots phenomenon of ministerial change. In the United States, lay ecclesial ministry emerged from the ground up as expanding needs within the community were met by a new sense of active participation among American Catholics. Throughout this history, what inspired (and provided justification for) new ministerial forms was not primarily the council's specific teaching about the *laity* but its broader theology of the *Church*. It was Vatican II's ecclesiology—its view of the Church as the whole People of God, of baptism as a direct commissioning by Christ, of charisms as ordinary and widespread, of participation as the norm—that fuelled ministerial transformation.

1. The Second Vatican Council

Vatican II stood apart from all previous general councils in the amount of attention it gave to the life and activity of the Catholic laity. After centuries of neglect, lay people were brought to the centre of the Church's consciousness and placed at the heart of its most official pronouncements. Given this historic shift, what is remarkable is how uncontroversial the whole question of the laity was at the council itself.

In the *vota* for the preparation coming from the bishops of the United States, the attention given to the question of the laity was minimal. In the *Acta*, we find a detailed section on the laity and Catholic Action in the *vota* of Cardinals Meyer (Chicago) and Spellman (New York).[4] But

[4] See *Acta et Documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II Apparando. Series I (Antepraeparatoria). Volumen II: Consilia et Vota Episcoporum ac Praelatorum. Pars VI: America Septemtrionalis et Centralis* (Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1960), 293 (Meyer) and 392 (Spellman).

these were exceptions among the most important US prelates preparing for Vatican II. The issue was absent, for example, from the *vota* of Cushing (Boston), Dearden (Detroit), McIntyre (Los Angeles), O'Hara (Philadelphia), Ritter (St. Louis), O'Boyle (Washington), and the most famous Catholic televangelist and auxiliary bishop of New York, Fulton Sheen.[5]

1.1. *The Lay Apostolate Prior to Vatican II*

The explanation for this smooth affirmation of the lay apostolate can be found in the decades immediately leading up to the council. By the mid-20th century, it had become clear that the Church could no longer simply stand aloof and condemn the world. Following a century of social upheaval and the horror of two world wars, a spirituality of engagement and action began to bubble up and coalesce around what was then called 'the layman.'

'The upshot,' the French Dominican Yves Congar later recalled, 'was that in the euphoric post-war years of liberty regained, 1946-1947, the question of the status of the laity in the Church forced itself upon us in a new way.'[6] Following the Second World War, there was an explosion of interest within the Catholic Church in all things lay. Major conferences were held at the Vatican in 1951 and 1957, preceded and followed by a seemingly unending avalanche of publications on the topic.[7] Much of this was prompted by the desire to promote at the pastoral level the various lay initiatives grouped under the broad title of 'Catholic Action,' a variety of movements already active in the 1920s and 1930s. However, theologians involved with these groups—from the Young Christian Workers to the various Marian sodalities—also sought out a deeper theological foundation.

[5] Ivi: Cushing 278–84; Dearden 311–12; McIntyre 364–68; O'Hara 403–407; Ritter 433–37; O'Boyle 463–64, Sheen 486–89. McIntyre's *votum* had a long section on the problem of inflation for the Church's finances.

[6] Yves M.-J. Congar, 'My Path-Findings in the Theology of Laity and Ministries,' *The Jurist* 32 (1972): 169–88, at 172.

[7] For a bibliography, see Rosemary Goldie, 'Lay, Laity, Laicity: A Bibliographical Survey of Three Decades,' *The Laity Today* 26 (1979): 107–44; Jacques Dupuis, 'Lay People in Church and World: The Contribution of Recent Literature to a Synodal Theme,' *Gregorianum* 68 (1987): 347–90.

1.2. *Vatican II on the Lay Apostolate*

The authors of Vatican II's Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (*Lumen Gentium*) and its Decree on the Lay Apostolate (*Apostolicam Actuositatem*) did not set out to articulate an original theology of the lay state; rather, their goal was to promote the activities of lay people.[8] And yet, the council texts could not avoid addressing the theological foundations of this activity. Thus, a theology of the laity emerged deliberately and clearly, even if, in the end, it remained somewhat general. What seems to have unified the council's approach was a widely shared desire to craft a theology of the lay state in *positive* terms. Yves Congar—who became one of the most important theological advisers at Vatican II—argued that over the course of the Church's history, the laity were defined in a basically negative way. They were either contrasted with the monk in terms of holiness or contrasted with the clergy in terms of authority. This contrast gave rise to what Congar called the 'absurdly over-simplified formula, "Spiritual things appertain to the priest, temporal things to layman".'[9] For Congar, the laity are not excluded from the realm of the sacred. They, too, are ordered to heavenly things. Nor does their religious and spiritual orientation come by way of exception. It comes by virtue of their own distinctive state of life and orbit of activity. Lay people are called to the same end as clergy and monks—union with God, a life of holiness, and participation in the mission of Christ. However, their way of achieving this end differs, which led Congar to his own affirmation: Lay people 'do God's work *in so far as it must be done in and through the work of the world*.'[10]

The work done in the preparatory commission on the apostolate of the laity—a last-minute addition decided by John XXIII on 1 June 1960—was influenced not only by the Roman Curia but also by the predominance of the hierarchy to lay movements in Europe that had gained credibility with the Vatican by promoting new roles for the laity in collaboration with the hierarchy. in collaboration with the hierarchy. Even though only

[8] Paul Lakeland, *The Liberation of the Laity: In Search of an Accountable Church* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 88.

[9] Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, transl. by Donald Attwater (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1965), 24. The quote comes from the 1964 addendum to his 1954 original (*Jalons pour une théologie du laïca*) in which he defends and qualifies his position in light of subsequent critiques. See Congar's early articles on the laity, 'Sacerdoce et laïcat dans l'Église,' *Vie Intellectuelle* 14 (1946): 6–39, and 'Pour une théologie du laïcat,' *Études* 256 (1948): 42–54, 194–218.

[10] Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, 19.

10 per cent of the personnel of the Commission on the Apostolate of the Laity were from the Curia, 'no lay people served in this commission and various lay organizations were represented by clerics, these constituting about a third of the commission's personnel.'[11] Absent were the theologians who in the previous decade had done the most to advance the theology of the laity (e.g., Congar, Philips, Rahner, Schillebeeckx, von Balthasar, Chenu). The influence of theologians and Catholic organizations from the US was minimal, if not totally absent, both in the work on the future Constitution on the Church (*Lumen Gentium*) and on its Decree on the Lay Apostolate (*Apostolicam Actuositatem*).

But some voices from the US could be heard during the debate in the aula on the decree on the laity: for example, Cardinal Joseph Ritter of St. Louis, who on 7 October 1964 criticized the clerical and juridical spirit of the schema. In a similar tone spoke Bishop Remi De Roo (Victoria, Canada) and Paul-Émile Charbonneau (Hull, Canada).[12]

As the text of what would become chapter four of *Lumen Gentium* passed through successive revisions, the drafters sought to balance the laity's place in both Church and world.[13] The final text affirmed, first, that the laity belong to the body of Christ and People of God by virtue of their baptism. Distinct from clergy and religious, the laity share in their own way in the priestly, prophetic, and kingly functions of Christ. But this ecclesial emphasis is balanced by a second affirmation: 'To be secular is the special characteristic of the laity.' It is the special vocation of the laity 'to seek the kingdom of God by engaging in temporal affairs and directing them according to God's will.'[14]

Joseph Komonchak points out that this emphasis on the secular character of the laity must be interpreted in the context of the authors' intentions. In the *relatio* introducing the text that would become *Lumen Gentium*, no. 31, Cardinal John Wright noted that the passage should not be read as an 'ontological definition' of the lay person but rather as

[11] Joseph A. Komonchak, 'The Struggle for the Council during the Preparation of Vatican II (1960–1962),' in *History of Vatican II*, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, vol. 1 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1995), 197.

[12] See Hanjo Sauer, 'The Council Discovers the Laity', in *History of Vatican II*, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, vol. 4 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2002), 241–42.

[13] See Edward Schillebeeckx, *The Definition of the Christian Layman* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1970).

[14] *Lumen Gentium*, no. 31. All translations of Vatican II documents are from *Vatican Council II: The Basic Sixteen Documents*, ed. Austin Flannery (Northport, NY: Costello, 1996).

a 'typological description.'[15] Thus, Komonchak argues that the drafters did not set out to define the essence of the lay condition as secular but rather offered 'a description of a type, that is, of what typifies a lay person's situation and activity. A lay person typically is married, has a job, lives in the world, etc.'[16] This interpretation helps to explain how the council avoided the 'absurdly over-simplified formula' that would split clergy in the Church from laity in the world. *Lumen Gentium* acknowledges, for example, that clergy can be involved in secular affairs or hold secular occupations (LG 31).[17] And several council passages recognize—in an initial way—active roles for the laity within the Church.

1.3. *Laity in Church Ministry*

After affirming that the laity are appointed to the apostolate by Christ and highlighting their special vocation to make the Church present in the world, *Lumen Gentium* recognizes that the laity can also be called 'to more immediate cooperation in the apostolate of the hierarchy' (LG 33). After citing the example of Paul's helpers, the paragraph continues: 'They may, moreover, be appointed by the hierarchy to certain ecclesiastical offices which have a spiritual aim.' Later, *Lumen Gentium* speaks of the work of evangelization, suggesting that a kind of lay evangelization which takes up tasks traditionally belonging to the clergy is necessary only under certain conditions: 'When there is a shortage of sacred ministers or when government persecution prevents their functioning, some lay people make up for this by performing some sacred functions to the best of their ability' (LG 35). *Apostolicam Actuositatem* refers to a group of officially designated laity, stating: 'the hierarchy entrusts the laity with certain tasks more closely connected with the duties of pastors: in the teaching of Christian doctrine, for example, in certain liturgical actions, in the care of souls' (AA 24).

Passages in other documents allude to laity whose involvement in Church activity goes beyond occasional or temporary help. *Lumen Gentium*, no. 35, talks of those laity committed to evangelization who 'are engaged full time in apostolic work.' Later, the document considers bishops, priests,

[15] Joseph A. Komonchak, 'Clergy, Laity, and the Church's Mission in the World,' *The Jurist* 41, no. 2 (1981): 422–47, at 429. See *Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani II*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Città de Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1973), 282.

[16] Komonchak, 'Clergy, Laity, and the Church's Mission,' 429.

[17] See also *PO* 8; *GS* 43.

deacons, other clerics, and then, a new category: 'those lay persons chosen by God who are called by the bishop to give themselves fully to apostolic works and who labour very fruitfully in the Lord's field' (LG 41). *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, no. 22, speaks hesitantly of 'the laity, single or married, who, permanently or for a time, put their person and their professional competence at the service of institutions and their activities.' The document calls on pastors to provide the resources necessary for the maintenance of these ministers and their families. The Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity, *Ad Gentes*, repeatedly mentions those lay missionaries and lay catechists who have dedicated themselves to the Church's mission (AG 15–17, 23, 24, 26).

These passages show Vatican II's imprecise and tentative affirmation of lay involvement in Church ministry. The lack of historical experience with such direct ministerial involvement by laity, along with *Lumen Gentium*'s affirmation of the laity as 'secular,' limits the council's vision of what can be done within the Church by lay people. But the seeds are there. The theological breakthrough comes from the ecclesiological principles enunciated in various documents of the council: the view that all Christians are commissioned by Christ through baptism, a vision of the Church as the whole People of God, and a conviction that this Church has a mission to infuse and inform the world.

2. The Ministry Explosion

The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) coincided with the stirrings of societal disaffection and cultural restlessness that marked mid-century America. 'Something's coming' is how theologian Thomas O'Meara described the feeling at the time, living on the cusp of what, in hindsight, can be seen as a period of epochal change.[18] When Vatican II came, the floodgates opened. The council's vision proved an inspiration for American Catholics ready for change, releasing energies that had been building for decades and setting loose a ministerial transformation.

2.1. *American Catholics on the Eve of Vatican II*

In the 1930s, American Catholics—both clergy and lay—had responded enthusiastically to Pius XI's promotion of Catholic Action. This fuelled widespread interest in the lay apostolate after World War II, giving the

[18] Thomas F. O'Meara, *A Theologian's Journey* (New York: Paulist Press, 2002), 38.

laity a new sense of confidence in their potential as leaders within the Catholic community. Parallel to movements among the laity, women religious were also laying the groundwork. In 1954, the Sister Formation Conference was launched by religious seeking academic degrees and professional training to enhance their teaching. This preparation would later empower them to create new ministerial roles within the parish and beyond.[19] More broadly, access to higher education following the war contributed not only to growing prosperity and the establishment of a Catholic professional class but also to an emerging critical consciousness and openness to change.

These developments took place in the midst of profound transformations that were reshaping Catholic parishes and schools in the United States. Catholic education offers a case in point. In five years—from 1944 to 1949—the student population in parish elementary schools surged by nearly 450,000. By 1959, the number of students (4,195,781) was more than double what it was at the end of the war.[20] As Catholics poured into new suburban parishes, recently erected school buildings quickly swelled beyond capacity. When Vatican II arrived in the early 1960s, it met an American Church both like and unlike that of a generation prior. Catholic families were moving into the mainstream of modern America, but their children continued to memorize medieval definitions from the *Baltimore Catechism.*

The council's biblical theology, its personalist understanding of faith, and its ecumenical spirit seemed to call into question the very foundation and methods of Catholic catechesis. As religious educators began to experiment with new ways of teaching children, adult parishioners sought out opportunities for faith sharing, study, and direct service. Many Catholics, awakened by Vatican II, discovered an interest in theology; the council's liturgical reforms needed explanation and implementation; emerging questions about civil rights, the Vietnam War, and poverty were recognized as concerns that Catholics needed to address. Faced with the challenge of reaching far more and far different groups of Catholics in the wake of the council, many pastors began to hire religious women and lay people to help coordinate the parish's evolving educational efforts.

[19] Patricia Byrne, 'In the Parish but Not of It: Sisters,' in Jay P. Dolan, R. Scott Appleby, Patricia Byrne, and Debra Campbell, *Transforming Parish Ministry: The Changing Roles of Catholic Clergy, Laity, and Women Religious* (New York: Crossroad, 1989), 109–200.

[20] Byrne, 'In the Parish but Not of It,' 134–35.

2.2. *The Coordinator or Director of Religious Education*

The first of the new parish positions was the coordinator or director of religious education (DRE). In the earliest book-length treatment of the phenomenon, Joseph Neiman wrote that the trend of parishes hiring a professional person to work exclusively in youth and adult religious education 'appears to have begun about 1967.'[21] Neiman launched 'Project Coordinator' in the summer of 1968 out of the Religious Education office of the Diocese of Grand Rapids, Michigan. His goal was to gain some national perspective on this new reality, and he shared what he learned through a series of project reports, resource papers, journal articles, and his 1971 book.[22] The 'coordinator' in the project title referred to the person working in the parish, usually called a Religious Education Coordinator (REC) or Director of Religious Education (DRE). Neiman estimated that, as of 1970, at least 1,500 coordinators were employed in US parishes.[23] He briefly looked back at the emergence of the role, attributing its rise to a combination of variables, including a changing understanding of the Church's educational mission, economic and personnel pressures faced by the schools, population shifts, new teaching technologies, and the typical American way of responding to problems: 'set up an office and hire a professional.'[24] Most of the book, however, looked forward, offering practical resources for the ongoing work of this new church professional. Included were sample contracts, guidelines for developing a job description, a budget template, possible parish organizational charts, and techniques for working with volunteers, the pastor, the board of education, and the central diocesan office.

Maria Harris's widely read manual, *The D.R.E. Book: Questions and Strategies for Parish Personnel*, offered the same kind of practical pastoral guidance—though with a stronger theoretical foundation and deeper spiritual sensitivity.[25] What stands out in these early years is the absence

[21] Joseph C. Neiman, *Coordinators: A New Focus in Parish Religious Education* (Winona, MN: St. Mary's College Press, 1971), 5.

[22] Maria Harris, 'DREs in the U.S.: The First Twenty Years,' *Living Light* 17 (1980): 250–59, at 253. Harris highlights the importance of the monthly publication *PACE* (Professional Approaches for Christian Educators), begun in 1970 and intended for this new cohort of professional religious educators. Other important periodicals included *The Living Light*, *Catechist*, *Religion Teacher's Journal*, *Today's Parish*, and the short-lived *Three Rings*.

[23] Neiman, *Coordinators*, 5.

[24] Neiman, *Coordinators*, 19.

[25] Maria Harris, *The D.R.E. Book: Questions and Strategies for Parish Personnel* (New York: Paulist Press, 1976). Harris used the terms 'Parish Coordinator' and 'DRE' interchangeably, although she acknowledges that the latter is more often heard among Protestants and the former among Catholics (1).

of sustained *theological* reflection on this new role. A survey of the periodicals read by religious educators around 1970 reveals that the pressing issues were 'how-to' concerns: how to craft a curriculum, how to manage a classroom, how to meet a child's developmental needs, how to choose resources or round up volunteers. The topics reveal the immediate needs of a new group of practitioners and a new way of organizing parish life.

Catholic colleges and universities scrambled to meet the demands of the post-conciliar period, in the process helping to create a new corps of religious educators. Across the country, graduate programs, workshops, and summer sessions sprang up on Catholic campuses. Master's programs were launched at Catholic University, Manhattan, Marquette, Seattle, Fordham, Boston College, Notre Dame, Loyola New Orleans—anywhere you had a critical mass of faculty in theology open to the renewal of Vatican II.[26] Neiman's repeated complaint that coordinators and pastors should stop 'worshiping' the M.A. degree suggests that a new norm of academic credentialling had already taken hold.[27]

In summer classrooms and on parish staffs, the emergence of the director of religious education brought with it an interesting blurring of traditional vocational lines. Overwhelmingly female, the group included not only vowed religious and lifelong laity but also former sisters, former seminarians, and, occasionally, a former priest. These individuals carried with them some of the same formation and sense of calling that would have been associated with religious life, but they had families and the financial concerns characteristic of other parishioners. What united this new group was not state of life or ecclesiastical status but the work they did. Naturally, in such an environment, attention turned from ordination or consecration to professional competence and the skills needed to accomplish the task at hand.

The literature of the early 1970s reflects the reality of an amalgamating professional cohort. It is no surprise that, in discussions of the DRE, Vatican II's teaching on the secular character of the lay vocation rarely made an appearance, for women religious outnumbered laity in that role well into the 1980s.[28] Instead, DREs spoke about active participation, the

[26] For reflections on a study of formation programs conducted in the late 1970s, see Dennis J. Geaney, *Full Church, Empty Rectory: Training Lay Ministers for Parishes Without Priests* (Notre Dame, IN: Fides/Claretian, 1980).

[27] Neiman, *Coordinators*, 71, 266.

[28] Thomas P. Walters, *National Profile of Professional Religious Education Coordinators/Directors* (Washington, DC: National Conference of Diocesan Directors of Religious Education, 1983), 10–11.

equality of the baptized, and Church as the People of God. When the role of the laity did come up, it was often found within the shared commitment among these professionals—religious and lay—to promote lay leadership among people in the pews.[29] In her collection of *PACE* articles from the 1970s, Maria Harris chose essays 'directly related to the identity and profession of DRE.'[30] However, none of the essays took up state of life, which traditionally would have marked a clear line between vowed religious and laity. In his seminal volume, the most Neiman made of the traditional distinction was to note the differing contractual arrangements necessary for those coordinators who were members of religious communities and those who were not.[31] All of this is not to say that the first DREs were unconcerned about their identity—far from it. But the identity question was framed in functional terms. The language was that of the professional. Rather than ontology, state of life, or vocational calling, it was the role that the DRE performed that preoccupied its first practitioners.

2.3. *Naming a New Reality: Ministry*

Around 1972, questions surrounding the identity of the professional religious educator were pressed further by the appearance of a new term: 'ministry.' Prior to the 1960s, the word 'ministry,' if it was used by Catholics, referred to the activity (usually sacramental) of the ordained. In a few instances, the documents of the Second Vatican Council apply 'minister' or 'ministry' to lay activity.[32] However, 'lay ministry' was not a phrase used at Vatican II or by American Catholics in the 1960s.

At least three developments played a role in the explosion of 'ministry' language in the 1970s. The first was the growing influence of Protestant biblical scholarship on Catholic conceptions of church order. John Collins has shown how Protestant thinking about 'ministry' (*diakonia*) went through a seismic semantic shift in the middle decades of the 20th century, moving from a well-defined category associated with ecclesial office to a new definition emphasizing humble and loving service.[33] This new

[29] Byrne, 'In the Parish but Not of It,' 193.

[30] Maria Harris, 'Introduction,' in *The DRE Reader: A Sourcebook in Education and Ministry*, ed. Maria Harris (Winona, MN: Saint Mary's Press, 1980), 7.

[31] Neiman, *Coordinators*, 28.

[32] See Rinere, 'Conciliar and Canonical Applications,' 204–27.

[33] For Collins, this shift relied on a fundamentally flawed interpretation of the biblical evidence. See John N. Collins, *Diakonia: Re-interpreting the Ancient Sources* (New York:

notion of ministry—as a call to serve that was coextensive with the whole Church—struck a chord. Grounded in the New Testament, freed from its identification with office, and associated with the charisms that extend to all of the baptized, the term 'ministry' would soon emerge as one of the most important categories for understanding the post-conciliar reconfiguration of Church life in the United States.

A second development had a more direct and immediate impact on the self-understanding of DREs: the June 1971 publication of the first *General Directory for Catechesis*.[34] In its first year, the English translation of the *General Directory* sold over 30,000 copies.[35] It was widely read by DREs and reviewed extensively in both academic and pastoral publications. Influenced by the international study weeks of the 1960s, the *General Directory* adopted the kerygmatic approach that had come to define the field. It envisioned all of catechesis as a 'ministry of the word'—using the phrase 45 times in a booklet of 104 pages, where it consistently refers to the general work of all those engaged in the Church's mission of evangelization. In fact, of the over 60 uses of 'ministry,' 'minister,' and their cognates, only six are used exclusively in reference to the ordained. Thus, American DREs, volunteer catechists, and schoolteachers reading the *General Directory* saw their work affirmed at the highest level as *ministry* within and on behalf of the Church.

The third development followed closely upon the second. In 1972, Pope Paul VI issued the apostolic letter *Ministeria Quaedam*, which set out to reform the so-called minor orders—those ancient offices of porter, lector, exorcist, and acolyte—that had over time developed into purely ceremonial steps on the way to priestly ordination.[36] In *Ministeria Quaedam*, Paul VI suppressed those orders not actually exercised by their recipients (the minor orders of porter and exorcist, along with the major

Oxford University Press, 1990); *Are All Christians Ministers?* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992); and *Diakonia Studies: Critical Issues in Ministry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[34] *General Catechetical Directory* (1971), in *The Catechetical Documents: A Parish Resource* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1996). See Berard Marthaler, OFM Conv., 'The Genesis and Genius of the General Catechetical Directory,' in Berard Marthaler, OFM Conv., *Catechetics in Context* (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 1973), xvi–xxx.

[35] Mary Perkins Ryan and William J. Tobin, 'Foreword,' *The Living Light* 9, no. 3 (Fall 1972): 4–6, at 4. See National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *To Teach as Jesus Did: A Pastoral Message on Catholic Education (1972)*, in *The Catechetical Documents: A Parish Resource* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1996), 87–116.

[36] See David N. Power, *Gifts that Differ: Lay Ministries Established and Unestablished* (New York: Pueblo, 1985), 3–12.

order of subdeacon) but retained lector and acolyte. However, in doing so, he specified that they were no longer to be called 'orders' but rather designated as 'ministries' (*ministeria*) and opened to lay men.[37]

Ministeria Quaedam generated great interest in the United States, at least initially. The US Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy published an enthusiastic study text that began, 'The concept of ministry and ministerial diversification within the Catholic Church are beginning to experience a second spring.'[38] The committee highlighted the pope's invitation to bishops' conferences to petition for other new installed lay ministries relevant to their particular churches and circumstances. They suggested two that would be especially appropriate in the United States: minister of church music and minister of religious education. Despite a formal request to the Vatican, these new ministries never received official recognition, and the installed ministries of lector and acolyte—which remained restricted to men—were soon found only in seminaries. However, the language of lay ministry was out in the open, providing a vocabulary to name what was already going on in parishes around the country.[39]

In this era of enthusiasm, critical voices could be heard. In 1977, a group of prominent lay leaders from Chicago issued a statement raising concerns about the laity's growing preoccupation with internal Church issues. The energy around ecclesial ministry, they argued, was distracting the laity from their proper call to transform the secular world.[40] But this was a countercurrent amid a major tide. By the late 1970s, thousands of lay men, lay women, and religious sisters were serving in new leadership positions in US parishes, and they had come to see their work as a genuine ministry within and on behalf of the Church. In a perceptive article that appeared in *America* magazine in the spring of 1981, the Jesuit sociologist John Coleman pointed out that over the course of a single decade, the term *ministry* had become a pervasive catchphrase among Catholic religious professionals. It was a 'motivational symbol'

[37] Paul VI, *Ministeria Quaedam*, in *Documents on the Liturgy 1963–1979: Conciliar, Papal, and Curial Texts*, ed. Thomas C. O'Brien (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1982), 908–11, at 909.

[38] Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy, *Study Text 3: Ministries in the Church* (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1973), 1.

[39] See U.S. Bishops, 'New Lay Ministries for the U.S.?' *Origins* 3 (29 Nov. 1973): 261–62. For further background, see Edward P. Hahnenberg, *Ministries: A Relational Approach* (New York: Crossroad, 2003), 183–93.

[40] 'Declaration of Concern by 47 Chicago Area Catholics: Devaluing the Role of the Laity,' *Origins* 7 (29 Dec. 1977): 440–42.

for active laity. Its use reflected a shifting view of Church life. Coleman underlined the fact that the term was already so taken for granted that it was rarely defined, and he noted that it is precisely those things that are taken for granted that constitute a culture in possession. 'What we do not need to define itself defines our world and charts our view of reality. It is our prevailing ideology, our map of expectations.'[41]

3. Responding to the Ministry Explosion

In 1977, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops established a Committee on the Laity and hired a dynamic lay woman, Dolores Leckey, to serve as the first executive director of the committee's permanent secretariat. Lay ministry was to be taken up within the broader field of lay concerns but certainly not absorbed by them. When she first arrived at the bishops' conference in 1977, Leckey found a kind of open-ended enthusiasm: 'Lay ministry was a priority on the bishops' agenda. There were few specifics attached to the concept, but there was the conviction that lay ministry was to be encouraged, that it had considerable energy behind it, and that it was of the Spirit.'[42]

3.1. *Called and Gifted (1980, 1995)*

Leckey immediately set about organizing a series of national consultations to give the bishops on the committee an opportunity to hear directly from lay people. Her office sponsored five major gatherings in its first six years.[43] This early work would culminate in the bishops' 1980 statement *Called and Gifted*. Meant to coincide with the 15th anniversary of Vatican II's Decree on the Lay Apostolate, this brief statement was framed around four calls: the call to adulthood, to holiness, to ministry,

[41] John A. Coleman, 'The Future of Ministry,' *America* 144 (28 March 1981): 243–49, at 243. Such was the hold on the imagination of American Catholics that the Vatican's 1997 instruction, cautioning against an unqualified application of 'minister' and 'ministry' to lay people, had little practical impact. See Congregation for the Clergy et al., 'Instruction: On Certain Questions regarding the Collaboration of the Nonordained Faithful in the Sacred Ministry of Priests,' *Origins* 27 (27 Nov. 1997): 403.

[42] Dolores R. Leckey, *Laity Stirring the Church: Prophetic Questions* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 86.

[43] A report of these gatherings can be found in Moira Mathieson, ed., *Consulting the American Catholic Laity: A Decade of Dialogue* (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1986).

and to community. Of the four, the call to ministry was the most fully developed in the document.

The section on ministry begins with a broad vision: 'Baptism and confirmation empower all believers to share in some form of ministry.' This baptismal call is manifest, first, in 'Christian service' or 'ministry in the world,' sometimes called 'the ministry of the laity.'[44] It also takes the form of lay ministry within the Church, including the contributions of volunteers who serve on parish and diocesan councils, on various committees, and in important roles such as minister of Holy Communion and catechist. In addition, 'Growing numbers of lay women and men are also preparing themselves professionally to work in the church.' The bishops called these new professionals 'ecclesial ministers' and pledged to help work out practical difficulties 'such as the availability of positions, the number of qualified applicants, procedures for hiring, just wages and benefits.'[45]

Called and Gifted was informed by another document of 1980, published by the US bishops' National Advisory Council: 'The Thrust of Lay Ministry.' This more focused text recognized the need for an expanded notion of ministry. While noting the responsibility of the laity to work for the transformation of the temporal world, the document gave considerable attention to 'ecclesial ministry,' that is, particular public service in the Church that builds on but must be distinguished from the more general lay witness in the world. Among the document's specific recommendations were the call for a clear definition of lay ministry and the recognition that, in designating categories of lay ministry, 'both the theology and the structure of the ministry emerge from the lived reality.'[46]

Fifteen years after *Called and Gifted* appeared, the US bishops offered a second pastoral statement devoted to the vocation and mission of the lay person, entitled *Called and Gifted for the Third Millennium*. Alongside reaffirming the call of the laity to holiness, community, and maturity, this document expands on the laity's call ministry—locating this service to the Church within the broader call of all the laity to participate in the Church's mission of salvation in the world. Drawing heavily

[44] National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 'Called and Gifted: The American Catholic Laity,' *Origins* 10 (27 Nov. 1980): 369–73, at 372.

[45] 'Ecclesial ministers, i.e., lay persons who have prepared for professional ministry in the church, represent a new development.' National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 'Called and Gifted,' 372–73.

[46] National Conference of Catholic Bishops' Advisory Council, 'The Thrust of Lay Ministry,' *Origins* 9 (13 Mar. 1980): 621–26, at 623, 625.

on Pope John Paul II's 1988 post-synodal apostolic exhortation *Christifideles Laici*, the bishops link ministry to baptism, confirmation, and Eucharist and affirm that any ministries, offices, and roles undertaken by lay persons must be exercised 'in conformity to their specific lay vocation.'[47] The 1995 document introduces the term 'ecclesial lay ministers' to describe those 'professionally prepared lay men and women offering their talents and charisms in the service of the Church.'[48] The document identifies the challenges of developing resources for lay ministry, practising justice in the workplace, encouraging minority lay ministers, demonstrating stewardship of human resources, and promoting national concern for the common good.[49]

3.2. *Co-Workers in the Vineyard of the Lord (2005)*

Called and Gifted for the Third Millennium was informed by research that was beginning to put numbers to the experience of post-conciliar parish life in the United States. The first major study of parish-based lay ministers was conducted by Philip Murnion at the National Pastoral Life Center. The results, published in 1992 as *New Parish Ministers*, got everyone's attention. Murnion and his colleagues revealed that just 25 years after the close of Vatican II, there were over 21,000 lay and religious ministers working at least 20 hours a week in pastoral positions in parishes. Over half of all US parishes employed these new lay ministers.[50]

[47] National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Called and Gifted for the Third Millennium* (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1995). See John Paul II, *Christifideles Laici*, On the Vocation and the Mission of the Lay Faithful in the Church and in the World (30 Dec. 1988), no. 23. Note also U.S. Bishops' Committee on the Laity, *Gifts Unfolding: The Lay Vocation Today with Questions for Tomorrow* (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1990).

[48] National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Called and Gifted for the Third Millennium*, 16.

[49] During the 1980s and 1990s, several US bishops issued their own statements or pastoral letters on lay ministry. Notable are Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, 'In Service of One Another,' *Origins* 15 (1 Aug. 1985): 132–39, and Roger Cardinal Mahony (with the priests of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles), 'As I Have Done for You: A Pastoral Letter on Ministry,' *Origins* 29 (4 May 2000): 741–53.

[50] Philip J. Murnion, with David DeLambo, Rosemary Dilli, and Harry A. Fagan, *New Parish Ministers: Laity & Religious on Parish Staffs* (New York: National Pastoral Life Center, 1992), v. Subsequent surveys charted continued growth. See Philip J. Murnion and David DeLambo, *Parishes and Parish Ministers: A Study of Parish Lay Ministry* (New York: National Pastoral Life Center, 1999), and David DeLambo, *Lay Parish Ministers: A Study of Emerging Leadership* (New York: National Pastoral Life Center, 2005).

Impressed by the scope of this reality, the bishops' conference moved to establish a subcommittee on lay ministry. For the next decade, the subcommittee launched a number of initiatives, including further demographic studies, hundreds of consultations, and a series of publications, culminating in the 2005 document of the full conference, *Co-Workers in the Vineyard of the Lord: A Resource for Guiding the Development of Lay Ecclesial Ministry*.[51]

Shortly after its release, Richard Gaillardetz called *Co-Workers* 'the most mature and coherent ecclesiastical document ever produced on a theology of ministry.' He pointed out that Pope John Paul II had issued excellent separate documents on the theology of laity, priests, and bishops, but 'in no ecclesiastical document, papal or episcopal, has there been a successful theological integration of the various forms of ministry in the church. Until now.'[52] Eschewing a narrow definition, *Co-Workers* describes lay ecclesial ministers as those lay men and lay women whose service in the Church is characterized by *authorization* by the hierarchy, *leadership* in a particular area of ministry, close *mutual collaboration* with the ordained, and *preparation and formation* appropriate to their ministry.[53] The text then goes on to situate this reality within a total theology of ministry. It locates lay ecclesial ministry in relationship to the Triune God and the church community, placing this ministry in the context of a network of ministerial relationships. Drawing on the teaching of the Second Vatican Council, the document avoids casting lay and ordained ministries in the competitive terms of a zero-sum game. Instead, the model is that of Priscilla and Aquila, the apostle Paul's 'co-workers in Christ Jesus' (Rom. 16:3), who together collaborated in proclaiming the gospel.[54] The bulk of the bishops' document explores 'pastoral applications,' addressing different pathways to ministry, formation expectations, questions of authorization, and the ministerial workplace. *Co-Workers*

[51] United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Co-Workers in the Vineyard of the Lord*. For background, see Amy M. Hoey, 'How Co-Workers Came to Be Written,' in *Reflections on Renewal: Lay Ecclesial Ministry and the Church*, eds. Donna M. Eschenauer and Harold Daly Horell (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011), 11–18.

[52] Richard R. Gaillardetz, 'The Theology Underlying Lay Ecclesial Ministry,' *Origins* 36, no. 9 (20 July 2006): 138–43, at 139. The fifth edition of the *Program of Priestly Formation*—approved by the USCCB the same year as *Co-Workers*—makes no mention of this document and includes only one passing reference to 'professional lay ministers.' See USCCB, *Program of Priestly Formation*, 5th ed. (Washington, DC: USCCB Publishing, 2005), no. 239.

[53] USCCB, *Co-Workers*, 10.

[54] USCCB, *Co-Workers*, 66.

affirms Vatican II's theology of the 'secular character' of the laity while at the same time reframing it in the council's larger ecclesiological vision: 'All of the baptized are called to work toward the transformation of the world. Most do this by working in the secular realm; some do this by working in the Church and focusing on the building of ecclesial communion, which has among its purposes the transformation of the world.'[55] The bishops leave little doubt about their theological appraisal of this relatively new ministerial reality: 'Lay ecclesial ministry has emerged and taken shape in our country through the working of the Holy Spirit.'[56]

4. Challenges and Opportunities Facing Lay Ecclesial Ministry Today

Nearly 20 years after the publication of *Co-Workers in the Vineyard of the Lord*, the most pressing work that remains to be done is at the level of the practical and the pastoral. In an era of bankrupt dioceses brought on by sexual abuse settlements, financial scandals, and the COVID-19 pandemic, how will the Church finance the increased formation and training recommended by *Co-Workers*? How will this training be delivered in rural or remote areas? How will Latino and Latina ministers—grossly underrepresented among professional lay ministers—be encouraged and supported? What kind of ministerial credentialling or certification should be expected for employment in Catholic parishes, schools, and other institutions? And who should coordinate it? What kinds of workplace protections are necessary? How can ordained and lay ministers be better prepared for collaborative ministry? How is the Church cultivating the next generation of lay ecclesial ministers?

Beneath these practical challenges are deeper theological questions about the reality of lay ecclesial ministry. If, as *Co-Workers* argues, lay ecclesial ministry must be understood in relationship to all the other ministries that serve the Church and its mission, then developments occurring within and among other ministerial roles will have an impact on the role of the lay ecclesial minister. Like a mobile of hanging pendants, touching one moves the rest. Thus, developments such as discussion of the ordination of women to the diaconate or the proposal emerging from the 2019 Synod on the Amazon to ordain married men to the priesthood jostle

[55] USCCB, *Co-Workers*, 8.
[56] USCCB, *Co-Workers*, 14.

the whole ministerial configuration, inviting lay ecclesial ministers in the United States to look at their ministerial vocation from different perspectives. The shifting role of the pastor in the US, where a declining number of clergy has led many dioceses to cluster parishes and assign one priest to lead multiple communities, directly impacts lay ecclesial ministers. The changing fortunes of pastoral life coordinators—lay ecclesial ministers assigned to the overall pastoral care of a parish in accordance with canon 517.2—reflects an ambiguity among bishops regarding the role. Vatican II's ecclesiological vision of the whole People of God empowered by baptism to active participation in the life and mission of the Church opened the door to an unprecedented period of pastoral reorientation and a theological reconsideration of Church order. Theologians in the United States have been keenly attentive to these shifts, providing an opportunity for theological development around the broad question of how the Church orders its many and diverse ministries.[57]

The argument presented here is that lay ecclesial ministry represents a reception of Vatican II ecclesiology in the lived experience of the Church in the United States. In this reception there was a notable shift: Vatican II's teaching on the laity (with its apostolate) came to be seen within the wider context of the Church (with its ministries). The paradigm shift, noted by Yves Congar decades ago, was the shift from a dividing line pitting clergy against laity to a model of concentric circles, where various ministries are found within the Church community.[58] This shift was not a departure from the council but a reflection of its deeper ecclesiological vision. Indeed, by placing the laity within the whole people of God, *Lumen Gentium* made this shift possible. Looking toward the future, it seems that a further shift is already under way. We see it most clearly in Pope Francis's vision of a Church with open doors and in his repeated call on all of the faithful to become 'missionary disciples.'[59] This shift represents the horizon for the ongoing reception of Vatican II

[57] One trajectory holding promise is the expansion of concern from 'ordained ministry' to 'ordered ministries'—a more inclusive category that seeks to transcend a simplistic clergy–lay divide. See, for example, Thomas F. O'Meara, *Theology of Ministry*, rev. ed. (New York: Paulist Press, 1999); Richard R. Gaillardetz, 'Shifting Meanings in the Lay-Clergy Distinction,' *Irish Theological Quarterly* 64 (1999): 115–39; Susan K. Wood, ed., *Ordering the Baptismal Priesthood: Theologies of Lay and Ordained Ministry* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003); and Hahnenberg, *Ministries*.

[58] Congar, 'My Path-Findings,' 176.

[59] See, for example, Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, On the Proclamation of the Gospel in Today's World, 24 Nov. 2013, no. 27, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html.

in the Church's ministerial configuration. Just as *Lumen Gentium* located the laity within the context of the Church, two other council documents, *Gaudium et Spes* and *Ad Gentes*, placed the Church itself within the wider context of its mission in the world. Pope Francis extends a challenge and offers an opportunity for relocating the place and purpose of all ministries—ordained and lay. For 50 years, engaged Catholics in the United States have asked, 'What does it mean to be a *minister* in the *Church*?' The question to ask now is 'What does it mean to be a *disciple* on *mission*?' That is the question that today's lay ecclesial ministers—and all ministers—are called to answer.

LAY PERSONS AND THE EXERCISE OF THE POWER OF GOVERNANCE: PERSPECTIVES FROM THE UNITED STATES

SHARON A. EUART, RSM

The question of the exercise of the power of governance in the Church by lay persons was left unresolved by the Second Vatican Council. Despite the council's important contribution regarding the dignity of lay persons in virtue of their baptism, their participation in the threefold mission of Christ, and their role in the secular world and the Church, subsequent efforts by the Commission for the Revision of the *Code of Canon Law* to settle the question resulted in ambiguity in canons of the revised Code. This paper will address briefly, from the perspective of the Catholic Church and theology in the United States, the state of the question at the time of the Second Vatican Council; the council's teaching on the laity and *sacra potestas*; the revision process for the *Code of Canon Law*; and ambiguities in selected canons promulgated in the revised law.

1. PRIOR TO VATICAN II

Prior to the 19th century and especially after the French Revolution, lay people assumed an increasingly important role in addressing the challenges of modernity and in defending and explaining the faith to their contemporaries to effect a renewal of society. Later, popes Pius X, XI, and XII strongly supported groups of laity in movements often referred to as 'Catholic Action.'[1] Similar movements, under the title of 'lay apostolate,' promoted like-to-like apostolates—for example, of lawyers, doctors, or businessmen—so that the spirit of Christ would permeate society and culture.

[1] Joseph A. Komonchak, 'A Few Historical Remarks,' private paper prepared for Catholic Common Ground Conference on 'Participation in the Church,' Mar. 2001, 1. See also Yves Congar, OP, *Lay People in the Church: A Study of a Theology of the Laity*, trans. Donald Attwater (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1957) 335, 345–49.

While such movements emphasized the role of the laity in the world, Pius XI referred to these associations as a 'participation in the apostolate of the hierarchy.'[2] Later, Pius XII spoke of them as examples of 'cooperation with the hierarchy's apostolate' to avoid any suggestion that lay 'apostles' became part of the hierarchy.[3] The difference is not without significance. The distinction between cooperation and participation is a substantial one and would later be raised during the process for the revision of the *Code of Canon Law*.

'Participation' by the laity in lay activities in the apostolate of the hierarchy suggests that the primary or only apostolic activity is that of the hierarchy in which the laity may take part in virtue of a formal mandate.[4] 'Cooperation' by the laity with the apostolate of the hierarchy provides a framework to consider the apostolate as wider than the apostolate of the hierarchy involving the larger Church. *Lumen Gentium* (LG) broadened this notion to state, 'The lay apostolate is a participation in the salvific *mission of the Church* itself' (LG 33).

In his 1906 encyclical, *Vehementer Nos*, Pius X, using language rooted in the decretals of Gratian (1140), described the Church as an 'unequal society' comprising two categories of persons: the 'pastors and the flock, those who occupy a rank in the different degrees of the hierarchy and the multitude of the faithful.'[5] In the 1917 *Code of Canon Law* (CIC), laity are viewed mainly as passive, the objects of the clergy's ministry, with little responsibility.[6] During the last century, the focus on the rights and duties of the laity in the world, on their being the Church, as Pius XII referred to the laity, eventually led to questions about the participation of the laity in the inner life of the Church.[7] Yves Congar, reflecting on the laity's criticisms of the relationship between clergy and laity in the post-World War II years, stated that 'the Church was still there, but as a people it had to be remade and, for this to happen, it had to be rediscovered.'[8]

[2] See Pius X, Encyclical *Il Fermo Proposito*, On Catholic Action in Italy to the Bishops of Italy, 11 June 1905; Ferdinand Klostermann, 'The Laity,' in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, Vol. I, ed. Herbert Vorgrimler (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966), 242.

[3] See Klostermann, 'The Laity,' 242–43.

[4] Komonchak, 'A Few Historical Remarks,' 2.

[5] Pope Pius X, Encyclical *Vehementer Nos*, 11 Feb. 1906, no. 8, cited in Richard Gaillardetz, 'Theological Reception of *Co-Workers in the Vineyard of the Lord*,' *Lay Ecclesial Ministry: Pathways to the Future*, ed. Zeni Fox (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 21.

[6] Komonchak, 'A Few Historical Remarks,' 2.

[7] Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, xxxv.

[8] Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, 56.

In the US, the most innovative experience the bishops could bring to Vatican II was the institution of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in 1919.[9] The foundation in the US of a new tradition of studies on canon law and its history did not have effects on the culture of the US bishops.[10] In the *vota* for the preparation of Vatican II, the US bishops' proposals on Church governance did not emphasize the participation of lay Catholics in governance; it stressed the role of the episcopate in controlling the lay apostolate, but also one side tried to defend Catholicism from Protestants' stereotypical characterization of the passivity of lay Catholics, while on the other side made clear the need to preserve the hierarchical structure of the Church.[11]

2. Power of Jurisdiction and Lay Persons in the 1917 Code

The notions of *munus* (function/office) and *potestas* (power) converge in Vatican II's teaching on the common priesthood of all the baptized and its difference in essence from the ministerial priesthood (LG 10). Canonically, the difference is sacred power (*sacra potestas*) (LG 27), a power which the ordained possess (LG 10).[12] Debates over *sacra potestas* are both ecclesiological and canonical, as reflected in the teachings of

[9] See Stephen M. Koeth, '"The Mental Grandchildren of Monsignor John A. Ryan": George G. Higgins, John F. Cronin, S.S., and the Role of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Post-War American Politics,' *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 33, no. 1 (2015): 99–135.

[10] German-born legal historian Stephan Kuttner (1907–96) was a professor at the Catholic University of America in Washington, DC, from 1940 (migrating from Germany that year) to 1964, where a chair in canon law is named in his honour, but he was not involved in the development of the theological culture of the US episcopate: see Andreas Hetzenecker, *Stephan Kuttner in Amerika 1940–1964. Grundlegung der modernen historisch-kanonistischen Forschung* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2007).

[11] See Joseph A. Komonchak, 'U.S. Bishops' Suggestions for Vatican II,' *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 15, no. 2 (1994): 313–71, esp. 333–34.

[12] For discussion of sacred power and the laity, see Beal, 'The Exercise of the Power of Governance by Lay People: State of the Question,' *The Jurist* 55 (1995): 1–92; James H. Provost, 'The Participation of the Laity in the Governance of the Church,' *Studia Canonica* 17 (1983): 417–48; Sharon Holland, 'Laity and the Power of Governance,' *Bulletin on Issues of Religious Law* 4, no. 2 (Oct. 1988); Ladislas Orsy, *Receiving the Council: Theological and Canonical Insights and Debates* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2009), 35–45; Elizabeth McDonough, 'Jurisdiction Exercised by Non-Ordained Members in Religious Institutes,' *CLSAP* 58 (1996): 292–307; Myriam Wijlens, 'The Power of Governance,' in *The New Commentary on the Code of Canon Law*, eds. John P. Beal, et al. (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2000), 183–86. See also *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, art. 6, The Sacrament of Holy Orders, no. 1547.

Vatican Council I and the 1917 *Code of Canon Law*'s treatment of power in the Church.[13]

Prior to Vatican II, canonical doctrine recognized two powers in the Church: the power of orders and the power of jurisdiction. The power of orders was transmitted directly through sacramental ordination to the priesthood (1917 CIC, c. 109). The power of orders, validly conferred, could never be taken away, although its exercise could be regulated. The origin of the power of jurisdiction was not episcopal ordination but rather canonical mission: that is, the election or appointment to an office. This power often referred to the hierarchy's power to rule.[14] The power of jurisdiction was received immediately by the Roman pontiff upon his acceptance of legitimate election; others received it by virtue of a canonical appointment (mission) from competent ecclesiastical authority.[15] Though distinct powers, they were related.

The 1917 Code, in canon 118, accepted the two-power paradigm in restricting the exercise of the power of jurisdiction to clerics: 'Clerics alone can (*possunt*, 'are able') obtain (*obtinere*, 'to receive and to possess') power either of orders or of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and ecclesiastical benefices and pensions.' Ecclesiastical office, by definition, involved some participation in ecclesiastical power—either of orders or jurisdiction (c. 145). Since the 1917 Code did not always distinguish between which functions required the power of jurisdiction, a principle developed which in practice greatly limited functions open to lay persons, with few exceptions to the restrictions of canon 118.[16]

Despite the restrictions of canon 118, canonical discipline recognized exceptions to the general norm. The general norm of canon 118 was that jurisdiction could be granted only to 'clerics' who were those who had received 'at least first tonsure' (1917 CIC, c. 108§1). Tonsure is a religious ceremony, not a sacrament. In effect, some to whom jurisdiction could be legally granted had not received sacramental ordination. The theological condition of a tonsured person was that of a lay person.[17]

[13] For an overview of the history of the debates, see Beal, 'State of the Question,' 2–17.

[14] John Huels, 'The Power of Governance and Its Exercise by Lay Persons,' *Studia Canonica* 35 (2001): 62–63.

[15] Beal, 'State of the Question,' 2.

[16] Beal, 'State of the Question,' 7.

[17] Ladislas Orsy, 'Lay Persons in Church Governance: A Disputed Question,' *America* 174, no. 11 (6 Apr. 1996), 41. In 1972, Paul VI abolished tonsure and declared that a person became a cleric with ordination to the deaconate. See *motu proprio Ministeria quaedam*, *AAS* 64 (1972): 529–34.

Similarly, if a lay man was elected pope, he would acquire the jurisdiction of the pope upon acceptance of a legitimate election prior to his episcopal consecration.[18]

The effect of canon 118 and its implementation eliminated historical customs in which lay persons exercised the power of governance. For example, there is evidence from the 13th century that abbesses from certain monasteries exercised jurisdictional acts ordinarily reserved to bishops and their vicars, such as giving permission for a priest to celebrate Mass and hear confessions within her territory *nullius* (not within any dioceses), conferring benefices, deciding cases through the proper judicial process, and convoking local synods. These lay persons exercised the power of jurisdiction with support of the Holy See into the 19th century, before waning as a side effect of the fall of the Papal States in 1870 and the disappearance of the temporal power of the papacy.[19]

3. Vatican II and the Laity

Vatican II, as did every council before it, reflected the end of one era and the beginning of a new one, a turning point in the history of the Church. Ladislas Orsy notes, however, that Vatican II had a greater orientation toward the future than any previous council, which necessarily would involve change.[20]

Lumen Gentium provided a context for positioning distinctions in the Church. While maintaining the papacy as the centre of unity in the Church, it shifted the balance between recognizing the shared responsibility of all for the good of the whole.[21] This new context was most visible in the decision to place the chapter on the 'People of God' prior to the chapter on 'Hierarchical Structure of the Church and in Particular on the Episcopate' in the preparatory schema *De Ecclesia*.[22] By this action, the council

[18] Pius XII, Apostolic Constitution *Vacantis Apostolicae Sedis*, 8 Dec. 1945, *AAS* 28 (1946): 65–99.

[19] For further documentation, see Orsy, 'Lay Persons in Church Governance,' 10–13. See other examples in Huels, 'The Power of Governance,' 71–72; Beal, 'State of the Question,' 7–9.

[20] Ladislas Orsy, *Receiving the Council: Theological and Canonical Insights and Debates* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2009), 83.

[21] Orsy, *Receiving the Council*, 86.

[22] The schema *De Ecclesiae* refers to drafts of the Constitution on the Church. See Gerard Philips, 'Dogmatic Constitution on the Church: History of the Constitution,' in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, Vol. I, ed. Herbert Vorgrimler (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966), 119–20.

focused on the fundamental equality of all the baptized, the *Christifideles*, and the dignity of each follower called to a common discipleship in Christ.

The council taught that participation in the life and mission of the Church is rooted in the theological principles that the Church is the People of God, a people gathered around their bishop, a holy people incorporated into the body of Christ (LG 11) with a share in the threefold mission of Christ (*munus triplex*) to teach, to sanctify, and to govern (LG 31). All members of the Church share a common dignity and the same vocation to holiness. They enjoy a fundamental equality that arises from baptism in Christ (LG 32), an equality that precedes any differentiation based on diversity of functions, charisms, or ministries (LG 32). They are called, each according to his or her own gifts, to exercise the mission which God has entrusted to the Church to carry out in the world (LG 30, 32).

The council delineated four levels of relationship between lay activity in the apostolate and the hierarchy. At the level of activities in the temporal order, the role of the hierarchy is simply to teach the moral principles involved. Beyond temporal affairs there are apostolic undertakings freely established and regulated by the laity, not by the hierarchy, though the hierarchy may support such undertakings by praising and recommending them. Then, there are forms of lay activity having an immediate spiritual purpose, which the hierarchy may join more closely to its own apostolic functions while carefully maintaining the lay nature of the activity and the right of the laity to act on their own accord. Finally, the hierarchy may entrust to the laity some functions proper to its own apostolate.[23] It is only in virtue of this mission that the laity become fully subject to hierarchical direction in the apostolate.

The council placed special emphasis on the secular character that is proper to the laity (LG 31) and emphasized the responsibility of the laity to make the Church present where it is only through them that the Church can 'become the salt of the earth' (LG 33). At the same time, the council taught that lay people also have a role in the Church, with the 'capacity of being appointed by the hierarchy to some ecclesiastical offices (*munera ecclesiastica*) with a view toward a spiritual end' (LG 31). It is in this capacity that the question arises of whether lay people may assume ecclesiastical offices which involve the exercise of ecclesiastical power of governance or jurisdiction.

[23] *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity, 18 Nov.1965, 24. See also David N. Power, *Gifts that Differ: Lay Ministries Established and Unestablished* (New York: Pueblo, 1985), 53–54; Sharon A. Euart, 'Council, Code and Laity: Implications for Lay Ministry,' *The Jurist* 47, no. 2 (1987): 494.

4. Post-Conciliar Interpretations and Developments

The council did not address in depth the nature or source of jurisdiction in the Church, a question remaining from Vatican I.[24] Rather than speak of power and jurisdiction, it used the terms of three-fold *munera*[25] and *potestas*.[26] While the council affirmed the participation of all the baptized in the three-fold mission of the Church and encouraged the active participation of the laity in the life and mission of the Church, it was silent on the laity sharing in the exercise of *sacra potestas*. To clarify several juridical considerations, the *Nota Explicativa Praevia* was to serve as a preliminary introductory note to *Lumen Gentium*. The second point of the *Nota Explicativa* was intended to clarify the differences in the meaning of *munera* (functions) and *potestas* (power).[27] However, not all council fathers were satisfied. Further explanations were left to theologians and canon lawyers.[28] The council's teaching on *potestas sacra* resulted in a lack of uniformity in the meaning of the term as it is used in *Lumen Gentium*. The council's preference for *potestas sacra* over *potestas iurisdictionis* or *regiminis* made it difficult to clarify when *potestas sacra* means power of governance and when it has a more extensive meaning.[29] The council did not reference any distinct teaching on or define *potestas sacra*, other than the unity of the two ecclesiastical powers of orders and jurisdiction.

Following the council, the theological debate regarding *potestas* continued to address the ambiguities and unresolved questions left by the council. This analysis and assessment eventually became the task of those responsible for the revision of the *Code of Canon Law*.

In its efforts to maintain a continuity of the Church's teaching and seek a new ecclesiological synthesis between the visible and invisible Church,

[24] Gerard Philips, 'Dogmatic Constitution on the Church: History of the Constitution,' in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, Vol. I, ed. Herbert Vorgrimler (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966), 136.

[25] Teaching, sanctifying, and ruling are the three-fold *munera* derived from the three functions/offices exercised by Jesus Christ in his earthly ministry as priest, prophet, and king. See *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, no. 436; *Lumen Gentium* 31.

[26] Power in the Church can be described as the capacity to effect change: that is, to cause it or to prevent it. From class notes in a course on "Power of Governance," School of Canon Law, Catholic University of America, Professor Robert T. Kennedy, 1984.

[27] See *Lumen Gentium¸ Nota explicative praevia*, 16 Nov. 1964, no. 2.

[28] Philips, 'Dogmatic Constitution on the Church,' 137.

[29] Fredrik Hansen, *The Unity and Threefold Expression of the* Potestas Regiminis *of the Diocesan Bishop: Canons 381§1 and 391* (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Universita Gregoriana, 2014), 27.

the council fathers retrieved the age-old notion of *communio*, a multi-faceted concept grounded in Christ, which would ensure unity.[30] The notion of *communio* is fundamental to the Church's self-understanding as mystery, a transcendent reality that is revealed in a visible way.[31] As an invisible reality, e*cclesial communion* depends on the baptismal identity of believers; as a visible structure, members are united with Christ and with each other through doctrinal, sacramental, and juridical bonds (c. 205). The council's awakening of the notion of *communio* ecclesiology enabled new forms of 'common responsibility' to develop at all levels of the Church.[32]

5. Process for the Revision of the *Code of Canon Law*: Preparation

Pope John XXIII initiated a reform of canon law on 25 January 1959, when he announced the three-part plan for his papacy: (1) a synod for the diocese of Rome, (2) an ecumenical council, and (3) a modernization or updating (*aggiornamento*) of the *Code of Canon Law*. He created a Commission for the Revision of the Code in 1963, shortly before his death. Under Pope Paul VI, the Commission itself suspended its activity until the council's completion in 1965. Paul VI set the Commission to work, telling the members that they were to do more than update the 50-year-old document; they were to reorganize the Church's discipline and accommodate it to the teachings and spirit of the council. They were to reform the Church's canonical style and give it a 'new way of thinking' (*novus habitus mentis*), responsive to new needs.[33]

[30] Provost, 'Participation of the Laity in the Governance of the Church,' 425. See also Beal, 'State of the Question,' 38, for a brief summary of the different levels of meaning of *communio*; Walter Kasper, *Theology and Church* (New York: Crossroad, 1989), 147–67.

[31] Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, 'Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on Some Aspects of the Church Understood as Communion,' *Origins* 22 (15 June 1992), 108–12. See also Kasper, *Theology and Church*, 151; Sharon Euart, RSM, 'Reflections on the Code's Response to the Council's Call for Unity in Diversity,' *CLSA Proceedings* 56 (1994): 1.

[32] Kasper, *Theology and Church*, 150. See also Sharon A. Euart, RSM, 'Structures for Participation: Instruments of "Pastoral Revitalization" in the Church,' *Origins* 35, no. 2 (26 May 2005), 17–25.

[33] Paul VI, 'Address to the Cardinals and the Consultants of the Council for the Code Revision of Canon Law,' 20 November 1965, *AAS* 57 (1965): 998. See also John Paul II, Apostolic Constitution *Sacrae Disciplina Leges* (25 Jan. 1983). On the history of the revision of the CIC, see John Beal, 'New Wine, Old Wineskins: The Reception of Vatican II in Canon Law,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Vatican II, eds*. Catherine E. Clifford and Massimo Faggioli (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 432–48.

The council fathers, conscious of the revision of the Code that was to follow their deliberations at the conclusion of the council, viewed the Code as an instrument for implementing the council, for carrying out its vision and decisions.[34] The revised Code, therefore, was to reflect the theology of the council and manifest its spirit. As a source text for the revised Code, the conciliar teachings rule and guide the interpretation of the canons.

Since the revised Code was developed during a period of ecclesiastical ferment within the Church, both the German and Roman schools of thought influenced the revision process and the formulation of the canons. The failure of the drafters to resolve the theoretical questions regarding the exercise of the power of governance by lay persons and to leave them open to further development is reflected in the ambiguities present during the process for revising the *Code of Canon Law*.

For example, the council's position on lay persons was mixed. It gives a typological picture of lay persons and clergy: the former as involvement in the world, and the latter as involvement in the ministry of the Church.[35] At the same time, the council taught that the entire apostolate is to be carried on in various ways through all the Church's members (*Apostolicam Actuositatem* [AA] 2). The baptized faithful, too, share in the threefold mission of Christ and thus have a role of their own, not just in transforming the secular world in the image of Christ but also in the entire teaching, sanctifying, and governing apostolate of the Church (AA 2, 25). The council considered the temporal order as the ordinary *locus* of lay apostolic activity but not the only place. It acknowledged participation by lay persons in forms of cooperation with the hierarchy and in some ecclesiastical offices (LG 33, 35). The council's claim that 'the Church is not only established and does not fully live, nor is it a perfect sign of Christ, unless there is a genuine laity existing and working alongside the hierarchy' (AA, 21) signalled the need for further consideration of the council's teaching on the laity and the exercise of the power of governance.[36]

[34] Orsy, *Receiving the Council*, 79. See John Alesandro, 'One Hundred Years Since the 1917 Code of Canon Law,' Address to the Canadian Canon Law Society, 23 Oct. 2017, 17 (manuscript).

[35] Provost, 'Participation of the Laity in the Governance of the Church,' 432. See also Joseph A. Komonchak, 'The Ecclesiology of Vatican II,' *Origins* 28 (22 Apr. 1999), 763–68, and 'A Few Historical Remarks,' 2.

[36] Provost, 'Participation of the Laity in the Governance of the Church,' 432. See LG 32, 33–35, 37; AA 10, 24; AG 17. See also Huels, 'The Power of Governance and its Exercise by Lay Persons,' 64–66, and Komonchak, 'A Few Historical Remarks,' 6.

6. *Code of Canon Law*: Post-conciliar Developments

Several post-conciliar developments also influenced the revision process. For example, in 1971, Pope Paul VI promulgated the apostolic constitution *Causas Matrimoniales*,[37] which permitted lay men to share in the power of governing as ecclesiastical judges, along with two clerics, to simplify and expedite the canonical procedures in matrimonial cases. This was viewed by many canonists, though not all, as an example of lay persons exercising the power of governance.[38]

Another example of an influential post-conciliar development was Paul VI's 1972 apostolic constitution *Ministeria Quaedam*, which abolished tonsure and four minor orders of porter, exorcist, lector, and acolyte, as well as the major order of sub-diaconate.[39] The reform introduced a rite of candidacy for those pursuing sacramental ordination and the ministries of lector and acolyte. One became a cleric with ordination to the diaconate. With the ministries of lector and acolyte open in principle to lay men, *Ministeria Quaedam* acknowledged that such changes previously connected with minor orders had been exercised by lay persons. Here again, the effect of this reform on the ability of lay persons to exercise jurisdiction was ambiguous.[40]

Additionally, post-conciliar grants of jurisdiction to laity can be seen in legal developments related to religious. The pontifical rescript *Cum Admonte* (CA), issued by the Vatican Secretariat of State in 1964, granted delegated faculties to the superiors of clerical institutes and clerical monastic federations for powers they did not previously have, such as dispensing applicants and members from specific impediments to entrance and ordination.[41] The rescript also permitted superiors to dispense members in temporary vows, that is, 'to restore their temporarily professed subjects to the condition of seculars so that they may freely and licitly return to the world…' (CA 14).

[37] Paul VI, Apostolic Letter *Causas Matrimoniales* (28 Mar. 1971), *AAS* 63 (1971): 443.

[38] See Beal, 'State of the Question,' 53–57, for other examples of post-conciliar legal developments that highlighted the nature of the power of governance and the possibility of its exercise by lay persons.

[39] Paul VI, Apostolic Constitution *Ministeria Quaedam* (15 Aug. 1972), *AAS* 64 (1972): 529–40.

[40] See Beal, 'State of the Question,' 54.

[41] Secretariat of State, rescript *Cum Admonte* (6 Nov. 1964), *AAS* 59 (1967): 347–78. See McDonough, 'Jurisdiction Exercised by Non-ordained Members in Religious Institutes,' 296.

Following requests from superiors for lay religious institutes, the then Sacred Congregation for Religious issued the 1966 rescript *Religionum Laicalium*,[42] in which it granted many of the faculties contained in *Cum Admonte* to non-ordained superiors. In 1969, the Sacred Congregation for Religious and Secular Institutes extended the faculty of *Religionum Laicalium* in the decree *Cum Superiores* to include 'the delegated faculty to Superiors General of Lay Religious Institutes to grant secularization to their members under temporary vows,' a dispensation previously reserved to the local Ordinary of the house where the petitioner was assigned.[43] Both the faculty granted by *Cum Admonte* to clerical superiors general and heads of monastic congregations and later the same faculty granted by *Religionum Laicalium* to lay superiors general with the consent of the council regarding the secularization of temporary professed members were the same jurisdictional faculty.[44]

Discussions regarding the exercise of jurisdiction by lay persons continued in study groups for the revision of the Code. In 1976, the study group for *De lege Ecclesiae fundamentali* sought a response from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith on whether lay persons could hold offices which included legislative, executive, or judicial power and, if the response was in the affirmative, to identify which offices.[45] The response of the Congregation affirmed that dogmatically, lay persons were excluded only from those offices which are intrinsically hierarchical, the capacity of which requires reception of the sacrament of Holy Orders, and that the Holy See would determine such offices in accord with the norm of law. It also urged caution in proceeding to avoid creating a lay pastoral ministry in competition with the ministry of the clergy. The Congregation recommended that the appointment of laity to ecclesiastical offices be limited to the present law, without new extensions.[46]

[42] Sacred Congregation for Religious, rescript *Religionum Laicalium* (31 May 1966), *AAS* 59 (1967): 362–64.

[43] Decree *Cum Superiors* (27 Nov. 1969), in *AAS* 61 (1969): 738–39. English translation in *CLD*, vol. 7, 77.

[44] McDonough, 'Jurisdiction Exercised by Non-ordained Members in Religious Institutes,' 297.

[45] See McDonough, 'Jurisdiction Exercised by Non-ordained Members in Religious Institutes,' 301 (n. 28), for the Latin and Italian text.

[46] See Beal, 'State of the Question,' 57, for the English translation.

The Congregation's response partially answered the inquiry and at the same time contributed to the continuing debate considering the several grants to lay persons for the exercise of jurisdiction in the years following the council.[47]

7. The US Bishops' Response

The revised Code opened to lay women and lay men several ecclesiastical offices entailing the exercise of the power of governance.[48] Examples include tribunal offices of ecclesiastical judge (c. 1421§2), office of auditor (c. 1428), diocesan finance officer (cc. 494, 1278), lay person entrusted with pastoral care of a parish without a pastor (c. 517§2), administrator of temporal goods of a juridic person (c. 1279), and superiors and collegial bodies in lay religious institutes (c. 596).[49] The Code also recognizes consultative bodies that entail the exercise of the power of governance and may—even must—include lay persons among their membership. For example, each diocese is to have a finance council (c. 492), which may include lay experts in finance and civil law whose authority may restrict an initiative of the diocesan bishop without the council's consent (cc. 1277, 1292).

Shortly before implementation of the revised Code in November 1983, the US bishops, during their November 1983 plenary assembly, voted on several proposals requiring legislative action by each episcopal conference for implementation of certain canons in their respective territories. Among the actions taken by the US bishops were decisions to permit lay judges to serve on a collegiate tribunal (c. 1421§2) and permission for single clerical judges to serve on courts of first instance (c. 1425§4). Both actions passed with the required two thirds majority of conference

[47] An interesting case for the study of lay persons and the exercise of the power of governance was the process for the revision of what are now canons 129, 274§1, and 1421§2. For a detailed history of the various forms the canons took in the revision process, see Beal, 'State of the Question,' 58–67. See also McDonough, 'Jurisdiction Exercised by Non-ordained Members in Religious Institutes,' 299–307, on the revision of canon 596 on the exercise of the power of jurisdiction by religious superiors.

[48] See Beal, 'State of the Question,' 90.

[49] See Huels, 'The Power of Governance,' 75–78, for a detailed description of this power. See also McDonough, 'Jurisdiction Exercised by Non-Ordained Members in Religious Institutes,' 305. Not all agree that the power of superiors of lay religious institutes is ecclesiastical power of governance. See Beal, 'The Exercise of Jurisdiction by Lay Religious,' *Bulletin on Issues of Religious Law* 13 (Winter 1997): 6.

members with deliberative vote.[50] In 2015, Pope Francis promulgated a further change regarding the provisions of canon 1421§2 by permitting two lay persons to serve as members of a collegiate court with a cleric (c. 1673§3).[51]

Despite the revised Code's inability to resolve the theoretical issues regarding sacred power in the Church, the opening of ecclesiastical offices which entail the exercise of the power of governance to lay women and lay men is a positive development in the Church's law. The US bishops, recognizing the significance of this development, addressed the issue in two documents related to women in Church leadership and governance roles: *Strengthening the Bonds of Peace* (1994) and *From Words to Deeds* (1998).[52] In the latter document, the bishops shifted their encouragement of Church leaders to identify leadership positions open to women to 'assume that all roles in the Church are open to women, unless stated otherwise by canon law.'[53] The bishops offered recommendations for promoting women to leadership positions and decision-making roles that do not require ordination.

8. Final Observations

The Second Vatican Council's practice of working to achieve the greatest possible consensus often resulted in compromise statements that do not resolve legitimately controverted questions but express statements on the common faith, such as in the final statements on the relationships between universal Church and particular Church and between primacy and collegiality.[54] Many of the issues that the council left unresolved in its documents remain today unresolved in the life of the Church, among them the nature of power in the Church and the relationship between clergy and laity. Especially from a US perspective, the revised Code of

[50] See Sharon Euart, RSM, 'Complementary Legislation of Episcopal Conferences: Reflections on the U.S. Experience,' *CLSA Proceedings* (2003): 48.

[51] Pope Francis, Apostolic Letter *motu proprio Mitis Iudex Dominus Iesus* (15 Aug. 2015). See new canon 1673§3.

[52] USCCB, Committee on Women in the Church and Society, *Strengthening the Bonds of Peace* (Washington, DC: USCCB, 1994), and *From Words to Deeds* (Washington, DC: USCCB, 1998).

[53] USCCB, Committee on Women in the Church and Society, *From Words to Deeds*, 14–15.

[54] Komonchak, 'Ecclesiology of Vatican II,' manuscript, 9–10.

1983 continued the marginalization of the lay faithful in ecclesial governance and fell short of giving juridical form to the conciliar understanding of the Church as a *communio* and of the complementarity between the ministerial priesthood and the common priesthood. However, it is clear that Vatican II shed new light on lay persons and the exercise of the power of governance.

Just as the council chose not to resolve the questions surrounding the nature of power in the Church but instead to state the issues and leave it to theologians and others to work out a more coherent reconciliation, the revised *Code of Canon Law* left the matter ambiguous and open to debate and different interpretations. However, despite the ambiguities and continuing debate, there is evidence in the universal law that lay persons who hold certain ecclesiastical offices and serve on certain collegial bodies do in fact exercise the ecclesiastical power of governance. Still more remains to be accomplished to bring the lay faithful into the Church's organizational and governance roles, particularly in those positions requiring the exercise of the power of governance. Because the Code reflects the perspective of the council's ecclesiology, it remains open to derogation and development. As the 'new way of thinking' called for by Paul VI continues to mature, and the Church discerns what it has inherited from the council with eyes toward the future, reform of the Church's governance structures, activity, and power invite resolution in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council to meet new realities in the life and mission of the Church.

THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT AND LITURGICAL REFORM IN NORTH AMERICA

ANTHONY RUFF, OSB

Building upon several decades of liturgical discussion, and modest official reforms in the years immediately preceding it, the Second Vatican Council approved the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (SC), on 8 December 1963.[1] Implementation of the constitution brought about monumental changes in the liturgical life of the Catholic Church. It also opened up, unawares and unintentionally, controversy about not only the nature of the liturgy but also the Church's self-understanding in relationship to its past. Much of the controversy is occasioned by conciliar statements which are ambiguous and at times contradictory, resulting in difficult hermeneutical questions and conflicting schools of interpretation.[2] The liturgical discussion has been especially vigorous in North America and in the English-speaking world.

This chapter will trace the North American contribution to liturgical reform. This entails treatment of theoretical discussions and pastoral strategies in the 20th-century liturgical movement in the decades before the council, the implementation of conciliar reforms in the decades after the council, and North American contributions to the discussion brought about by conflicting interpretations of *Sacrosanctum Concilium.*

[1] For literature on the preparations for the council, see Anthony Ruff, *Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform: Treasures and Transformations* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2007), 314, n. 1. For commentaries on the liturgy constitution, see Ruff, *Sacred Music,* 316, n. 2.

[2] For an important assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the liturgy constitution 20 years after the council, see Kevin Irwin, 'The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (4 Dec., 1963),' in *Vatican II and Its Documents: An American Reappraisal*, eds. Timothy E. O'Connell (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1986), 9–38. On the interpretation of Vatican II, see Ormond Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II: Some Hermeneutical Principles* (Mahwah, NJ: Pastoral Press, 2004); Massimo Faggioli, *Vatican II: The Battle for Meaning* (Mahwah, NJ: Pastoral Press, 2012); Ormond Rush, *The Vision of Vatican II: Its Fundamental Principles* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2019).

1. The 20th-century Liturgical Movement

The modern liturgical movement, leading to the reforms of the Second Vatican Council, is rightly seen as a long delayed and long overdue response to problems that had been over a millennium in the making.[3] Implicit (and at times explicit) in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* and in the reformed rites issued in the following decade (Mass, the Liturgy of the Hours, the Rite of Christian Initiation, and other sacraments and rites), is the judgment that something began to go wrong in the Church's liturgical life from at least Carolingian times; improving this state of affairs would entail undoing many entrenched developments since then and reintroducing, in contemporary contexts, ritual practices and theological attitudes long lost.

Awareness of the need for liturgical reform was present in the late Middle Ages.[4] But the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation, the split of the Western Church into Catholic and Protestant parts, and the defensive attitude of each side toward the other prevented the Catholic Church from recognizing the legitimate points made by Protestant liturgical reformers or dealing with its own fundamental liturgical problems. A liturgy which otherwise would have been a spent force was frozen in time and became enshrined in the *Missale Romanum* of 1570 after the Council of Trent. This liturgy was artificially propped up as a marker of Catholic identity over against erring Protestants and, in succeeding centuries, against the secular modern world of the Enlightenment. Efforts at liturgical reform in the 18th century, such as the introduction of the vernacular, were suppressed and condemned by Roman authorities.[5]

The modern liturgical movement has its distant roots in the 19th century, with growing concern among some, especially Benedictine Abbot Prosper Guéranger of Solesmes Abbey,[6] that the piety of the faithful was

[3] General histories of the liturgy include Keith Pecklers, *Liturgy: The Illustrated History* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2012); Edward Foley, *From Age to Age: How Christians Have Celebrated the Eucharist* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008); Marcel Metzer, *History of the Liturgy: The Major Stages*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1997); Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker, eds., *The Oxford History of Christian Worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[4] John O'Malley, 'The Fifteenth-Century Prelude,' in John O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Boston: Belknap Press, 2013), 23–48.

[5] See the relevant chapters in J.D. Crichton, *Lights in the Darkness: Fore-runners of the Liturgical Movement* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996).

[6] Cuthbert Johnson, *Prosper Guéranger (1805–1875): A Liturgical Theologian: An Introduction to His Liturgical Writings and Works* (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1984).

far removed from the Church's clericalized and entirely Latin liturgy, which they did not understand and did not participate in. In its Romantic phase in the 19th century, the movement sought primarily to impress upon the faithful the beauty and splendour of the Latin liturgy and to open up its riches to them by way of catechesis and limited translation of parts of the liturgy. Though some have viewed these efforts positively for beginning to highlight the importance of the liturgy in the Church's life, others have considered these 19th-century efforts more as a prelude to the liturgical movement because there were not yet efforts to involve the laity actively in the liturgical celebration.[7]

The beginning of the liturgical movement is generally dated to the 1903 motu proprio *Tra Le Sollecitudini* of Pope Pius X, which called for *partecipazione attiva* of the faithful in the liturgy.[8] The movement received further impetus with a famous address by Lambert Beauduin at a congress in Malines, Belgium, in 1909: 'The True Prayer of the Church.' Beauduin emphasized that the liturgy is a school of prayer, the primary way the Church teaches, a bond of unity, and a source of the true Christian spirit far superior to all private devotions.[9] The goal of the liturgical movement became not merely that the laity be inspired by the liturgy but that they actively participate in it by singing and speaking Latin chants and responses, following the words and actions at the altar by means of hand missals offering parallel translation of the Latin liturgy, and receiving communion more frequently.

The ideal for the Benedictine renewal of the 19th century (Solesmes, etc.) was the Middle Ages. In the 20th century—especially under the influence of Beauduin, attention turned to the 'pastoral'—the needs of

[7] Various viewpoints evaluating the era are found in these four articles by R.W. Franklin: 'Guéranger: A View on the Centenary of His Death,' *Worship* 49 (1975), 318–28; 'Guéranger and Pastoral Liturgy: A Nineteenth Century Context,' *Worship* 50 (1976), 146–62; 'Guéranger and Variety in Unity,' *Worship* 51 (1977), 378–99; 'The Nineteenth Century Liturgical Movement,' *Worship* 53 (1979), 12–39; see also R.W. Franklin, 'The People's Work: Anti-Jansenist Prejudice in the Benedictine Movement for Popular Participation in the Nineteenth Century,' *Studia Liturgica* 89 (1989), 60–77.

[8] Pius X wrote in this document of the 'true Christian spirit' deriving from 'its foremost and indispensable font, which is the active participation in the most holy mysteries and in the public and solemn prayer of the Church': *Tra Le Sollecitudini* (TLS), introduction. At TLS 3, the pope states that Gregorian chant should be restored 'to the use of the people, so that the faithful may again take more active part in ecclesiastical offices, as it did in ancient times.' On TLS, see Ruff, *Sacred Music*, 273–85.

[9] Balthasar Fischer, 'Das "Mechelner Ereignis" vom 23. September 1909: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Liturgischen Bewegung,' *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 9 (1959), 203–19; André Haquin, *Dom Lambert Beauduin et le renouveau liturgique* (Gembloux: Éditions J. Duculot, 1970), 92–104.

workers and the poor, of the laity, etc., and to how the liturgy might speak to their lives. This was also nourished by greater attention to earlier sources, with renewed interest in the patristic and early medieval eras when congregational participation was stronger. In the early decades of the 20th-century liturgical movement, the traditional Latin liturgy was seen as untouchable, and pastoral efforts were aimed at bringing lay people to this liturgy. It was only later, especially after the Second World War, that the need for change to the liturgy itself was increasingly recognized if the goal of active participation was to be realized.[10]

The implementation of Pius X's desire for active participation was carried out most enthusiastically at first in central Europe, especially Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Austria, with more limited interest in North America.[11] The earliest efforts in the US were primarily in the realm of promoting congregational singing of Latin chant, especially by Justine Ward.[12] Ward was invited to teach music at the Sisters College of the Catholic University of America in 1910 and eventually developed the influential Ward Method of School Music for teaching music and chant in Catholic grade schools. She founded the Pius X School of Liturgical Music in New York City in 1918. At a sacred music congress in 1920, 3,500 children trained in the Ward Method sang the Mass responses and Ordinary in Latin chant at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City. André Mocquereau, a monk of Solesmes Abbey, said of this event, 'I realized that my dream had come true, and that through the medium of the children of America the great heritage of congregational singing will be restored to the Church.'

Earlier efforts such as these notwithstanding, the beginning of the liturgical movement in the United States is generally dated to the founding of the publishing house Liturgical Press and the journal *Orate Fratres* (later *Worship*) in 1926 by Virgil Michel, OSB, of St. John's Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota.[13] Michel had learned of the European liturgical movement during his studies at Sant'Anselmo in Rome (1924–25). There he encountered the professor Lambert Beauduin, who taught him liturgical studies and introduced him to the concept of the Mystical Body of Christ.

[10] On this shift, see Ruff, *Sacred Music*, 240–41.

[11] Ruff, *Sacred Music*, 210–39.

[12] Ruff, *Sacred Music*, 221–24.

[13] *Seventy-Five Years of Grace: The Liturgical Press 1926–2001* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2001); Robert L. Tuzik, *How Firm a Foundation: Leaders of the Liturgical Movement* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1990), 151–59; Keith Pecklers, *The Unread Vision: The Liturgical Movement in the United States of America: 1926–1955* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998), 124–37.

(This controversial notion[14] was vindicated by its affirmation in the 1943 encyclical *Mystici Corporis* of Pius XII.) Michel brought the European movement to the US while also making a contribution to the movement that has been described as 'a characteristically American pragmatism and a conviction that liturgy is not the preserve of monks and nuns but the lifeblood of the entire church.'[15] From the beginning, Michel strove to involve as much of the wider Church as possible in his movement, including non-Benedictine religious, lay men, and lay women (such as Justine Ward, mentioned above) on the editorial board and among the contributors to *Orate Fratres*.

A significant American contribution to the liturgical movement—one that unfortunately did not make its way into *Sacrosanctum Concilium*—was the connection made between liturgy and social justice. US leaders in this area were Virgil Michel; diocesan priest Hans A. Reinhold, a German immigrant to the US under Nazism who was active in New York, Yakima, and Pittsburgh;[16] and diocesan priest Reinhold Hillenbrand of Chicago.[17] Michel included both Reinhold and Hillenbrand in the work of *Orate Fratres*.

In 1930, after having a nervous breakdown and being hospitalized, Michel was sent to minister on the Chippewa Indian Reservation in northern Minnesota.[18] It was there that he became aware of the injustices suffered by the poor and grew more interested in the social teaching of the Church. He became convinced that the materialism and individualism of American Catholics was tied to their lack of social conscience and that the antidote to individualism was the liturgy as the expression of the Mystical Body of Christ. While the liturgical movement was uppermost for Michel, for him this necessarily entailed a related commitment to the renewal of the social order, for he viewed the liturgy as a communal act which is the embodiment of the ideal society. In this, Michel was building upon the work of Beauduin, who had ministered to Belgian workers before joining the Benedictines.[19]

[14] Ferdinand Kolbe, *Die Liturgische Bewegung* (Ashaffenburg: Pattloch, 1964), 63–79; see also Theodor Maas-Ewerd, *Die Krise der Liturgischen Bewegung in Deutschland und Österreich: Zu den Auseinandersetzungen um die 'Liturgische Frage' in den Jahren 1939 bis 1944* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1981).

[15] Tuzik, *How Firm a Foundation*, 151.

[16] Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 137–43; Tuzik, *How Firm a Foundation*, 174–83.

[17] Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 143–47; Tuzik, *How Firm a Foundation*, 191–99.

[18] Peckler, *The Unread Vision*, 124ff.

[19] Raymond Loonbeek and Jacques Moriau, *Un pionnier, Dom Lambert Beauduin (1873-1960): Liturgie et Unité chrétienne. 2 vols.* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège d'Erasme

Upon Michel's return to the abbey and resumption of the editorship of *Orate Fratres* in 1935, he placed increased emphasis upon issues of social justice in the journal.

As Reinhold wrote in 1938 of Michel's uniquely American work connecting liturgy and social justice,

> We had no Virgil Michel in Germany. The close inter-connection of the liturgical revival with social reform … was never expressed in that forceful way in which you see it in the writings of the late Dom Virgil and *Orate Fratres* … While in Germany the leaders of the liturgical and social revival, both strong and powerful movements, never really met and sometimes antagonized and criticized each other – here you have a close cooperation of the two, a unity of both, right from the start.[20]

A second area of activity in the US was in making connections between liturgy and education.[21] In order for the laity to participate actively in the liturgy, they had to be educated about the nature of the liturgy. *Orate Fratres* and other publications of Liturgical Press addressed this need. Other initiatives included the weekly publication *Altar and Home*, founded at Conception Abbey in Missouri in 1933. Integration of liturgical themes into religious education was taken up by Estelle Hackett and Jane Marie Murray, two Dominican sisters who consulted with Virgil Michel. They developed *The Christ Life* series for primary grades and *The Christian Religion* series for high school, both of which took the liturgy as the primary locus of religious instruction. The approach was so unfamiliar to students and teachers, however, that these series met with rather limited success.

Gerald Ellard published a liturgical textbook for use at the college level, *Christian Life and Worship*, in 1933 with Bruce Publishing Company of Milwaukee, with reprints in 1934, 1940, and 1950.[22] There are increased reports at this time of liturgical activity at Catholic colleges and universities across the US, such as the introduction of liturgical topics in the religion classes, the formation of liturgical study clubs, and celebration of the liturgy with students singing liturgical chant and reciting Latin responses.[23] In 1946, the St. Jerome Society, renamed the Vernacular

et Éditions de Chèvetogne, 2001); Sonya Quitslund, *Beauduin: A Prophet Vindicated* (New York: Newman Press, 1973).

[20] H.A. Reinhold, 'Liturgy, True Remedy,' *Social Forum* (Dec. 1938), quoted in Paul Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1957), 180.

[21] Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 171–75.

[22] Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 175.

[23] Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 184–89.

Society in 1948, published the journal *Amen* to promote English in the liturgy.[24]

Adult education in liturgical themes was addressed in various places with the formation of study clubs, for which Liturgical Press published study materials.[25] The Christian Family Movement, which began in the early 1940s and included several thousand couples by the 1950s, featured liturgical education as one of three components at all its meetings.[26]

The first national study day on liturgy was held at St. John's in Collegeville in 1929 with over 400 participants; in succeeding years, several such days were held in places such as Chicago and St. Louis.[27] Then, in 1940, echoing the '*semaines liturgiques'* that began in Belgium in 1910, the first liturgical week was held in Chicago, with 1,260 people participating.[28] Further large liturgical weeks were held in Chicago, St. Meinrad, New York (notably, outside the Midwest), St. Louis, and Denver. It has been said that the liturgical weeks in the 1940s and 1950s 'represent the liturgical movement's coming of age in the American church.'[29]

Summer courses in liturgy, primarily for women religious, were offered in Collegeville and the University of Notre Dame beginning in the 1930s. In 1941, Hillenbrand began a three-week summer liturgical course at St. Mary of the Lake Seminary in Mundelein in the Archdiocese of Chicago. Michael Mathis, CSC founded a liturgical summer school at Notre Dame six years later. Then, in 1948, he founded a master of arts degree in liturgical studies there.[30]

A third area of activity in the US was the liturgical arts. The Liturgical Arts Society was founded by Maurice Lavanoux in New York in 1928.[31] The society sought to address the alienation of contemporary artists from the Church and the preponderance of what Lavanoux considered 'imitative' and 'tasteless' art in US Catholic churches.[32] Virgil Michel served as an advisor to the organization. Lavanoux was also editor and manager

[24] Tuzik, *How Firm a Foundation*, 9; Keith Pecklers, *Dynamic Equivalence: The Living Language of Christian Worship* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003), 42–77.

[25] Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 193.

[26] Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 195.

[27] Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 197.

[28] Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 198.

[29] Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 198.

[30] Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 208.

[31] Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 227; Tuzik, *How Firm a Foundation*, 207; Susan J. White, *Art, Architecture, and Liturgical Reform: The Liturgical Arts Society, 1928–1972* (New York: Pueblo Books, 1990).

[32] 'Lavanoux, Church-Art Expert, Is Dead,' *New York Times*, 23 Oct. 1974, https://www.nytimes.com/1974/10/23/archives/lavanoux-churchart-expert-is-dead.html.

of *Liturgical Arts*, a periodical which he led from its beginning in 1931 until it ceased publication in 1974. It is generally admitted that efforts by figures such as Lavanoux did not have a great influence upon the level of art in US Catholic churches. The weight of custom and familiar piety was apparently too great, and perhaps limited financial resources played a role as well.

While a small group of liturgical leaders in the US was active in areas such as social justice, education, and art, the liturgical movement as a whole remained limited in scope and influence, even as it experienced gradual growth in the decades leading up to the Second Vatican Council. And many have noted that the liturgical movement was more prominent in the Midwest than on the east or west coast.[33]

A fourth area which was a uniquely American contribution to the liturgical movement was in the integration of canon law with pastoral liturgy, exemplified by the liturgical leader Frederick McManus of the Canon Law Society of America. As Godfrey Diekmann, *Worship* editor and successor to Virgil Michel, wrote in 1971, 'No other country at that time could boast of such a happy and fruitful combination: a lawyer expertly exploiting the liturgical law to its furthest possible limits.'[34]

Meanwhile, the liturgical movement continued to expand in Europe and to have a greater impact upon the liturgical celebration than it did in the US. The abbey of Maria Laach in Germany, for example, was a centre of scholarly gatherings, publishing, and retreats connected to liturgical themes.[35] One associate of Maria Laach, Romano Guardini, was celebrating dialogue Masses as early as 1920, in which all present recited the Latin responses that were conventionally spoken only by the altar server.

The European figure who more than any other sought to bring about a communal celebration of the liturgy, and who exercised an influence upon Virgil Michel, was Augustinian canon Pius Parsch of Klosterneuburg Abbey in Austria.[36] He published a large amount of pastoral liturgical resources. Within the limits of the clericalized Latin liturgy, he introduced reforms such as congregational chanting of the Latin Mass parts,

[33] 'The Liturgical Movement grew in the German Midwest (St. Louis, Chicago, Collegeville) and was less successful on the Irish east and west coasts of the U.S.A. With a strong tradition of congregational participation in Germany, those immigrants took more easily to the Liturgical Movement and its message.' Paul Bradshaw, 'The Liturgical Movement,' in *New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (London: SCM Press, 2013), 288.

[34] Godfrey Diekmann, 'Is There a Distinct American Contribution to the Liturgical Renewal?' *Worship* 45, no. 10 (1971), 578–87.

[35] Ruff, *Sacred Music*, 227–29.

[36] Ruff, *Sacred Music*, 229–36; Tuzik, *How Firm a Foundation*, 29–35.

a lay offertory procession and exchange of peace, reception of communion standing with a table set up between priest and communicant, and vernacular singing, including of Responsorial Psalms, as was then permitted at the spoken or 'low' Mass. Reformist practices such as these become increasingly common in European parish life in the decades before the Second Vatican Council.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Michel and others, it has been said that in the 1940s, the liturgical movement in the US was at least 20 years behind Europe.[37] It is striking that as late as 1956, Paul Hume could write of congregational singing in the United States, 'But although lots of people —several popes among them—have put in a strong word for congregational singing, most pastors would turn pale green at the thought of introducing the practice into their own churches. So would congregations. And, worst of all, so would some choir directors.'[38]

As the liturgical movement advanced in Europe, the US, and elsewhere, it became increasingly clear that a reform of the liturgy itself would be necessary.[39] This was signalled under Pius XII when the semi-official Roman periodical *Ephemerides Liturgicae* sent a questionnaire on liturgical reform to almost 100 liturgical experts in 1948 and that same year appointed a commission for liturgical reform. International liturgical studies days on liturgical reform were held in 1951 at Maria Laach, with later study conferences, in connection with the Centre de Pastorale Liturgique of Paris, in Odilienberg (1952), Lugano (1953), Louvain (1954), Assisi (1956), Montserrat (1958), and Munich (1960). These were reported on in *Worship* (formerly *Orate Fratres*; the name changed in 1951). In the 1950s, there was a flurry of reform measures coming from Rome, such as the reform of the Holy Week liturgies and the restoration of the Easter Vigil at night; the lightening of the law of eucharistic fasting in 1953 and again in 1957; the simplification of the rubrics of the liturgical books and reduction in the number of feast days, vigil, and octaves in 1955; and another simplification of the rubrics in 1960, though the ecumenical council which would deal with liturgy was already announced.

[37] Tuzik, *How Firm a Foundation*, 327.

[38] Paul Hume, *Catholic Church Music* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1956), 84.

[39] On this era, see R. Kevin Seasoltz, 'The Liturgical Movement from 1946 until the Second Vatican Council,' in *New Liturgy, New Laws* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1980), 6–16; and Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy: 1948–1975*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1990), 5–13.

2. The Council and Its Implementation

Sacrosanctum Concilium was promulgated by Pope Paul VI on 4 December 1963.[40] (Frederick McManus was a *peritus* on the conciliar liturgical commission involved in preparing the drafts of the council's liturgy document. He was joined in 1963 by Godfrey Diekmann.[41]) It was 'the fulfillment of a dream for liturgical pioneers who were still alive at the time to see the dream come true.'[42] The council strongly affirmed that the liturgy is the action of the entire gathered assembly and set forth principles for a far-reaching reform of the liturgy along the lines of simplification and accessibility to enable active participation of the people. As the first document approved by the council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* implicitly affirmed a renewed ecclesiology which can be seen as programmatic, if not entirely realized, for the entire work of the council.[43]

Emil Lengeling identifies four liturgical-theological fundamentals underpinning the liturgy constitution as a whole: liturgy is the actualization of the priestly office of Christ which offers salvation and honours God; liturgy is a holy act of the entire Church; liturgy is celebrated with holy signs that by their nature should be understood by all who participate actively; liturgy is the source and summit of all the Church's activity.[44] As overriding principles for the reform of the liturgy, Lengeling identifies the following: the liturgy should be a living expression of the nature of the Church; unity is to be preserved while allowing for variability in the Roman liturgy; accommodation of the liturgy to the needs of our age and adaptation to local cultures is necessary; the Word of God is to be given greater prominence; a return to the sources and to what is truly essential is needed.[45]

By most accounts, the contributions of the US bishops to the liturgical discussion at Vatican II were modest, reflecting the limited interest of

[40] Latin: *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 56 (1964), 97–134. English: Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2017).

[41] 'Diekmann, Godfrey,' in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 4 (Detroit: Gale, 2003), 740.

[42] Keith Pecklers, 'Liturgical Movement,' in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 8 (Detroit: Gale, 2003), 670–77, at 676.

[43] Massimo Faggioli, *True Reform: Liturgy and Ecclesiology in Sacrosanctum Concilium* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2012), 59–92.

[44] Emil J. Lengeling, *Die Konstitution des zweiten vatikanischen Konzils über die heilige Liturgie* (Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1964), 76*–77*.

[45] Lengeling, *Konstitution*, 86*–93*.

most of them in the liturgical movement.[46] There were 329 interventions on liturgy by council fathers; 19 came from US bishops. Cardinals Spellman and McIntyre, for example, showed themselves to be cautious of innovation when they rose to defend Latin and oppose introduction of the vernacular.[47] Archbishop Hallinan, on the other hand, spoke out in favour of vernacular, active participation, restructuring of the rites, and the ecumenical advantage of a reformed liturgy. During the council, there were several meetings of the US episcopate at which they were addressed by liturgical leaders such as Frederick McManus. By the end of the council, most US bishops had come to be supporters of liturgical reform. And already before the approval of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the world's English-speaking bishops began conferring in Rome about the establishment of what was to become the International Commission on English in the Liturgy.[48]

Already during the council, after the passing of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* at the second session, the official reform of the liturgy began with the first documents from Rome implementing the conciliar reform measures. Immediately after the close of the council, the Consilium for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Liturgy was established by Pope Paul VI. In existence from 1965 to 1975, it carried out the reform of all the major rites of the Church for issuance in Latin and subsequent translation into vernacular languages.[49] It was a major accomplishment, to say the least, to carry out a thorough-going reform of all the Church's rites in the space of a decade.

The Catholic Church in the United States was very active in the implementation of the conciliar reforms through the founding of many organizations and institutions. At the official level, the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy of the national conference, later the Bishops' Committee on Divine Worship, was founded and began publishing the *BCL Newsletter*

[46] Floyd Anderson, *Council Daybook: Vatican II Sessions 1 (1962) and 2 (1963)* (Washington, DC: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1965), vol. 1, 243f.

[47] Vincent A. Yzermans, ed., *American Participation in the Second Vatican Council* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967), 127–69, esp. 132–38, for this material. See *Acta et Documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II Apparando. Series I (Antepraeparatoria). Volumen II: Consilia et Vota Episcoporum ac Praelatorum. Pars VI: America Septemtrionalis et Centralis* (Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1960): see 396–97 (Spellman), 364–68 (McIntyre), and 289–90 (Hallinan).

[48] John R. Page, 'ICEL through Twenty-five Years,' in *Disciples at the Crossroads*, ed. Eleanor Bernstein (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1993), 63–80; in the same volume, see George B. Harrison and Percy Jones, 'Personal Reminiscences of the Early Years of ICEL,' 461–72, and Frederick R. McManus, 'ICEL: The First Years,' 433–59.

[49] Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 49–53, 942–52.

in 1965.[50] The Federation of Diocesan Liturgical Commissions was founded in 1969 as a professional organization of diocesan liturgy directors. It acts as an advisory group to the liturgy committee of the US bishops' conference.[51]

- The Southwest Liturgical Conference, which offered its first study week in 1962, expanded greatly in scope and attendance after the council.[52] Liturgy Training Publications, which began as a makeshift operation to provide resources for implementing liturgical reforms in the Archdiocese of Chicago, developed into a respected publishing house for liturgical materials.[53]
- The Notre Dame Center for Pastoral Liturgy, later the Notre Dame Center for Liturgy, was founded in 1970.[54] The Georgetown Center for Liturgy, Spirituality, and the Arts was founded in 1981, but later ceased operation.[55]
- The North American Academy of Liturgy was founded in 1975 for the academic study of liturgy.[56] Though its leadership and membership were originally heavily Roman Catholic, it was ecumenical from its beginnings and now represents all the major denominations as well as some members of other religions. It meets annually in January.
- In 1976, the National Association of Pastoral Musicians was founded by Virgil Funk.[57] It publishes the journal *Pastoral Music*, and its annual summer conferences have drawn thousands of people.

The US Catholic bishops have shown leadership in the area of liturgy since Vatican II that has had an influence internationally. In 1978,

[50] United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *35 Years of the BCL Newsletter* (Washington, DC: USCCB, 2000).

[51] 'Federation of Diocesan Liturgical Commissions,' in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 5 (Detroit: Gale, 2003), 662.

[52] Southwestern Liturgical Conference, 'Our Mission,' 'Our History,' and 'Our Vision,' https://swlc.org/our-mission.

[53] Liturgy Training Publications, 'Our Mission' and 'What We Do,' https://pvm.archchicago.org/liturgy-training-publications.

[54] McGrath Institute for Church Life, 'History,' https://mcgrath.nd.edu/about/centers-initiatives-and-programs/notre-dame-center-for-liturgy/history.

[55] Wikipedia, 'Georgetown Center for Liturgy,' https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgetown_Center_for_Liturgy#:~:text=The%20Georgetown%20Center%20for%20Liturgy,by%20the%20Second%20Vatican%20Council.

[56] North American Academy of Liturgy, 'About Us,' https://www.naal-liturgy.org/about.

[57] Virgil Funk, 'National Association of Pastoral Musicians,' in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 10 (Detroit: Gale, 2003), 157.

the conference approved communion under both forms at every Mass, but this decision was not confirmed by Rome until 1984.[58] Among the significant documents issued by the conference are *Music in Catholic Worship* (1972; rev. 1983), *Liturgical Music Today* (1982), *Sing to the Lord: Music in Divine Worship* (2007),[59] *Environment and Art in Catholic Worship* (1978), *Built of Living Stones* (2000), and *Plenty Good Room: The Spirit and Truth of African American Catholic Worship*.

3. The Liturgical Crisis as an Impulse for Rereading and Clarifying *Sacrosanctum Concilium*

In the 1990s, critiques of the post-conciliar reform grew louder across the Church, especially among English-speaking Catholics (see below). A sign of the changing tenor was the founding of two organizations in the US in 1995: the Society for Catholic Liturgy and the Adoremus Society for the Renewal of the Sacred Liturgy. The Society for Catholic Liturgy was founded by M. Francis Mannion; it initially supported the official liturgical reform wholeheartedly but called for a 're-Catholicizing' of it.[60] Since Mannion's departure from the organization, it has moved in the direction of critiquing the reform and at times promoting the pre-conciliar liturgy. The Adoremus Society has been more critical of the official reform and called for a revision of it in a more traditional direction.[61]

As noted at the outset, the Vatican II–inspired liturgical reforms have been controversial, particularly in the English-speaking world—not so much for the laity as a whole, who have overwhelmingly accepted the reforms, but for small but very vocal and influential groups of resisters. This includes those who reject the liturgical reform outright.[62] Others in the so-called Reform of the Reform camp claim to support the liturgy

[58] Frederick R. McManus, ed., *Thirty Years of Liturgical Renewal* (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1987), 194.

[59] On these three documents on music, see Edward Foley, *A Lyrical Vision: The Music Documents of the U.S. Bishops* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2009). On *Sing to the Lord*, see Anthony Ruff, 'Sing to the Lord: Music in Divine Worship,' *Liturgical Ministry* 177 (Spring 2008), 77–84.

[60] M. Francis Mannion, 'The Catholicity of the Liturgy: Shaping a New Agenda,' in M. Francis Mannion, *Masterworks of God: Essays in Liturgical Theory and Practice* (Chicago: Hillenbrand Books/LTP, 2004), 202–35.

[61] Adoremus, 'About,' https://adoremus.org/about.

[62] Mannion, 'Catholicity,' 206–208.

constitution, but they believe that it was not implemented correctly and that the reformed liturgy goes beyond the intentions of the council.[63] Joseph Ratzinger (later Pope Benedict XVI) gave support to this latter movement when, as prefect for the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, he wrote the preface for the 1992 French edition of Klaus Gamber's *The Reform of the Liturgy*[64] espousing this position.[65] Earlier, Ratzinger had stated that although he appreciates the reform of the Mass and supports many aspects of it, he deplores that the 'new Missal was published as if it were a book put together by professors, not a phase of a continual growth process. Such a thing has never happened before. It is absolutely contrary to the laws of liturgical growth.'[66]

A Reform of the Reform has been advocated in the US by Joseph Fessio and Adoremus, mentioned earlier. Among the varied proposals from this quarter are that the 1969 Order of Mass be revised to be more like the 1962 pre-conciliar missal. In a three part-essay published in the *Adoremus Bulletin* in 1995–96, Brian W. Harrison proposed restoring the recitation of the canon of the Mass in Latin, restricting communion to one species for laity, *ad orientem* direction of the priest celebrant, two Scripture readings rather than three, and the exclusive use of men in liturgical ministries. Harrison has advocated that a new rite be created 'having *equal status and recognition* with the rite introduced by Paul VI.'[67]

On 7 July 2007, a new phase in liturgical renewal began when Pope Benedict XVI issued the apostolic letter *Summorum Pontificum*, allowing any priest to use the pre-conciliar 1962 missal.[68] (This was reversed by Pope Francis in 2021, as we will see below.) Benedict stated that the 1962 and 1970 missals represent 'two usages of the one Roman rite,' to which he gave the labels 'extraordinary form' and 'ordinary

[63] Mannion, 'Catholicity.'

[64] Klaus Gamber, *The Reform of the Roman Liturgy: Its Problems and Background*, trans. Klaus D. Grimm (San Juan Capistrano, CA/ Harrison, NY: Una Voce Press/Foundation for Catholic Reform, 1993). On Gamber, see John F. Baldovin, 'Klaus Gamber and the Post-Vatican II Reform of the Liturgy,' *Studia Liturgica* 33 (2003), 223–39.

[65] Peter Kwasniewski, 'Translation of Ratzinger's Preface to the French Edition of Klaus Gamber,' *New Liturgical Movement*, 8 Feb. 2023, https://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2023/02/translation-of-ratzingers-preface-to.html.

[66] Joseph Ratzinger, *The Feast of Faith: Approaches to a Theology of the Liturgy* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1986), 85, 86.

[67] Quoted in Mannion, 'Catholicity,' 210.

[68] Benedict XVI, *Summorum Pontificum*, 7 July 2007, https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/motu_proprio/documents/hf_ben-xvi_motu-proprio_20070707_summorum-pontificum.html. For an analysis, see William Johnston, *Care for the Church and Its Liturgy: A Study of Summorum Pontificum and the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2013).

form,' respectively. In the accompanying letter to the bishops,[69] Benedict wrote that 'the two Forms of the usage of the Roman Rite can be mutually enriching.' He also stated that 'What earlier generations held as sacred, remains sacred and great for us too, and it cannot be all of a sudden entirely forbidden or even considered harmful.' Statements such as these offered official support to critics of the reformed liturgy and gave rise to a growing subculture of Catholics who prefer not only the pre-conciliar liturgy but pre-conciliar ways of thinking in general.

Since the old liturgy has become more readily available, there has been a migration of leading voices in the Reform of the Reform camp toward rejection of the reformed rite rather than its reform. Thomas Kocik, for example, who already in 2003 was debating the merits of rejecting or reforming the reformed liturgy,[70] by 2014 had concluded that reform of the post-conciliar rite was not feasible and that the way forward was a return to the pre-conciliar rite.[71] Similar conclusions have been reached by influential bloggers such as Peter Kwasniewski.[72]

On 16 July 2021, Pope Francis issued the motu proprio *Traditiones Custodes*,[73] which abrogated all previous measures regulating the use of the 1962 missal, including *Summorum Pontificum*, 'in order to promote the concord and unity of the Church.' This document asserted that the post-conciliar liturgical books are 'the unique expression of the lex orandi of the Roman Rite (art. 1).'[74] It directed that celebrations with the 1962 missal are not permitted in parish churches and must be held elsewhere (art. 3.2) and that priests ordained henceforth who wish to use the 1962 missal must procure authorization from their bishop, who must consult with the Holy See (art. 4).

The divisions around acceptance of the reformed liturgy or preference for the pre-conciliar liturgy, and the contrast between the directives of *Summorum Pontificum* (2007) and *Traditiones Custodes* (2021), are fun-

[69] Benedict XVI, *Summorum Pontificum*.

[70] Thomas Kocik, *Reform of the Reform? A Liturgical Debate: Reform or Return* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2003).

[71] Thomas Kocik, 'Reforming the Irreformable?' *New Liturgical Movement*, 9 Feb. 2014, http://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2014/02/reforming-irreformable.html#.XeRU-uhKjIU.

[72] Peter Kwasniewski, 'On the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Novus Ordo: Dr. Kwasniewski's Lecture "Beyond Smells and Bells: Why We Need the Objective Content of the Usus Antiquior",' *New Liturgical Movement*, 29 Nov. 2019, https://rorate-caeli.blogspot.com/2019/11/on-fiftieth-anniversary-of-novus-ordo.html.

[73] Francis, 'Traditionis Custodes,' 16 July 2021, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/motu_proprio/documents/20210716-motu-proprio-traditionis-custodes.html.

[74] The English 'unique' is actually *unica* in Latin and other languages. The official German translation, for example, has *einzige* ('only').

damentally a dispute about the interpretation and reception of the Second Vatican Council. Paul VI recognized this in response to the question of why he would not concede the 1962 missal to breakaway Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre and his traditionalist followers: 'Never. This Mass … becomes the symbol of the condemnation of the council. I will not accept, under any circumstances, the condemnation of the council through a symbol. Should this exception to the liturgy of Vatican II have its way, the entire council would be shaken. And, as a consequence, the apostolic authority of the council would be shaken.'[75]

Paul VI held that the reformed liturgy is faithful to the teachings and directives of the Second Vatican Council and is in fact demanded by the council, and Francis has reasserted this position. There are several disputed points to be addressed in support of this position.

1. Foundational principles and contingent directives. For the most part, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* stated general principles and appropriately left the specific details of liturgical reform to working groups to be determined after the council.[76] What is most important is that the liturgy is to be a communal act so as to reflect the very nature of the Church and that active participation of the people is to be facilitated by alterations to the rite. Inevitably, *Consilium* made many decisions not mentioned in the liturgy constitution and perhaps not foreseen by the bishops who approved it, but consonant with the overall vision of the liturgy constitution. The council did not address, for example, free-standing altars facilitating the celebrant facing the people, multiple eucharistic prayers, or alteration and abbreviation of the offertory prayers. But in each case, the justification for the reformed practice can readily be traced back to one or more reformist principles of the liturgy constitution. It is sometimes claimed by opponents of the liturgical reform that a particular measure is illegitimate because it is not found *expresses verbis* in *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. Such accusations reflect a misunderstanding of the distinction between foundational principles and contingent directives.

[75] Cited in Faggioli, *True Reform*, 150.

[76] There are exceptions; for example, art. 89d suppresses the office of Prime in the Roman rite.

2. Ongoing development of conciliar reforms. There are cases in which the scope of liturgical reforms implemented after the Second Vatican Council go beyond what is expressly stated in *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. For example, communion under both kinds was permitted very cautiously (art. 55), with very few examples given of when it might be permitted; concelebration was limited to specific occasions (art. 57); Latin was to be preserved, with vernacular merely more extended in its use (art. 36). That such cautious and narrow permissions were later extended shows that the Second Vatican Council is not a stopping point but rather the beginning, under the guidance of Church authorities, of an ongoing process. The later developments are not a contradiction of the liturgy constitution but rather the natural and even inevitable unfolding of its foundational impulses.

3. Organic development and disruptive liturgical change. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 23, in the section on norms for the reform of the liturgy, states that 'care must be taken that any new forms adopted should in some way grow organically from forms already existing.' Some have charged that the reformed rite did not develop organically from what preceded, and even that the lack of organic development in the post-conciliar reform process defies supposed laws of legitimate liturgical evolution.[77] Of course, it is a subjective judgment as to whether any given reform measure, such as multiple eucharistic prayers, is an organic development from what preceded or an unwarranted disruption. Any given reform measure can be interpreted generously as having developed organically from what preceded. Furthermore, even if the reforms in their totality represented a disruption from well-established practice, it can be argued that each reform measure is warranted by *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. One article of the liturgy constitution, article 23, should not be overvalued at the expense of the demands of the rest of the document.

4. The legitimacy of the pre-conciliar liturgy after *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. There is dispute regarding the place of the 1962 Missal after the issuance of the liturgy constitution. The argument has developed that the older rite was not definitively discontinued, and even that it is not possible for such a venerable rite to be discontinued. Pope Benedict gave expression to this position when he wrote, in his letter accompanying

[77] See, especially, Alcuin Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy: The Principles of Liturgical Reform and Their Relation to the Twentieth-Century Liturgical Movement Prior to the Second Vatican Council* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005), for which Joseph Ratzinger wrote the preface; see also Gamber, *Reform*.

Summorum Pontificum, 'What earlier generations held as sacred, remains sacred and great for us too, and it cannot be all of a sudden entirely forbidden or even considered harmful. It behooves all of us to preserve the riches which have developed in the Church's faith and prayer, and to give them their proper place.' He also claimed in the same letter that the older missal 'was never juridically abrogated and, consequently, in principle, was always permitted.' It is difficult to reconcile such statements with *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, a plain reading of which makes clear that all its prescriptions were meant to be applied to the then-current liturgy, which would be replaced by a reformed liturgy.

There is not the slightest indication that the then-current liturgy would continue to exist alongside the reformed liturgy.[78] Paul VI certainly did not think so when he mandated the use of the reformed rite. Francis acted in continuity with Paul's understanding when he wrote in the letter accompanying *Traditionis Custodes* that those 'rooted in the previous form of celebration … need to return in due time to the Roman Rite promulgated by Saints Paul VI and John Paul II.' It seems right to say that the Second Vatican Council intended that the 1962 missal no longer remain in use and that any exceptions are to be understood as pastoral concessions.

For each of the issues just enumerated, it can be argued that the liturgical reform approved by Paul VI is faithful to the Second Vatican Council and that the opposite position is based upon some combination of either misunderstanding or not accepting *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.

The full significance of the reformed liturgy can be seen in its implications for other important theological issues. Three issues are addressed here: ecumenism, ecclesial self-understanding, and sensitivity to cultural context.

1. Liturgical reform and ecumenism. There is a striking ritual convergence in the reformed Mass and Office of the Catholic Church and the corresponding reformed rites of Anglican/Episcopal, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other churches in the US. The reformed liturgies of the various Christian traditions presuppose and actualize real unity which is in some ways more significant than that attained thus far in doctrinal dialogues, as important as these are. The liturgy as reformed by Paul VI advances the aims of the Vatican II decree on ecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*, which stated in its first sentence that 'the restoration of

[78] The statement in article 4 on preserving 'all lawfully acknowledged rites' applies to Eastern and other non-Roman rites, not the 1962 Roman rite of Mass.

unity among all Christians is one of the principal concerns of the Second Vatican Council.' The reformed Catholic liturgy admirably witnesses to respect and appreciation for other liturgical traditions and provides the bases for increased sharing.

2. Liturgical reform and the Roman Catholic church's self-understanding. That the Roman Catholic Church would undertake a thoroughgoing reform of its liturgical life that reverses centuries-long practices has significant implications for the Church's self-understanding with respect to its own history. Implicit in the liturgical reform is a critique of the Church's liturgical tradition, an admission that the liturgical life of the Church underwent unfortunate deformations and distortions over the course of time,[79] and a recognition that the Church failed to address adequately its liturgical problems for much of its history. This suggests greater humility about the Church's indefectibility, the divine assistance given to the magisterium, and claims such as the one in *Lumen Gentium* 8 that the one true Church of Christ 'subsists in' the Roman Catholic Church. These are topics to be developed further by theologians and the magisterium. The full ecclesiological implications of the liturgical reforms flowing from the Second Vatican Council have yet to be worked out.

3. Liturgy and sensitivity to cultural context. The possibilities for cultural adaptation foreseen in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 37–40 and embodied in the reformed liturgy in its various inculturated forms underscore that faith is always embodied within culture rather than supracultural or supratemporal. The move away from a rigid, universally uniform liturgy admirably reflects a basic dynamic of the Second Vatican Council's documents from what has been called a 'classical culture' to a 'scientific or contemporary culture.'[80] While one finds both 'classical' and 'scientific/

[79] The liturgy constitution admits (art. 21) that 'intrusion … out of harmony with the inner nature of the liturgy' entered into it 'with the passage of time.'

[80] As long-time *Worship* editor R. Kevin Seasoltz put it: 'In the past four centuries there has been a gradual change in the cultural context of Western theology from what has been called a classical culture to what is known as a scientific or contemporary culture. The former culture was preoccupied with the abstract, the ideal, the universal and the essential. Concerned with sameness and permanence, it did not attend to differences, process or development. In contrast, contemporary culture, influenced above all by the development of modern science, is preoccupied with probability, process and the particular. This shift has resulted in the dissolution of a common world of suppositions, principles and methods. Certainly this shift is reflected in the documents of the Second Vatican Council. The Constitution on the Church in the Modern World affirmed the principles of cultural pluralism as a fundamental ideal of the Church. Other documents sanctioned a political shift in the structures of the Roman Catholic Church and the relationships

contemporary' expressions in the many statements of the Second Vatican Council, both the Constitution on the Liturgry and the reformed liturgy are strong affirmations of the need for sensitivity to cultural context.

It remains to future generations to continue the work of liturgical renewal and reform called for by the Second Vatican Council and to draw out all the implications of that work for the life of the Church.

among church members at every level.' R. Kevin Seasoltz, 'Monastery and Eucharist: Some American Observations,' *Worship* 54 (1980): 512–37, at 512.

SCRIPTURE IN THE LITURGY: DEVELOPING THE POST-CONCILIAR LECTIONARY

A View from Australia

CLARE V. JOHNSON

Scripture permeates the prayer of the Church. In many instances it *is* the Church's prayer: consider the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:9-13), the psalms in the Liturgy of the Hours, and the pastiche of biblical quotes, paraphrases, and allusions that constitute the majority of liturgy's prayers and orations. The Tridentine Mass began with Psalm 42 and concluded with the opening of John's gospel. Scripture arose from within a worshipping community[1] and was developed for proclamation in the assembly over generations. The Church's prayers and sacramental rites which evolved over subsequent centuries took their inspiration and warrant of authenticity from Scripture. Public proclamation of scriptural pericopes[2] has always been part of Christian worship. Lectionaries[3] developed to standardize and sync that proclamation with the seasons of a liturgical year centred on the Paschal Mystery. This chapter will explore the increased role of Scripture in the liturgy following Vatican II (especially the revision of the lectionary) and how these developments (among Vatican II's broader liturgical reform) were received and are currently perceived in the Australian context. It will focus on the Catholic experience in the island-state of Tasmania,[4] which led Australia in liturgical innovation prior to and immediately following Vatican II.

[1] Gerard S. Sloyan, 'The Liturgical Proclamation of the Word,' in *Bible and Worship: Twenty-Second North American Liturgical Week* (Washington, DC: The Liturgical Conference, 1961), 9.

[2] 'Pericope,' from the Greek *perikopḗ*, meaning 'a cutting,' is a selection or extract from a book, usually the Bible.

[3] A lectionary is a systematic arrangement of scriptural pericopes, responsorial psalms, and gospel acclamation verses based upon and related to a liturgical calendar, designed to be proclaimed aloud in public worship by a faith community. See Andrew D. Ciferni, 'Scripture in the Liturgy,' *New Dictionary of Sacramental Worship*, ed. Peter E. Fink (Collegeville, MN: Michael Glazier/Liturgical Press, 1991), 1145.

[4] Tasmania is Australia's southernmost and only island-state. The Archdiocese of Hobart is comprised of 25 parishes, encompassing Tasmania's 67,914 square km (26,222 square miles).

1. Shifting Ecclesial Attitudes Toward the Role of Scripture in Liturgy

In *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (SC) (4 December 1963), the Second Vatican Council mandated a more prominent role for Scripture in the prayer of the Church. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* affirmed that in the reform of the liturgy, Scripture would have a larger and more prominent role in the Mass, the sacraments, and the Liturgy of the Hours; that a homily based on Scripture would be an expected part of liturgical celebration; and, most importantly, that in the word proclaimed in liturgy, Christ is present.

During the papacies of Pius X (r. 1903–14) and Pius XII (r. 1939–58), insights from the biblical movement informed an official change of attitude toward Scripture. Tridentine restrictions on the use, publication, or generation of unsanctioned commentaries and interpretations of Scripture[5] had been widely construed as dissuading the faithful from reading or interpreting the Scriptures for themselves. Pius X encouraged the faithful to incorporate vernacular Scripture translations into their prayer lives by reading and meditating on the gospels and dissipated the notion that the Church is opposed to people reading the Scriptures in the vernacular.[6] In *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (DAS) (1943), Pius XII encouraged the distribution of copies of the New Testament in the vernacular among the faithful (DAS 51) for daily reading of Scripture. Pius XII was more cautious regarding use of vernacular translations of Scripture within the liturgy but encouraged bishops to recommend that the Scriptures be translated into the vernacular 'whenever the liturgical laws permit' (DAS 51).

By 1947, in *Mediator Dei* (MD), the first encyclical on the sacred liturgy, Pius XII had firmed his resolve on the value of both the liturgical movement[7] and the use of the vernacular in the liturgy[8] to encourage

[5] See Council of Trent Session IV, second decree, 'Concerning the edition and use of sacred books' (8 Apr. 1546). Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, Vol. 2: Trent to Vatican II* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990), 664–65.

[6] Pope Pius XII, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, 'Encyclical on Promoting Biblical Studies, Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of *Providentissimus Deus*' (30 Sept. 1943), http://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_30091943_divino-afflante-spiritu.html. For further information on Trent and the vernacular, see John W. O'Malley, 'The Council of Trent: Myths, Misunderstandings and Misinformation,' in *Spirit, Style, Story: Essays Honoring John W. Padberg S.J.*, ed. Thomas M. Lucas, SJ (Chicago: Loyola, 2002), 205–26.

[7] See Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy: 1948–1975*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1990), 6.

[8] Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, encyclical on the Sacred Liturgy (20 Nov. 1947), 60, http://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_20111947_mediator-dei.html.

active lay liturgical participation (MD 105). *Mediator Dei* formally permitted use of the 'dialogue' Mass (106)[9] and Latin-vernacular missals (108) to aid the faithful in understanding what was happening in the liturgy.

2. Revising the Lectionary and Use of the Vernacular

Prior to Vatican II, lectionary readings in the 'ForeMass' or 'Mass of the Catechumens' functioned as 'an ornate prelude to the "real" liturgical event, the liturgy of the eucharist.'[10] The Tridentine lectionary preserved the one-year cycle of 138 short biblical passages,[11] mainly from the epistles and gospels, supplemented by a truncated gradual (psalm) and gospel acclamation. Readings from the Hebrew Scriptures were included only on Epiphany, on Good Friday, and at the Easter Vigil. The priest read the readings to himself in Latin and remained at the altar for the whole liturgy.[12] It was widely agreed that in general, the pericopes were 'too short' and 'drawn from far too little of the Bible.'[13]

Through a series of liturgical congresses beginning in July 1951,[14] a group of mostly European liturgical scholars discerned with increasing clarity and vigour just how the liturgy might be reformed. The Conclusions of the First Congress called for urgent re-examination of the arrangement of the lectionary's scriptural pericopes; recommended that the cycle of readings for Sundays, solemnities, and feasts of saints should be distinguished from that of ordinary weekdays[15]; and raised the idea of a three- or four-year lectionary cycle[16] to replace the existing one-year cycle.

[9] In the dialogue Mass, the assembly voiced the server's responses to the priest. The *missa recitata* was pioneered by German Benedictines (at Maria Laach) on 6 August 1921. See Keith F. Pecklers, 'The Liturgical Assembly at the Threshold of the Millennium: A North American Perspective,' in *Liturgy for the New Millennium: A Commentary on the Revised Sacramentary* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 52.

[10] Ralph Keifer, *To Hear and Proclaim: Introduction to the Lectionary for Mass with Commentary for Musicians and Priests* (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1993), 62–63.

[11] Normand Bonneau, *The Sunday Lectionary: Ritual Word, Paschal Shape* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998), 18.

[12] Keifer, *To Hear and Proclaim*, 63.

[13] David Holeton, 'Reading the Word of God Together: The Revised Common Lectionary and the Unity of Christians,' *Communio Viatorum* 48, no. 3 (2006): 224.

[14] Benedictine Monastery of Maria Laach (Germany) (1951), Ste. Odile (1952), Lugano (1953), Mont César (1954), Louvain (1955), Assisi (1956), Monserrat (1958), and Munich (1960).

[15] At this time, the Sunday readings were repeated on the weekdays following, except for when major feasts occurred.

[16] 'Conclusions of the First Congress, Maria Laach, 1951,' *Worship* 28, no. 3 (Feb. 1954): 158.

At the third congress (Lugano, 1953), calls for use of the vernacular in the celebration of the Mass grew louder. Godfrey Diekmann reports that 'Cardinal Lercaro … eloquently supported the earlier petition for facultative use of the vernacular in the Scripture readings of parish Masses.'[17] In his congress address, Lercaro referenced the analogic dyad of 'bread of the Word / bread of the Eucharist' to emphasize the equal importance of Scripture alongside the eucharistic sacrament. This dyad would appear again in *Dei Verbum*.[18] Liturgical scholars soon began commonly referring to the first part of the Mass as the 'Liturgy of the Word.'

In a pivotal lecture[19] at the 1956 Assisi Liturgy Congress, scripture scholar Augustin Bea, SJ, articulated principles for the liturgical use of Scripture which 'would be found again in the Constitution on the Liturgy.'[20] Bea distinguished between biblical readings (epistle and gospel) inserted into the Mass 'with an obviously didactic purpose'[21] and 'those numerous biblical texts which the Church has woven into the Mass formularies' and prayers.[22]

Bea emphasized that the Scriptures read in Mass 'are *the word of God* … not that they merely *contain* the word of God, as a catechism or manual of religion might.'[23] He stressed that in the word, 'it is no longer man who speaks; it is the *Holy Spirit* "who spoke through the prophets".'[24] When *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was promulgated, the presence of Christ in the word proclaimed was listed as a fifth mode of Christ's presence in the liturgy (SC 7) (alongside the four modes identified in MD 20).[25]

[17] Godfrey Diekmann, 'The Lugano Conference,' *Worship* 28, no. 3 (Feb. 1954): 116. See also Giacomo Cardinal Lercaro, 'Active Participation: The Basic Principle of the Pastoral-Liturgical Reforms of Pius X,' *Worship* 28, no. 3 (Feb. 1954): 128.

[18] See Vatican II, *Dei Verbum*, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation (18 Nov. 1965), 21, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651118_dei-verbum_en.html.

[19] Augustin Bea, 'The Pastoral Value of the Word of God in the Sacred Liturgy,' *The Assisi Papers: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Pastoral Liturgy, Assisi-Rome, September 18-22, 1956* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1957), 74–90.

[20] Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 12.

[21] Bea, 'The Pastoral Value of the Word of God in the Sacred Liturgy,' 76.

[22] Bea, 'The Pastoral Value of the Word of God in the Sacred Liturgy,' 75–76.

[23] Bea, 'The Pastoral Value of the Word of God in the Sacred Liturgy,' 81.

[24] Bea, 'The Pastoral Value of the Word of God in the Sacred Liturgy,' 81.

[25] MD 20 lists modes of Christ's presence in the liturgy as: in the person of his minister; under the eucharistic species; in the sacraments; and in prayers of praise and petition we direct to God.

Bea described the priest not only as a minister of the eucharistic sacrament but also as a 'minister of the Word'[26] and called for the lectionary reform to include more pericopes chosen to cover 'all the essential doctrines of the faith.'[27] Bea's call for Scripture to be considered one of 'the two tables' from which the faithful are nourished in the Mass[28] was heeded by the Second Vatican Council.[29]

3. The Liturgical Movement in Australia – Case Study: Tasmania

For most Catholic Australians in the 1950s (including clergy), being Catholic involved faithfully carrying out instructions issued from Rome. At this time, Australia was still technically a mission territory under the jurisdiction of the Vatican's Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.[30] Patrick O'Farrell characterizes Australian Catholicism at this time as stable, conservative, pious, unquestioning, isolated, and practical.[31] However, Edmund Campion points to 'considerable evidence from well before Vatican II that Australian Catholics were alive to the currents of thought that would issue in the council's reforms.'[32]

Australia's most liturgically educated prelate was appointed to Hobart in 1955 at the age of 38. Guilford Clyde Young (1916–88) heard about the liturgical movement while he was a doctoral student at Collegio de Propaganda Fide in Rome (1934–39), from where he 'watched the liturgical movement in Germany, Holland, France, and the isolated attempts in the English-speaking world.'[33] In 1939, following the outbreak of World War II in Europe, Young returned home via the United States, where he met Father Godfrey Diekmann, OSB; the two began a lifelong friendship.[34] Through the intervening years, Young kept a close eye on advances promoting liturgical reform. In January 1955, Young gave a

[26] Bea, 'The Pastoral Value of the Word of God in the Sacred Liturgy,' 85.
[27] Bea, 'The Pastoral Value of the Word of God in the Sacred Liturgy,' 86.
[28] Bea, 'The Pastoral Value of the Word of God in the Sacred Liturgy,' 89–90.
[29] See SC 56 and DV 21.
[30] In March 1976, the Australian Church was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Congregation for Bishops and other Congregations. See Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History*, 3rd rev. ed. (Kensington, NSW: UNSW Press, 1992), 420.
[31] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 407.
[32] Edmund Campion, *Australian Catholics* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1988), 209.
[33] 'Archbishop Young Probes Decree on Liturgy,' *The Standard* (Hobart) (27 Dec. 1963), 8.
[34] 'Archbishop Young Probes Decree on Liturgy,' 8.

keynote address at Australia's inaugural 'Liturgy Week' in Melbourne,[35] where he openly supported the liturgical movement (a controversial stance given the conservative tendencies of the Australian episcopate).[36]

In June 1959, when the Australian bishops were invited to offer advice and suggestions for the council to consider, many did not reply to the invitation; of those who did, only a few offered specific suggestions. Michael Costigan (who reported on Vatican II for the Australian Catholic media) comments that 'some of the Bishops seemed apathetic or at least skeptical about the need for an Ecumenical Council. They considered that, at least in Australia, Catholicism was in such good shape that any calls for change or reform were unnecessary – or, even worse, dangerous.'[37] Only Bishop Thomas Cahill of Cairns and Archbishop Young raised liturgical issues for the council's consideration. Cahill promoted use of the vernacular in liturgies 'in which the faithful ought actively to participate,'[38] while Young recommended more use of the vernacular 'in the liturgical rites themselves' to promote active lay liturgical participation.[39]

As Archbishop of Hobart, Young was free to experiment conservatively with new liturgical ideas within the bounds of ecclesial acceptability. He prepared his clergy and people for several years prior to introducing them to their role in the dialogue Mass. Priests rehearsed congregational responses during the sermon time until they were familiar, and a short list of hymns for Mass was learned by the whole diocese.[40] By 1960, all Masses were being prayed in dialogue form; lay men read the epistle and gospel in English; suitable hymns and psalms were sung; and offertory processions saw '(usually) a man and a woman from the

[35] See *Australian Liturgical Week, Xavier College, Melbourne, Australia, 3rd-7th January 1955*, ed. Melbourne Diocesan Commission for the Liturgy and Sacred Music (Melbourne: Advocate Press, 1955).

[36] David Hilliard notes: 'The modern liturgical movement had filtered into Australia since the 1950s, but in the parishes outside two or three dioceses, its influence was limited.' 'The Religious Crisis of the 1960s: The Experience of the Australian Churches,' *The Journal of Religious History* 21, no. 2 (June 1997): 216–17.

[37] Michael Costigan, 'Vatican II as I Remember It,' https://catalystforrenewal.org.au/archives/6-michael-costigan-vatican-ii-remember.

[38] Jeffrey J. Murphy, 'Appendix I. Preparations for Vatican II: Documents and Statistics,' trans. Russell Davies, in *The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II: 1959–1965* (PhD diss., Griffith University, 2001), 339.

[39] Murphy, 'Appendix I. Preparations for Vatican II,' 342.

[40] Guilford Young, 'Christian Worship for Modern Man,' *Harvest Magazine* (June 1963): 50.

congregation bring the bread and wine to the altar.'[41] During a 1960 liturgical conference speech,[42] Young described the use of lay lectors: 'At every Mass a layman, dressed in surplice and soutane, comes into the Sanctuary and reads, in English, the Epistle and Gospel of the day…. While he is reading in English the Celebrant is silently reading the same texts from Scripture in Latin.'[43] Under Young's leadership, Tasmania was at the forefront[44] of Australia in liturgical matters, and Tasmanian Catholics were well primed for the changes Vatican II would introduce.

4. 'Council Fathers Approve Big Changes in Liturgy'

Young was the 15th of 21 council fathers to speak on the liturgy at the council during the last week of October 1962.[45] He said little because what he had planned to say had been said by those who spoke ahead of him.[46] However, his commitment to introducing the vernacular into the liturgy was recognized by other like-minded English-speaking bishops, who collaborated with Young in December 1962 to form the International Commission on English in the Liturgy.[47]

In October 1963, Australia's Catholic newspapers[48] reported extensively on the council's vote to make significant changes to the liturgy (including the introduction of vernacular languages for those parts of the Mass spoken or sung by the laity) and noted that local bishops' conferences could submit requests to the Holy See to extend use of the vernacular to other parts of the Mass.

[41] 'Archbishop Young Probes Decree on Liturgy,' *The Standard* (27 Dec. 1963), 8.

[42] Guilford Young, text of speech titled 'The Congregation Comes to Life,' 2, undated, but given prior to Vatican II commencing because in it, Young mentions 'the forthcoming Ecumenical Council,' 3. Archives, Archdiocese of Hobart.

[43] Young, 'The Congregation Comes to Life,' 5.

[44] 'Hobart is leading the way,' *The Standard* (19 Feb. 1965), 3.

[45] Jeffrey J. Murphy, 'Of Pilgrims and Progressives: Australian Bishops at Vatican II (the First Session: 1962),' *The Australasian Catholic Record* 79, no. 2 (Apr. 2002): 195.

[46] Murphy, 'Of Pilgrims and Progressives,' 196.

[47] Frederick R. McManus, 'ICEL: The First Years,' *Shaping English Liturgy: Studies in Honor of Archbishop Denis Hurley*, eds. Peter C. Finn and James M. Schellman (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1990), 436.

[48] See, for example, 'Council Fathers Approve Big Changes in Liturgy,' *The Catholic Leader* (Brisbane) (17 Oct. 1963), 1.

Following the approval and promulgation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the process of implementing the reform of the liturgy began almost immediately. On 25 January 1964, Pope Paul VI issued *Sacram Liturgiam*,[49] outlining the process for implementing *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, and announced a special commission (the Consilium) to undertake the task of revising the liturgical books and instigating the changes. Archbishop Guilford Young was one of the 42-member Consilium.[50]

On 2 March 1964, the Australian Liturgical Committee (chaired by Archbishop Young) met ahead of the full hierarchy's plenary (3 March) and recommended the vernacular for the majority of the liturgy, including the proclamation of the Lessons, epistle, and gospel.[51] Australia was one of the first hierarchies to register its intention to use the vernacular so extensively. Young reports that an initial translation of the ordinary of the Mass had 'been done by a few of us with the help of experts in language and music' and was to be provided to the people as an insert for their missals.[52]

Following Young's first Consilium meeting in Rome (March 1964), *The Standard* reported that he expected the work on the revision of the Mass to take six or seven years, noting that 'A hasty response to the immediate needs of the 1960s could burden the Church of the 21st century with the same type of meaningless liturgy that had strait-jacketed worship for the past 400 years.'[53]

The decree of the Australian episcopacy reporting its decision on 'the widest possible use of English in the liturgy'[54] was forwarded to Rome for ratification (which was granted with several caveats[55]) on 2 May 1964. From 5 July 1964, the Australian bishops began formally implementing

[49] Pope Paul VI, '*Sacram Liturgiam*, on putting into effect some prescriptions of the Constitution on the Liturgy' (25 Jan. 1964): AAS 56 (1964): 139–44, in ICEL, *Documents on the Liturgy: 1963–1979 – Conciliar, Papal and Curial Texts* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1982), 25.

[50] 'Papal post to Hobart prelate,' *The Herald* (Melbourne) (10 Mar. 1964).

[51] Decree for Australia, approved by the Commission for the Implementing of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (1 May 1964), signed by James Cardinal Lercaro, President, and Annibale Bugnini, Secretary. Archives, Archdiocese of Hobart.

[52] Archbishop Guilford Young, letter to Archbishop Francis Grimshaw of Birmingham, England, 20 Jan. 1964. Archives, Archdiocese of Hobart.

[53] 'Will Take Time,' *The Standard* (3 Apr. 1964), 2.

[54] 'Australia to Have English from July 5,' *The Standard* (19 June 1964), 1.

[55] The Preface of the Canon was to remain in Latin, and use of the vernacular was restricted to the texts of those books 'explicitly mentioned in the Acts of the Bishops' Conference.' Letter from Annibale Bugnini to Cardinal Norman Gilroy, President of the Australian Bishops' Conference (2 May 1964). Archives, Archdiocese of Hobart.

aspects of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*'s liturgical reforms,[56] with exact dates decided by each bishop. Tasmania introduced English as soon as possible after 5 July.[57] Changes that Young had already introduced into Tasmanian worship in 1960 were ratified and implemented Australia-wide in 1964.

5. *Sacrosanctum Concilium*: Liturgy of the Word and a Lectionary

In *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the council crystallized many of the reforms proposed by liturgical movement scholars[58] and rebalanced the Mass into two parts: 'the liturgy of the word and the eucharistic liturgy' which are 'so closely connected with each other that they form but one single act of worship' (SC 56). Paragraph 7 of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* denoted a major change in the way Scripture was understood within liturgy by listing among the modes of Christ's presence in the liturgy his presence in the word proclaimed. Paragraph 33 clarified that 'in the liturgy God speaks to his people and Christ is still proclaiming his gospel.' Paragraph 24 noted the substantial degree to which Scripture features in and serves as a source for liturgical prayer.

Sacrosanctum Concilium provided a philosophical framework to guide the development of a new lectionary to aid the faithful in participating fully, consciously, and actively in the liturgy (SC 14) and called for the revision of the liturgical books 'as soon as possible' (SC 25). The most significant way in which the participation of the laity and their comprehension of the liturgy was to be achieved was through the translation of parts of the liturgy into the vernacular: first, 'the readings and directives' and then 'some of the prayers and chants' (SC 36.1).[59]

More Scripture reading of a more varied and suitable kind (SC 35.1) was to be included in the revised liturgy to ensure that a wider scriptural selection would be read over 'a prescribed number of years' (SC 51). The exact number of years was not stated. The lectionary had to conform with the mandated revision of the liturgical year (SC 107) and the prioritization of the proper of time over saints' feasts so that 'the entire cycle of the mysteries of salvation' (SC 108) could be rehearsed annually.

[56] 'Australia to Have English from July 5,' 1.
[57] 'Australia to Have English from July 5,' 1.
[58] See Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 15–16.
[59] See 'English is Merely the First Step,' *The Standard* (17 Sept. 1965), 7.

Consilium Study Group (*Coetus*) XI (for which Godfrey Diekmann, OSB was the original relator) undertook the revision of the lectionary. In April 1964, Diekmann outlined the principles guiding this process, which needed to demonstrate the following: that though salvation has been achieved in Christ, it needs to be brought to completion in us (SC 7); that the homily reflects on the mysteries of faith and Christian life (SC 52); that because Christ's preaching, life, and passion embraced the Old Testament, it is an essential part of Christian faith and worship; that the Paschal Mystery is the central theme of the liturgy[60]; and that the liturgical year is key for connecting the faithful to the message of salvation.[61] These general principles were approved by the Consilium (October 1966) 'along with the schemas for the weekday readings of Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, and the Easter season.'[62]

The lectionary reform occurred in four stages.[63] In stage one, all known lectionaries or lists of scriptural passages[64] were collected and collated for study by Canadian scholar Fr. Gaston Fontaine, who 'produced fifty lectionary tables covering lectionary use over eighteen centuries,'[65] summarizing 80 years of scholarly research. *Coetus* XI was well informed about how the Bible had been read, was being read, and would be read in the future.[66]

In stage two, 31 biblical scholars selected passages appropriate for liturgical use and suggested which pericopes were to be read at what point in the liturgical year, ensuring comprehensibility and inculcating 'a sense of salvation history.'[67] *Coetus* XI considered 2,500 individual comments from consultant pastors and catechetical experts on the appropriateness and division of pericopes and their placement within the liturgical year.[68] In stage three, teams of scholars studied historic lectionaries to determine how the Bible had been read in different seasons of the liturgical year.[69] Stage four saw scholars consider the material collated and prepare schemata of readings for each liturgical season.

[60] See Adrien Nocent, 'The Roman Lectionary for Mass,' trans. Edward Hagman, in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies, Vol. III: The Eucharist*, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco (Collegeville, MN: Pueblo/Liturgical Press, 1997), 183.
[61] P. Godefridus Diekmann OSB, '*De lectionibus in Missa*,' *Notitiae* 1 (1965): 334.
[62] Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 409.
[63] Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 412–24.
[64] Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 412.
[65] Holeton, 'Reading the Word of God Together,' 225.
[66] Holeton, 'Reading the Word of God Together,' 225.
[67] Holeton, 'Reading the Word of God Together,' 226.
[68] Holeton, 'Reading the Word of God Together,' 226.
[69] Holeton, 'Reading the Word of God Together,' 226.

Debate continued regarding the number of readings to be included (two or three); the extent to which the lectionary could incorporate *lectio continua*; whether the inherited medieval cycle of readings should be retained as one annual cycle of readings; and whether the lectionary cycle should be two, three, or four years long. Eventually, it was decided that the Sunday Liturgy of the Word would contain three obligatory readings: the lectionary would follow a three-year cycle (allowing a semi-continuous reading of one synoptic gospel in a given year, with additions from John occurring each year, particularly during Lent and Easter); the highlighting of certain books during particular liturgical seasons would continue; the second reading (from the epistles) would largely be continuous; and important parts of John not read during the course of the liturgical seasons would be read during the year of Mark (due to its brevity).[70] Difficult gospel passages would be assigned to weekdays, 'when the congregation is often better prepared and more able to understand than the Sunday assembly,'[71] and the two weekday readings (arranged in a two-year cycle) would follow the principle of continuous reading where 'a reading from the Old or New Testament is begun and continued without break, except with a few brief interruptions in some cases.'[72]

In 1965, papally approved experiments trialling different styles of lectionary arrangement began occurring in Germany and France during weekday liturgies. This provided opportunities to judge how the arrangements fared in practice.[73] Other dioceses trialled a set of readings prepared by the Consilium, which ended up being the set that 'would be adopted three years later as the usage of the Roman Rite.'[74]

A first draft of the lectionary was published in July 1967 and sent to episcopal conferences and 'about eight hundred biblical scholars, liturgists, catechists, and pastoral theologians'[75] for comment. The over 6,500 responses led to a significant revision of the draft. The *Lectionary for Mass* was promulgated on Pentecost 1969 for implementation on the first Sunday of Advent 1969.[76] After some years of use and the receipt of considerable feedback, it was deemed necessary to issue a second edition in 1981 with 'an expanded introduction, revision of the citation of scripture

[70] Holeton, 'Reading the Word of God Together,' 227–28.
[71] Nocent, 'The Roman Lectionary for Mass,' 184.
[72] Nocent, 'The Roman Lectionary for Mass,' 185.
[73] Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 406–408.
[74] Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 409. Bugnini does not report whether any of these trials occurred outside of Europe.
[75] Holeton, 'Reading the Word of God Together,' 228.
[76] Holeton, 'Reading the Word of God Together,' 228.

according to the Neo-vulgate promulgated in 1979, inclusion of readings for rites published since 1970, readings for other Masses inserted in the Roman Missal since its second edition in 1975, and completion of 3-year cycles for certain feasts.'[77]

6. The Lectionary as a Theological Construct

The Catholic lectionary is constructed theologically to provide a particular interpretation of Scripture, taking the Paschal Mystery as its starting point and central focus.[78] It utilizes typology,[79] where an Old Testament event is interpreted as a figure or type of the New Testament event with which it is paired. Nocent notes that 'use of the lectionary presupposes an understanding of typology and of liturgical meaning which, although not contrary to the purely exegetical sense, does go beyond it.'[80] Critics consider that prioritization of the New Testament comes at the expense of the unique voice of the Hebrew Scriptures.[81]

The creation of a lectionary is a hermeneutic exercise in which the selection and combination of scriptural texts frequently generates a new reading of the texts which they did not have previously[82] because of how they are related to each other by the lectionary architects, the liturgical occasion on which they are read, and the circumstances of the worshipping assembly engaging with these texts in the context of a sacred ritual action. Some complain that a lack of diversity among the lectionary's architects and editors, along with the time period and cultural milieu within which they completed their task, inevitably coloured the hermeneutic guiding the composition of the lectionary.[83] For others, the brevity of the readings, the repetition of readings for numerous saints, and the

[77] Richard E. McCarron, 'Context for Preaching Resources in the Roman Catholic Church,' *Journal of Religious & Theological Information* 4, no. 3 (2001): 51.

[78] Jeremy Driscoll explains that in the post-conciliar lectionary, 'the Gospel is the climax and centre of the scripture … because Christ himself is the fulfilment of creation and the history of Israel.' Driscoll, *What Happens at Mass* (Chicago: LTP, 2005), 37.

[79] See 'General Introduction,' *Lectionary for Mass* (London: Collins, 1981), 5, p. xix.

[80] Nocent, 'The Roman Lectionary for Mass,' 186.

[81] See Gerard S. Sloyan, '"Thus Faith Comes from What Is Heard" (Romans 10:17): How Much of the Bible Do People Hear?' *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 32, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 104.

[82] See Nathan D. Mitchell, 'St. Paul and the Liturgy,' *Worship* 83, no. 1 (Jan. 2009): 72.

[83] See Marjorie Procter-Smith, 'Lectionaries – Principles and Problems: Alternative Perspectives,' *Studia Liturgica* 22 (1992): 85.

still small percentage of the Bible contained in the lectionary[84] detract from its overall success. Unanswered questions remain regarding the hermeneutic principles underlying the lectionary's construction, some of its fundamental theological presuppositions, and the ideologies guiding its current translation(s).

7. The Lectionary's Depiction of Women: Inclusive Language and Theological Anthropology

Several contemporary issues in Australia which impact the lectionary's ongoing reception are its ideological depiction of human beings in relation to God and its imposition of a generic vision of the human person whereby the male represents the species and the female is a subspecies.[85]

Feminist scriptural hermeneutics has identified multiple instances of gender inequity in the choice and arrangement of scriptural pericopes in the lectionary: for example, the inclusion of 'texts which advocate or assume the subordination of women to men'[86] (e.g., Eph. 5 and 1 Tim. 2) and the pairing of texts such as 'the creation of the woman from Genesis 2 with … texts on the indissolubility of marriage,'[87] which reflect an outmoded historical-cultural depiction of gender relations that is at odds with the fundamental gender equality inherent in the Church's contemporary theology of marriage.[88]

The lectionary is unbalanced in its choice of which strong scriptural religious role models to include; there is 'an absence of texts which show women as primary actors in a story or affirm women's religious leadership or authority.'[89] Marjorie Procter-Smith points to a hermeneutic at work 'which omits texts in which women are significant actors except as their action is related to the narrative of a central male character.'[90]

[84] The lectionary contains about 90 per cent of the gospels; 55 per cent of the rest of the New Testament; and about 13 per cent of the Old Testament. See Martin Connell, *Guide to the Revised Lectionary* (Chicago: LTP, 1998).

[85] Procter-Smith, 'Lectionaries – Principles and Problems,' 85.

[86] Procter-Smith, 'Lectionaries – Principles and Problems,' 88.

[87] Procter-Smith, 'Lectionaries – Principles and Problems,' 88.

[88] See Praenotanda of *The Order of Celebrating Matrimony* (Strathfield: St. Pauls, 2015), 2, p. ix.

[89] Procter-Smith, 'Lectionaries – Principles and Problems,' 88.

[90] Procter-Smith, 'Lectionaries – Principles and Problems,' 89–90.

The liturgical calendar guiding the lectionary evidences an imbalance in its designation of solemnities, feasts, and memorials[91] by including far more men than women and far more clerics than laity. Of the smaller number of women included (beyond Mary), the majority are classified as virgins, while the remainder are martyrs or religious.[92] Recent popes have attempted to redress the calendrical gender imbalance to some extent by including more women (religious and lay), married couples, and lay men,[93] with new lectionary entries assigned for each addition. Like all liturgical books, the lectionary remains a work in progress, which leaves open the possibility that future revisions may reshape some of its less helpful and more dated features.

The use of 'exclusive language' continues to facilitate a formal misalignment between Christian theological anthropology in theory and its expression in liturgical praxis. Deliberate use of gendered language in English translations advances a tiered theological anthropology which serves to maintain the normative priority of the masculine while casting the feminine as derivative. There is a need for internal consistency between the Church's theological propositions[94] and its liturgical proclamations, especially where such proclamations are acclaimed as 'the word of the Lord,' alive and active in our midst (Heb. 4:12).[95]

In societies such as mainstream Australia, where women are equal to men in law and in most other aspects of societal and cultural life (except church), for some people, the continued use of exclusively masculine liturgical language (along with official insistence that it means something other than what is conveyed at face value)[96] can become intolerable, as this practice implicitly and consistently relegates women to a secondary

[91] See Shawn Madigan, 'Called to be Holy, Made to Be Saints,' *Liturgy* 1, no. 2 (1980): 32–36; and Michael D. Whalen, 'In the Company of Women? The Politics of Memory in the Liturgical Commemoration of Saints – Male and Female,' *Worship* 73, no. 6 (1999): 482–504.

[92] See Whalen, 'In the Company of Women?' 489–90.

[93] Many newer inclusions on the liturgical calendar reflect an expanded geographic representation (beyond Europe and the Middle East).

[94] See *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, no. 369, which describes the innate dignity of man and woman.

[95] See Procter-Smith, 'Lectionaries – Principles and Problems,' 94.

[96] See, for example, Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, '*Liturgiam authenticam*: On the Use of Vernacular Languages in the Publication of the Books of the Roman Liturgy' (28 Mar. 2001), 29, 30, 31, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20010507_liturgiam-authenticam_en.html; and the *Ratio Translationis for the English Language* (Vatican City: Vatican Polyglot Press, 2007), 130, pp. 90–91.

or subsidiary status to men, which is unacceptable in both contemporary culture and theology. The content and implications of what we pray (as linguistic fact) is of crucial importance, as prayer (*lex orandi*) shapes what we are called to believe (*lex credendi*). The prospect that the Church's theological anthropology as expressed in its exclusive-language liturgy is truly what the Church believes and reinforces about women should concern the Christian family deeply.

8. Translation and Authority

With the passage of time and the introduction of new legislation governing the translation of liturgical texts,[97] the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference (ACBC) sought to prepare a new version of the lectionary for Mass. After careful consideration of multiple contemporary English translations consistent with the prescripts of *Liturgiam Authenticam* and extensive consultation with liturgical and scriptural experts, the ACBC voted at its May 2017 plenary 'to request formal approval for Australia' of 'scripture translations for the revised lectionary [NRSV Scriptures + Revised Grail Psalm Verses (2010 or later) + ICEL (1997) Psalm Responses].'[98] In mid-2018, the ACBC conveyed its decision to use the NRSV translation in its new lectionary to the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments (CDWDS) and sought formal recognition of this decision prior to embarking on the extensive work required to produce such a text for Australia.

Following a long delay awaiting a response from the CDWDS, a meeting was arranged in June 2019 between the CDWDS and a small group of Australian bishops during their *ad limina* visit to the Vatican. The bishops were informed that permission for Australia to use the NRSV translation in its new lectionary would not be granted due to unresolved and unspecified doctrinal issues with the chosen translation. This stance was perplexing, given that Canada's approved lectionary uses the NRSV, which is 'an up-to-date, scholarly, ecumenical version of the tradition of literal translation' … 'but the Holy See refuses to give anyone else permission to use it.'[99]

[97] See Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, *Liturgiam Authenticam*.

[98] Item 4.0 ACBC Lectionary Revision Update, Minutes of the National Liturgical Council meeting (19 Sept. 2018).

[99] Tom Elich, 'News: Lectionary Translation,' *Liturgy News* 49, no. 3 (Sept. 2019): 12.

Pope Francis's 2017 motu proprio *Magnum Principium* (which amends canon 838) grants the ACBC the authority 'to faithfully prepare versions of the liturgical books in vernacular languages, suitably accommodated within defined limits, and to approve and publish the liturgical books for the regions for which they are responsible after the confirmation of the Apostolic See.'[100] However, at its November 2019 plenary, the ACBC began considering the Revised New Jerusalem Bible for its new lectionary; at its November 2020 plenary, the bishops voted in favour of this translation, subject to CDWDS ratification.[101]

9. Further Work Is Needed

In contemporary Australia, despite scripturally rich religious education curricula in Catholic schools, access to world-class scripture scholarship in tertiary institutions, a more scripturally literate laity than at any other time in history, and abundant opportunities in person and online for ongoing adult faith formation, research[102] indicates notable levels of religious illiteracy, apathy, and disinterest prevalent among a majority of younger Catholics. For the 91.8% of non-church-going Catholics,[103] participation in the Church's liturgical life is not regarded as necessary, and hence the post-conciliar liturgy's richer range of scriptural pericopes and Scripture-infused prayers and homilies has little effect.

In 1965, Guilford Young said: 'We still have a long way to go before our people find that the liturgy is a perfect expression of their faith…. We have to go much deeper and become conscious of the liturgy for what it is – God here and now intervening in history in a direct and immediate manner.'[104] The need Young identified has not dissipated in contemporary Australia's aggressively secular culture. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 9 directly links liturgy and evangelization, and liturgy remains the Church's

[100] Pope Francis, 'Apostolic Letter in the form of Motu Proprio "Magnum Principium" Quibus nonnulla in can. 838 Codicis Iuris Canonici immutantur, 09.09.2017,' new version of Canon 838 §3, https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2017/09/09/170909a.html.

[101] Paul Taylor, *National Office for Liturgy Newsletter* (Jan. 2021): 5.

[102] See Michael Mason, Ruth Webber, Andrew Singleton, and Philip Hughes, *The Spirit of Generation Y: Young People's Spirituality in a Changing Australia* (Mulgrave: Garratt, 2007).

[103] National Centre for Pastoral Research, 'The Australian Catholic Mass Attendance Report 2021,' https://ncpr.catholic.org.au>uploads>2024/5, p. 6.

[104] Archbishop Young, 'English is Merely the First Step,' 7.

primary medium for communicating the word of God and the faith's central tenets. If the fire of faith is to be reignited among today's Catholics, all of liturgy's communicative, connective, aesthetic, and sensorially affective potential must be utilized wisely.

THE AUSTRALIAN RECEPTION OF *GAUDIUM ET SPES*, PART ONE

JAMES GERARD MCEVOY

At the conclusion of his magisterial study of the redaction of *Gaudium et Spes*, published 35 years after the council, Giovanni Turbanti observes that the process of the document's reception has reflected its long and tortuous development. 'Inevitably,' he says, 'the difficulties recorded during the elaboration phase of *Gaudium et Spes*, the opposition to which it had given rise during the council, would re-occur in the difficulties of its reception.'[1] Cultural change is a complex, often slow, non-linear process that entails not only the adoption of a new vision of social relationships but also settling on the social structures and practices through which that vision can be realized.[2]

What was achieved through the redaction of *Gaudium et Spes* is best understood as a shift in worldview.[3] In writing the document, the bishops first set aside the reactionary assessment of modernity held by the Church's leadership during the long 19th century and evaluated modernity more critically. Second, through that process, the council developed a new view of the Church's place in the world: it abandoned the Christendom stance that had shaped ecclesial life for centuries and advanced a view of the Church in dialogue with the world.

The task of receiving *Gaudium et Spes*'s dialogical account of the Church–world relationship has challenged the Catholic community since the council. This has entailed not only a deepening understanding of the dialogical vision but also the challenge of 'inventing' a way of living that vision that is faithful to the Catholic tradition's deepest sources and responsive to our age. And, as Turbanti notes, the tensions of the redaction process endure half a century later.

[1] Giovanni Turbanti, *Un Concilio per il Mondo Moderno: La Redazione della Costituzione Pastorale 'Gaudium et Spes' del Vaticano II* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000), 786.

[2] For a discussion of the interrelationship of social theories and practices, see Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2007), esp. ch. 5.

[3] I have argued this at length in James Gerard McEvoy, *Leaving Christendom for Good* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2014), esp. ch. 3.

This chapter gives an account of the Australian Catholic community's reception of *Gaudium et Spes*'s teaching on the Church–world relationship. It begins by sketching the view of that relationship extant in ecclesial life on the eve of the council, then highlights the key insights of Part One of *Gaudium et Spes*. The major section focuses on instructive examples of the reception of the council's vision by the theological community and, more broadly, across the life of the Church. It concludes by considering a fuller reception of the council's teaching into the future.

1. On the Eve of Vatican II

From early in the 19th century until the eve of Vatican II, the leadership of the Catholic Church across the West approached the emerging modern world from the perspective of the model of Christendom that dominated the previous eight centuries.[4] From that perspective, ecclesiologist Joseph Komonchak notes, the Church adopted an adversarial approach to the hallmarks of modernity: human rights, democracy, and freedom of the press.[5] Komonchak shows how this approach influenced all aspects of ecclesial life: devotional life, the development of Catholic associations, the increased centralization of Catholic life, and tighter controls over Catholic intellectual life.[6] Yet, at the same time, a new view had begun to modify Catholic culture. American Jesuit theologian John Courtney Murray, with his nuanced acceptance of liberal society and promotion of religious liberty, was integral to this movement.[7]

The adversarial dynamic was evident in the Australian context early in the 20th century. Historian Patrick O'Farrell notes that at this time, 'The stance of the church discouraged lay intellectuality, other than within strictly defensive guidelines. … [Sermons] were dogmatic and definitive, assuming a united church, clerically led, possessed of the entirety of the truth, arraigned defensively against the errors of a hostile world.'[8] That view persisted in many dimensions of Catholic life until

[4] See McEvoy, *Leaving Christendom for Good*, 63–69.

[5] Joseph Komonchak, 'Modernity and the Construction of Roman Catholicism,' *Christianesimo nella storia* 18 (1997): 353–85.

[6] Komonchak, 'Modernity and the Construction,' 363–76.

[7] See John Courtney Murray, SJ, *We Hold These Truths: Catholic Reflections on the American Proposition* (Kansas City, MO: Sheed and Ward, 1960); John Courtney Murray, SJ, *Religious Liberty: Catholic Struggles with Pluralism*, ed. J. Leon Hooper, SJ (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993).

[8] Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History*, 3rd ed. (Kensington, NSW: New South Wales University, 1992), 355–56.

the council. Yet, in the decades immediately prior to the council, the Catholic Action movement, originating in Europe, with its methodology of 'see, judge, act,' was widely embraced by organizations including Young Christian Workers, Young Christian Students, and the National Catholic Rural Movement. These organizations engaged the laity in the apostolic work of the Church, aiming to transform social and political structures under the guidance of Catholic social teaching and the bishops.[9] While these organizations hadn't arrived at the full dimensions of *Gaudium et Spes*'s dialogical approach, they contributed significantly to ecclesial renewal after the council.

John Courtney Murray's view of a Catholicism more aligned to democratic societies also found resonance in Australia prior to the council. In a symposium on 'Catholics and the Free Society,' a young Melbourne philosopher and lay man, Max Charlesworth, proposed a nuanced acceptance of democratic pluralism and argued for the importance of freedom of conscience and the recognition of religious liberty.[10]

The Catholic Social Studies Movement ('The Movement') was an organization of a more militant and polarizing kind. Founded by Melbourne lawyer B.A. Santamaria in the mid-1940s and evolving through several successor bodies, it fought communism both in the unions and in politics. It set out to establish a Christian order in the political sphere based on the principles of Catholic Social Teaching. Yet, it was a polemical movement, strongly aligned with some Australian bishops and alienated from others.[11] O'Farrell sees Santamaria and the movement as deeply divisive of the Australian Catholic community.[12]

O'Farrell's reading of Vatican II's impact in Australia is acerbic at times, yet his assessment of such forces as secularization is often prescient.[13] He says of Australian Catholicism on the brink of the council:

> No province of international Catholicism was well prepared for the revolution and renewal which flowed from the Second Vatican Council, 1962–1965, but Australian Catholicism was less well-equipped than most. It had

[9] See Edmund Campion, *Australian Catholics* (Ringwood, Vic: Penguin, 1987), 159–64; O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 384–87.

[10] M.J. Charlesworth, 'Catholics and the Free Society,' in *Catholics and the Free Society*, ed. Henry Mayer (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1961), 158–72.

[11] See Campion, *Australian Catholics*, 165–70; O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 392–401.

[12] See O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 399.

[13] Historian John Gascoigne commends O'Farrell's capacity to interpret the story of Australian Catholicism within the international context. See John Gascoigne, 'Catholicism, Australia and a Wider World: The Historiographical Legacy of Patrick O'Farrell and Tony Cahill,' *Australasian Catholic Record* 83, no. 2 (2006): 131–39.

> deep and firm resources of faith, but it lacked the flexibility and imagination to adapt quickly or readily to the new religious world that dawned in the 1960s.[14]

While this depicts the general tenor of church life, William Ryder shows that some Australian bishops had insight into the world changing around them. In response to the Antepreparatory Commission's invitation to propose matters for the council's consideration, the bishop of Bunbury, Launcelot Goody, suggested that Christian unity be the criterion governing the selection of those matters.[15] And Guilford Young, the bishop of Hobart, suggested that the council consider the Church's relationship with secular powers.[16]

2. Key Insights of Part One of *Gaudium et Spes*

The introduction to *Gaudium et Spes* indicates the document's primary aim: 'to explain to all how [the council] understands the church's presence and activity in today's world.'[17] As noted, this entailed setting aside the Christendom worldview, which the council did definitively with these words: 'The particular mission which Christ entrusted to his church is not in the political, economic or social order: the goal which he set is in the religious order' (GS 42). Setting aside the Christendom worldview also entailed mapping a new view of the Church–world relationship. The council conceived this view through two interrelated metaphors: Church–world dialogue and reading the signs of the times.[18]

In the dialogue that *Gaudium et Spes* envisages, the Church engages with both individuals and societies. Since individuals are searching to make sense of existence, the believing community responds, seeking to make manifest the mystery of God (GS 41). At the same time, while not

[14] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 405.

[15] William Ryder, 'The Australian Bishops' Proposals for Vatican II,' *Australasian Catholic Record* 65, no. 1 (1988): 62–77, at 65.

[16] Ryder, 'The Australian Bishops' Proposals for Vatican II,' 67. See the series by Jeffrey J. Murphy on the Australian bishops' participation in the sessions of the council in *Australasian Catholic Record* 79, nos. 1–4 (2002), and vol. 80, nos. 2 and 3 (2003).

[17] Vatican II, 'Gaudium et spes,' in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University, 1990), no. 2. Subsequent references will be placed in parentheses in the text.

[18] In developing a dialogical view, *Gaudium et Spes* Part 1 examines associated questions, including the shifting conditions of modernity, atheism, and views of freedom. This chapter's limits prohibit consideration of these associated questions.

a political actor, the Church seeks to be of service to the broader human community (GS 42). Importantly, this dialogue is reciprocal: the Church has much to learn. It has already received much 'from the history and development of the human race' and must 'listen to the various voices of our day … so that the revealed truth can be increasingly appropriated, better understood and more suitably expressed' (GS 44). Only through such listening, facilitated by the Holy Spirit, can the Church faithfully proclaim the gospel.

Gaudium et Spes's second metaphor is that of the church 'reading the signs of the times.' This metaphor emphasizes the historicity of human existence and of salvation. The Church fulfills its role by being open to the action of the Holy Spirit in history and by leading humanity to recognize that history finds its fullest meaning in Christ.

3. Reception of *Gaudium et Spes*'s Teaching in Australia

Gaudium et Spes's teaching on the Church–world relationship has been received at many levels of Australian ecclesial life. The focus here is reception on two levels: in the work of Catholic theologians and in the life of one archdiocese.

3.1. *Reception by Catholic Theologians*

After the council, theologians set about exploring the implications of this new vision, and theological journals provided a conduit for their endeavours. *The Australasian Catholic Record* (ACR), a quarterly founded in 1896 with a readership primarily of priests and religious, carried articles on elements of *Gaudium et Spes*'s vision, such as on the concepts of culture, mission, and secularization. Yet, ACR's major contribution to the dialogue that *Gaudium et Spes* envisaged may be as a forum for analysis of Catholic responses to particular social questions. For example: one issue of the journal from 1976 carried a series of articles on immigration, written by Bishop John Heaps, theologian Norman Pettit, and Australian politicians Al Grassby (Labor) and Michael MacKellar (Liberal). ACR's first issue of 1991 contained five articles on 'Care for the Earth as a Christian Responsibility,' and the third issue that year contained six articles on 'The Economy,' including those by Michael Costigan, Robert Fitzgerald, and Fr John Hill. Individual articles offering a theological analysis of social issues are scattered throughout issues of the journal,

with Fr Frank Fletcher, MSC, and Fr John Wilcken, SJ, each contributing several on Aboriginal spirituality.

Within 18 months of the council's close, the Australian province of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart founded *Compass: A Review of Topical Theology*, a quarterly journal for an educated lay audience, with articles of an accessible length on pivotal social and ecclesial questions. Almost two decades later, a group of Melbourne Catholic theologians founded *Pacifica*, which aimed to publish the highest-quality ecumenical theological scholarship. The contextual and engaged nature of the work it sought to publish is summed up in its first editorial: 'The point of *Pacifica* is a fresh peace—between peoples, churches, religions, and theological styles—not cheap peace, but the peace of Christ which may embrace and transform conflict.'[19]

Perhaps the most extended theological reception of *Gaudium et Spes*'s dialogical view of the Church–world relationship is contained in the 21 volumes of the Faith and Culture Series, published by the Catholic Institute of Sydney. While conceived in 1977 as a vehicle for faculty members' research, with individual volumes reflecting that disciplinary breadth, the primary purpose of the series, is, in the words of one of its founders, David Coffey, 'making theology a real issue in Australian society.'[20] Indeed, historian Edmund Campion proposed the following title for an initial volume: '"Retreat from Romanità: Towards a Polyvalent Church." Seriously.'[21]

Moral theologian and Sydney priest Neil Brown was the most significant contributor to the series. He edited many of the volumes and was sole author of three, yet his keen interest in the relationship between Church and world, faith and culture, is what makes his contribution especially valuable. In an early volume, his editorial on the task of theology emphasized the contextual nature of Christian faith and, therefore, the requirement of 'using all the available cultural resources' to inquire into the mystery of faith.[22]

[19] John Honner, 'Editorial,' *Pacifica* 1, no. 1 (1988): iii–iv, at iv. *Pacifica* ceased publication in October 2017. For an account of its first 25 years, see John Honner, '*Pacifica*: Genesis and Progress of a Journal,' *Pacifica* 23, no. 3 (2012): 296–310.

[20] David Coffey, memo to Neil Brown, July 1977, Catholic Institute of Sydney Archives.

[21] Edmund Campion, memo to Neil Brown, 8 July 1977, Catholic Institute of Sydney Archives.

[22] Neil Brown, 'Introduction: The Task of Theology in Australia,' in *Essays in Faith and Culture*, ed. Neil Brown, Faith and Culture Series vol. 3 (Manly, NSW: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1979), 1–4, at 2.

Brown's sharpest, most extended study of *Gaudium* et *Spes*'s conception of the relationship between Church and culture is his essay in the volume celebrating Australia's Bicentenary.[23] There, he critiques the council's view, arguing that it assumes that Church and culture are two separate, even though connected, elements: 'There is little awareness that the transcendence of faith can only be given expression in some particular cultural context.'[24] The major part of Brown's essay identifies 11 implications of what he calls an incarnational approach to this 'imaginative exchange' between faith and culture. His fourth implication identifies the contextual nature of the dialogue: "In practice this means the constant search both to understand and to describe with increasing accuracy the network of interactions, assumptions, interrelationships and beliefs which underpins one's own culture and to devise more appropriate ways to interpret and to shape the world according to the gospel message."[25] That is, a refined understanding of culture must be the context for a detailed elaboration of the gospel message.[26]

Yet, serious reflection about the Church–world relationship occurs not only in the academic realm but also in the public square. And in the Australian public square, the most prominent voice adopting *Gaudium et Spes*'s dialogical mode has been that of Jesuit priest and lawyer Frank Brennan. Since 1975, he has brought a religious perspective to bear on contested social issues including land rights for Indigenous Peoples; reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians; the rights of refugees and asylum seekers; respect for the dignity of same-sex couples; and religious freedom and freedom of conscience.[27] Alongside his impressive intellectual and communicative gifts, Brennan's capacity

[23] Neil Brown, 'Church, Culture and Australian Society,' in *Faith and Culture: Bicentennial Reflections*, eds. Margaret Press and Neil Brown, Faith and Culture Series vol. 14 (Manly, NSW: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1988), 45–63.

[24] Brown, 'Church, Culture and Australian Society,' 47.

[25] Brown, 'Church, Culture and Australian Society,' 50–51.

[26] For my work on this relationship, see McEvoy, *Leaving Christendom for Good*; 'Proclamation as Dialogue,' *Theological Studies* 70, no. 4 (2009): 875–903; and 'The Conversation's the Thing: The Gospel in Australian Culture,' *Australasian Catholic Record* 93, no. 1 (2016): 68–80.

[27] For essays on the Church's response to these issues, see Frank Brennan, SJ, *Amplifying that Still, Small Voice* (Adelaide: ATF Theology, 2015). See also Frank Brennan, SJ, *No Small Change: The Road to Recognition for Indigenous Australia* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland, 2015); Brennan, *Tampering with Asylum*, rev. ed. (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland, 2007); and Brennan, *Acting on Conscience: How Can We Responsibly Mix Law, Religion and Politics?* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland, 2007).

for strategizing in the political sphere has made him a powerful advocate. So much so that former Prime Minister Paul Keating notoriously labelled him a 'meddling priest' in response to Brennan's successful advocacy with a minor-party senator to amend the *Native Title Amendment Bill 1997* and support the interests of Indigenous Australians following the *Wik* judgement of the High Court of Australia.[28]

Brennan sees himself as a 'human rights practitioner rather than a theologian,'[29] and the scale of his public advocacy confirms that judgment. Nonetheless, he articulates a view of the Church's engagement with rights discourse that is informed by both fine theological scholarship and a sure grasp of political and legal philosophy.[30] He is committed to the promotion of human rights because it is 'the contemporary language for embracing and the modern means of achieving respect and dignity for all.'[31] Yet, he is keenly aware of the individualizing tendency of rights language and sees an indispensable role for the Church in the dialogue about rights:

> Once [societies] abandon any religious sense that the human person is created in the image and likeness of God and that God has commissioned even the powerful to act justly, to love tenderly and walk humbly, it may be very difficult to maintain a human rights commitment to the weakest and most vulnerable in society. It may come down to the vote, moral sentiment or tribal affiliations. And that will not be enough to extend human rights universally.[32]

3.2. *Reception in the Australian Church*

Gaudium et Spes's dialogical approach to the world provided a powerful new context for every aspect of post-conciliar ecclesial life. While for some clergy and laity the Christendom worldview endured with its adversarial approach to the world, even these had to adjust to the council's recognition of individual conscience and the dignity of people of other churches and faiths. As O'Farrell observes: 'The effects of all this [the

[28] See Frank Brennan, 'Mixing Law, Religion and Politics' (lecture, Australian Catholic University, North Sydney, 21 Sept. 2005).

[29] Frank Brennan, 'The Church's View on Human Rights' (lecture, International Congress of the Dominicans in the Promotion and Defence of Human Rights: Past, Present, Future, Salamanca, Spain, 2 Sept. 2016).

[30] Brennan has held several significant academic posts, including Professor of Human Rights and Social Justice at Australian Catholic University (2005–2015) and Gasson Professor at Boston College Law School (2014–2015).

[31] Brennan, 'The Church's View on Human Rights.'

[32] Brennan, 'The Church's View on Human Rights.'

council's sweeping changes] were at first liberating and exhilarating, a time of hope; soon, however, came also dispute, unsettlement and confusion.'[33] I have noted above that receiving this new view of the Church's place in the world entailed two interrelated activities: a deepening appropriation of the council's dialogical vision and the task of 'inventing' the institutions and social practices through which that vision could be embodied.

This section will outline the efforts of one archdiocese to appropriate the council's vision up until the turn of the millennium; it will highlight how that diocese learned from the social context and how this had shaped ecclesial life. Yet *Gaudium et Spes*'s dialogical vision permeated every aspect of ecclesial life, with a vivid example being its impact on religious life. In 1977, at the First National Assembly of the Institute of the Sisters of Mercy of Australia, Adelaide sister Monica Marks gave a major presentation on the 'Social Dimension of the Vows.'[34] She recalled how the poor of Dublin were the catalyst for Catherine McAuley's vocation: 'You could say the Mercy Order was founded precisely to meet the social needs of 19th century Ireland.'[35] From this contextual focus, Marks recalled how the promulgation of *Gaudium et Spes* had inspired her own sense of vocation.

> I can still remember the joyful echo in my own heart and the good feeling of liberation when *Gaudium et spes* came out. 'The joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of people of our time….'
>
> It was, and still is, a kind of charter for the church I could really feel I belonged to, and for the religious life I could at last affirm at the heart of the church in my following of Christ. We were to identify with all that was genuinely human; to be open, in loving humble dialogue to the voices coming to us from the world; to discern these signs of the times in the light of the gospel, to articulate *in our lives* the values hidden in the confused aspirations of the people around us; and thus work, from within, for a more just society, in a real making present of God's loving mercy in our world.[36]

[33] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 406.

[34] On the Adelaide Sisters of Mercy, see Anne McLay, *Women on the Move: Mercy's Triple Spiral* (Adelaide: Sisters of Mercy, 1996).

[35] Monica Marks, RSM, 'Social Dimension of the Vows,' *First National Assembly: 1977* (conference papers, no pagination; emphasis in original). Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide Archives.

[36] Marks, 'Social Dimension of the Vows.'

The sixth Archbishop of Adelaide (1971–85), James Gleeson, appointed auxiliary bishop in 1957 and coadjutor archbishop in 1964, attended the first, third, and fourth sessions of the council. He was unaware of the theological foment in Europe prior to the council and regarded the council's preparatory documents as of a piece with his own view of the Church.[37] Yet, the council proved an experience of conversion for him, and its implementation became the lodestar for his ministry. Early in 1966, he mounted a series of Sunday evening instructions at the cathedral promoting 'the formation of a Council conscience.'[38]

Vatican II provided Gleeson with the fundamental vision for both diocesan renewal and his contribution to the public square. He promoted the formation of the first diocesan pastoral council in 1968 as a major consultative body. The renewing fervour extended to the final years of his episcopacy. Advised by a task force commissioned to discern the needs of the archdiocese, he announced a program in June 1981 which was 'to encourage the ongoing formation and renewal of all members of the church in the Archdiocese of Adelaide, to seek to understand "the joys and hopes, the fears and anxieties" of the laity, religious and clergy, to strengthen apostolic commitment of the archdiocesan "family".'[39] This Diocesan Pastoral Renewal program (1983–88) ran under a coordinating committee led by David Shinnick.[40] In a position paper for the program, theologian Denis Edwards set out *Lumen Gentium*'s vision of the Church as the sacrament of salvation—of God's liberation of the world. Yet, the context for this ecclesiology was *Gaudium et Spes*'s view of the world as the place of God's liberating action: 'God's salvation transcends the boundaries of the church and reaches out to all men and women of all places. The liberation of Jesus Christ, mediated to us in and through the church, is not confined to the church but already touches the whole of human life.'[41]

The council's vision impelled Gleeson into the public square. O'Farrell observes that 'Gleeson, through his role in the Justice and Peace Commission [of the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference], furthered the task of Catholic social criticism in a fashion so forthright and public as

[37] See Robert Rice, 'James William Gleeson: Archbishop of Adelaide' (PhD diss., Flinders University, 2019), 84.

[38] Rice, 'James William Gleeson,' 92 (citing Gleeson).

[39] Rice, 'James William Gleeson,' 274.

[40] See Paul K. Hawkes, *Prophetic Pastoral Leadership: The Adelaide Archdiocesan Pastoral Team 1986–2001* (Calwell, ACT: Inspiring, 2018), esp. 28–33.

[41] Denis Edwards, *The Vocation and Mission of the Baptised Christian* (Adelaide: DPR, 1987), 6.

to embarrass some of the more establishment-minded of his co-religionists.'[42] In an address opening the 1975 legal year, Gleeson cited *Gaudium et Spes*'s statement of Christians' sense of oneness with the whole human community (GS 1) and argued strongly that South Australian society must promote the common good (GS 26).[43] Later that year, he supported the movement to decriminalize homosexuality, stating with *Gaudium et Spes* that 'every type of discrimination, whether social or cultural, whether based on sex, race, color, social condition, language or religion,' must be rejected.[44] Other issues to which he responded were opposition to abortion (late 1960s), opposition to apartheid (1971), the United Nations Year to Combat Racism (1971), the end of the internment campaign in Northern Ireland (1974), and a critique of Australians' attitudes to the Indigenous Peoples (1972). Gleeson's biographer, Robert Rice, summarizes: 'Gleeson possessed a broad awareness of the forces shaping society and of the need for Christians to endeavor to influence these forces so that the common good might be achieved.'[45]

Commitment to the Diocesan Pastoral Renewal program continued with Gleeson's successor, Leonard Faulkner, who was archbishop from 1985 to 2001.[46] As the program concluded in 1988, a proposal emerged for a new form of diocesan and episcopal leadership in light of the ecclesiological developments of Vatican II. In response, Faulkner instituted a diocesan pastoral team, which opened diocesan governance to both female and lay involvement. The team consisted of four members: Archbishop Faulkner, a priest vicar general, a religious sister, and a lay woman. Besides the archbishop, the membership turned over in three periods: 1986–94, 1994–98, and 1999–2001. While this new structure was inspired by Vatican II's ecclesiology, it was also 'invented' in response to one of *Gaudium et Spes*'s signs of the times: the post-1960s movement to recognize the equal dignity of women.[47] In a book-length study of the diocesan pastoral team, Paul Hawkes charts the imaginative

[42] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 419.

[43] Rice, 'James William Gleeson,' 172.

[44] Rice, 'James William Gleeson,' 188 (citing GS 29).

[45] Rice, 'James William Gleeson,' 199.

[46] While the DPR was a source of life in the diocese, it generated some opposition, primarily voiced in the magazine founded by Santamaria, *AD2000*. On the 1985 Diocesan Assembly, see Michael Gilchrist, *New Church or True Church* (Ormond, Melbourne: John XXIII Fellowship, 1987), 222–27.

[47] See Denis Edwards, 'The Movement towards Equality and Participation,' *The Church: Sign of Salvation* (address to the 1985 Adelaide Diocesan Assembly), 2. For Faulkner's ecclesiology, see his extended Pastoral Letters: 'Community for the World' (1988), on communion and mission; and 'Basic Ecclesial Communities' (1994).

and courageous contributions of the team members, particularly of the religious and lay women, and argues that the type of leadership that the team offered was of the deliberative kind.[48] It is hard to overestimate the vigour that this leadership model fostered throughout the diocese and the hope it promised for the future.

The story of the Adelaide archdiocese is one account of a local Church seeking to embrace *Gaudium et Spes*'s vision of the Church's relationship with the world. The limits of this chapter prohibit accounts of the reception in other dioceses, and an overview of the Australian reception would wildly exceed these limits. Not that the reception has been uniform across Australia; it has not. While the Australian character tends to be 'laid back' (as we say), and most dioceses have welcomed the teaching of *Gaudium et Spes*, some bishops engaged with social issues and political leaders in the polarizing fashion that belongs more to the 19th century than to the second half of the 20th. Perhaps the most prominent of these voices in the Australian Church has been that of Cardinal George Pell (1941–2023). A priest of the rural diocese of Ballarat, he was appointed Archbishop of Melbourne (1996–2001), Archbishop of Sydney (2001–14), and Cardinal in 2003.

Pell accepted the pluralist democracy of the post-Enlightenment West and acknowledged that acceptance came slowly from the leadership of the Catholic Church.[49] He saw Catholics contributing to democratic societies in two primary ways: first, by respecting the democratic process and promoting its functioning; and second, by contributing to matters of public debate from a Christian perspective.[50]

Yet, he engaged in public debate in a brusque fashion. In an article on the role of conscience—an intra-ecclesial issue with broad implications—Pell polemicizes against Catholics who see conscience as 'primarily a mark of individual autonomy,' understood as a purely negative freedom, and argues for the objective nature of moral truth.[51] It is true that in a culture influenced by 'soft relativism,'[52] the action of conscience can be trivialized and the objective nature of truth denied—and Pell clearly had

[48] Hawkes, *Prophetic Pastoral Leadership*, esp. ch. 5.

[49] See Cardinal George Pell, 'Catholicism and Democracy,' *God and Caesar*, ed. M.A. Casey (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 2007), 52–67. See also Pell, *Be Not Afraid*, ed. Tess Livingstone (Sydney, NSW: Duffy and Snellgrove, 2004).

[50] Pell, 'Catholicism and Democracy,' 65.

[51] George Cardinal Pell, 'The Inconvenient Conscience,' *First Things* no. 153 (2005): 22–26, at 23.

[52] Charles Taylor, *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

this trivialization in his sights. Yet he did not consider how, through faithful discernment, a Catholic might decide that a certain moral teaching could not be followed, given current circumstances. For example, although he raises the issue of contraception, he does not consider that a couple with several children and financial and health pressures could faithfully discern that they were unable to fulfil the Church's teaching on contraception. He neglects the subjective dimension of conscience, through which alone Church teaching can be appropriated. Church teaching does not interpret itself; it can be lived only through the subjective process of discernment. Pell's blanket statement seems to cover all matters: 'In other words, a Catholic conscience cannot accept a settled position against the church, at least on a central moral teaching.'[53] Not too far below the surface of this argument lies a judgment about the corruption of post-1960s Western culture and the need for the Church to oppose this liberalizing tendency. Indeed, his penultimate paragraph paints that picture exactly:

> For some decades after the Second Vatican Council, the more popular theologians overestimated, in their enthusiasm for *aggiornamento*, the ability of Catholic culture to survive outside the ghettos that were rapidly being abandoned and dismantled. Those same theologians typically underestimated the malignancy of many streams of thought in the contemporary West. This naïveté, this artless simplicity, still survives among older Catholics, but it has almost vanished among younger committed Catholics.[54]

4. Dimensions of the Need for a Deeper Reception

Gaudium et Spes's dialogical approach to the Church–world relationship marks a watershed in the Church's self-understanding. While inspired and immensely promising, the vision itself was only the beginning—it had to find expression in ecclesial life. This chapter has proposed that two elements have been integral to that reception: a deepening understanding of the vision itself, and the task of 'inventing' the practices and institutions through which the vision could be embodied.

Receiving *Gaudium et Spes*'s dialogical approach is, by definition, an ongoing task. New social contexts will require the Church to 'listen to the various voices of [the] day, discerning them and interpreting them,

[53] Pell, 'The Inconvenient Conscience,' 22.
[54] Pell, 'The Inconvenient Conscience,' 26.

and to evaluate them in the light of the divine word' (GS 44). A deeper reception of this dialogical vision will demand ongoing reflection about the relationship itself and what dialogue entails for the Church. A deeper reception would be advanced by prophetic figures like Frank Brennan engaging in a nuanced fashion in the public sphere on matters of law, society, and politics from the perspective of the Catholic tradition. It would be advanced by courageous Church leaders like James Gleeson fearlessly voicing the Church's social teaching.

Yet, perhaps the present-day phenomenon that promises most for a deeper reception of this vision is Pope Francis's promotion of synodality.[55] In seeing synodality as a 'constitutive element of the church,' and in committing to build a synodal Church,[56] Francis is fostering the institutional structures capable of embodying the type of dialogue envisaged in *Gaudium et Spes*. Synods, plenary councils, and diocesan assemblies are means by which the whole Church can discern the various voices of the day in the light of God's word. Ecclesial life operating in a synodal mode would involve the entire community in reading the signs of the times and finding fresh expression for the gospel.

[55] See esp. Pope Francis, 'Address at the Ceremony Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Institution of the Synod of Bishops,' Paul VI Audience Hall, Vatican, 17 Oct. 2015: http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/october/documents/papa-francesco_20151017_50-anniversario-sinodo.html.

[56] Pope Francis, 'Address at the Ceremony Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary.'

‘JOYS AND HOPES, GRIEFS AND ANXIETIES’ IN AUSTRALIAN CATHOLICISM

SANDIE CORNISH

This chapter begins by recalling the context in which *Gaudium et Spes* was received in Australia: a long economic boom; the post-war migrations; non-recognition of First Peoples; and the role of B.A. Santamaria and the Catholic Social Studies Movement in splitting the Australian Labor Party and dividing the Catholic community. Next, the split reception of *Gaudium et Spes* in Australia is described, contrasting reception by the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference through its national social justice structures with the emergence of other credible Catholic voices on social justice issues. Finally, the paper considers the urgent needs of today. Francis’s retrieval and renewal of the teaching of the council is addressing the most urgent issues of our time—the climate emergency and migration—but Church teaching has yet to engage adequately with the diversity of family life, to reflect the full personhood of women, and to address racism as a structure of sin.

1. THE LUCKY COUNTRY: AUSTRALIA ON THE EVE OF VATICAN II

Following the Great Depression and the Second World War, Australia enjoyed a long period of relative peace and prosperity. Inflation and interest rates were low, and there was full employment. Working people could save and buy their own home. Marriages and birth rates were booming, and Catholics were moving into the expanding middle classes.

1.1. *Migration*

An ambitious post-war migration programme aimed to increase Australia’s population, allowing non-British immigrants for the first time since the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901. Large numbers of Greek, Italian, Polish, German, and Dutch immigrants settled in Australia and were expected to assimilate rather than retain their own languages and cultures.

By November 1955, the one millionth participant in the post-war migration scheme had arrived.[1]

The arguments for a larger population presented in the Catholic bishops' Social Justice Sunday Statements of 1940 to 1966 reflect the Australian national security thinking of the time, alongside a Christian cosmopolitanism; compassion for the displaced, needy, and persecuted; and a commitment to the universal destination of goods.[2] Racial prejudice is not far from the surface of many of these statements, but they also moved beyond community attitudes of their time.[3]

1.2. *First Peoples*

Meanwhile, the First Peoples—the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples—were not counted in the census of the population and did not have full citizenship rights in their own land. Many lived in poverty in rural and regional Australia and on the fringes of the big cities. Through a system of settlements, including missions run by various churches, and state-appointed 'protectors' of Aboriginal people, the state controlled where First Peoples could live and who they could marry.[4] They were not paid equal wages for equal work. Sometimes wages were withheld completely and held in trusts. In 2020, a class action against the Queensland state government to recover these stolen wages was finally settled.[5] Children were removed from First Peoples families to be raised in white families and institutions, including institutions run by the Catholic

[1] Australian Children's Television Foundation, My Place for Teachers, https://myplace.edu.au/decades_timeline/decade/1950.

[2] See, for example, 'Australia's Bold Adventure, Social Justice Statement 1957,' in *Justice Now! Social Justice Statements of the Australian Catholic Bishops 1940–1966*, ed. Michael Hogan (Sydney: Department of Government and Public Administration, University of Sydney, 1990), 187: 'The experience of war radically changed this attitude [opposition to immigration]. Almost overnight all sections of the community accepted the obvious truth that our postwar population was hopelessly inadequate to the future tasks of developing our vast continent and holding it in security … Moreover national sentiment was stirred to a deep sympathy for the masses of displaced and homeless victims of the European war.'

[3] See, for example, 'Pattern for Peace,' in Hogan, *Justice Now!* 42.

[4] Deadly Story is a cultural information website to support Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and young people in the Victorian out-of-home care system to connect with their country, their communities, and their Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture and identity. This page explains the system of reserves: https://www.deadlystory.com/page/culture/history/Creation_of_reserve_system.

[5] Stolen Wages Class Action, https://www.stolenwages.com.au/the-class-action.html.

Church. They have become known as the Stolen Generations.[6] The aim of the policy was to assimilate Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people so they would become indistinguishable from the general population.

The Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, which was formed in 1958, played a leading role in the 'yes' campaign for the 1967 referendum which led to First People being counted in the census and securing the right to vote.

1.3. *The Crusade against Communism and the Split*

The Cold War cast a long shadow over Australian politics and society, and the spread of communism in Southeast Asia contributed to a racially charged sense of an external threat.[7] Compulsory military training for young men was reintroduced in 1951 until 1959. Australia sent troops to the Korean War and the Vietnam War. As the arms race escalated, the British government was allowed to conduct nuclear tests at Woomera and Maralinga.

The Australian Labor Party (ALP) was established by the trade union movement as a democratic socialist party. Tensions within the party between those who supported communism and those who opposed it grew in the post-war period. Eventually, there was a major split, and the breakaway Democratic Labour Party was formed in 1955.

Clerical and lay Catholic leaders of the anti-communist Catholic Social Studies Movement (the movement) and Catholic Action, especially B.A. (Bob) Santamaria, played a key role in this split.[8] The Australian Catholic bishops' annual social justice statements from 1941 to 1955 reflect Santamaria's obsession with combatting communism.[9] The bishops 'endorsed the formation of a national organization to combat

[6] The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies provides an explanation of the history of removals, their eventual acknowledgement, and the apology by the Australian government: https://aiatsis.gov.au/stolen-generations.

[7] Neville Meaney. 'The End of "White Australia" and Australia's Changing Perceptions of Asia, 1945–1990,' *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 49, no. 2 (1995): 171–89, at 177, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10357719508445155.

[8] Bruce Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy: Catholics and the Anti-Communist Struggle in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2001); Bruce Duncan and Sandie Cornish, 'The Council's Call to Renewed Social Engagement,' in *Vatican II: Reception and Implementation in the Australian Church*, eds. Neil Ormerod, Ormond Rush, David Pascoe, Clare Johnson, and Joel Hodge (Mulgrave, Vic.: Garratt, 2012), 97–116.

[9] Hogan, *Justice Now!* 3–4.

communism in the unions and elsewhere under the direction of Santamaria, who was accountable to a committee of bishops.'[10] Santamaria believed that he was acting in the name of the bishops and therefore that loyal Catholics ought to follow his political directions.[11] Duncan observes that the movement was the 'mirror image' of the Communist party 'in terms of passionate social concern, disenchantment with "unjust" capitalism, organizational structure and "democratic centralism", conspiratorial methods and secrecy, a sense of apocalyptic struggle, messianism, and a conviction about the historical role of the "party" and of its leader.'[12]

The movement used the cover of Catholic Action, as Santamaria was also head of the National Secretariat of Catholic Action.[13] Other lay movements, notably the Young Christian Workers, rejected the notion that they should follow the political directives of others rather than deciding their own positions and actions.[14] At stake was an understanding of the role of the Church in political life and of a legitimate diversity of Catholic positions on social and political action options.

The movement's attempt to take policy control of the ALP split the bishops, the Catholic Church more broadly, and many Catholic families, as well as the ALP itself.[15] In 1956, Cardinal Gilroy appealed to Pope Pius XII for a resolution, and in 1957 the verdict came down against Santamaria. The trauma of these events left the energy for the social dimension of mission depleted for many years.

2. Reception of *Gaudium et Spes*

In 1964, conscription was introduced once more, and in 1965, legislation allowed the Australian government, for the first time, to send national servicemen overseas. Conscripts were sent to Vietnam.[16] Thus, *Gaudium et Spes* arrived amid large demonstrations against conscription

[10] Duncan and Cornish, 'The Council's Call to Renewed Social Engagement,' 99.
[11] Duncan and Cornish, 'The Council's Call to Renewed Social Engagement,' 100.
[12] Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy*, 387.
[13] Duncan and Cornish, 'The Council's Call to Renewed Social Engagement,' 99.
[14] Duncan and Cornish, 'The Council's Call to Renewed Social Engagement,' 100.
[15] Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy*, 244–61.
[16] Australian War Memorial, 'Conscription,' https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/encyclopedia/conscription.

and Australian involvement in the Vietnam War in major cities around Australia. At the same time, second-wave feminism was beginning to develop within this anti-war movement in Australia.[17]

While the split was a major setback for Catholic justice efforts in Australia, *Gaudium et Spes* provided a way forward; it encouraged dialogue and working with others rather than an adversarial approach. Its acknowledgement of the origins of communism in a desire for social justice resonated with the lived experience of socialism in Australia and its influence within the labour movement. *Gaudium et Spes*'s distinction between an ideology, the historical movements to which it gives rise, and their dynamic development was far more perceptive and sophisticated than the approach of the movement.

We will consider how the concerns and approach of *Gaudium et Spes* were received through the social justice structures of the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference before reflecting on the emergence of other credible Catholic voices grounded in a different reception of *Gaudium et Spes*.

2.1. *A National Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace*

The Australian bishops established a national Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) in response to Pope Paul VI's encouragement of local bodies mirroring his Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace.[18] The CCJP's membership and staff were predominantly lay people, and its priorities, positions, and approach were unapologetically efforts to enact the teachings of the council.[19] It addressed at the national level almost all of the 'urgent needs' identified by *Gaudium et Spes* apart from marriage and the family (GS 46). It also tackled one of Australia's most urgent needs not addressed by *Gaudium et Spes* in a substantive way: justice for First Peoples.

[17] See, for example, former Senator and Age Discrimination Commissioner Susan Ryan's first-person account of these times: https://humanrights.gov.au/about/news/speeches/brigidine-college-address-2nd-wave-feminism.

[18] The CCJP was created in 1969 and was initially part of Australian Catholic Relief (now known as Caritas Australia); it became an independent body in 1972. Sandie Cornish and David Freeman, 'Connecting Catholic Social Teaching to Contemporary Australia,' in *Catholic Social Teaching in Global Perspective*, ed. Daniel McDonald (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2010), 86.

[19] Duncan and Cornish, 'Connecting Catholic Social Teaching to Contemporary Australia,' 86–87.

Santamaria and his followers saw the council and its approach as naïve and as a betrayal of anti-communist defenders of the faith. He actively opposed the CCJP and many other efforts to receive and respond to the Second Vatican Council.

The bishops' annual Social Justice Sunday Statements had petered out in the wake of the split and the commencement of the Second Vatican Council.[20] The tradition was revived in 1972. While the statements were issued with the authority of the bishops' conference, authorship was often attributed to the CCJP itself.[21] The standard attribution indicated that the statement had been approved by the Bishops' Committee for Development and Peace but acknowledged a diversity of views within the Church.[22] This was intended to align with *Gaudium et Spes*'s appeal to Christians to 'recognize that various legitimate though conflicting views can be held concerning the regulation of temporal affairs' and the need to respect one's 'fellow citizens when they promote such views honorably even by group action' (GS 75).

Both the positions adopted by the CCJP and its right to speak were contested inside and outside the Church. Opponents questioned the status of the CCJP's statements, which were not always clearly backed by the bishops, who themselves remained divided. Santamaria and his allies 'attacked the CCJP as being partisan and left-wing, indeed propounding Marxist ideology.'[23] Others claimed that the CCJP's positions did not represent the views of the majority of the Catholic community. The rise of the New Right during the 1980s saw open hostility from some Catholic politicians and businesspeople to positions of the CCJP on the role and functioning of the economy that were firmly grounded in Catholic Social Teaching.

Hogan believes the 1985 Social Justice Statement *Work for a Just Peace* sealed the CCJP's fate.[24] Despite its strong foundation in Scripture and Catholic Social Teaching, Bishop Mayne, who had responsibility for the military ordinariate, resigned from the CCJP over the statement, and there was public division among the bishops.[25] Concerned by divisions

[20] Michael Hogan, ed., *Option for the Poor: Annual Social Justice Statements of the Australian Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace 1973–1987* (Sydney: Department of Government and Public Administration, University of Sydney, 1992), 1.

[21] Hogan, *Justice Now!* 3.

[22] Reproduced in Hogan, *Justice Now!*

[23] Duncan and Cornish, 'The Council's Call to Renewed Social Engagement,' 102.

[24] Hogan, *Justice Now!* 4.

[25] Hogan, *Justice Now!* 4.

in the Catholic community, and hoping to promote unity, the bishops reviewed their structures, turning for inspiration to the US bishops' approach to the development of statements.

2.2. *The Nestor Review*

Monsignor James Nestor's review of the bishops' justice, development, and peace structures suggested that the CCJP's approach was a response to, and expression of, the Second Vatican Council for which the Australian community was not yet prepared. He concluded that the bishops needed to play a more direct and visible leadership role and to remove the ambiguity of the status of statements about social justice, because in the public perception, 'the voice of the Church at national and local level is most authentically presented by the bishop' but it would 'not necessarily be so in the future.'[26]

2.3. *Lay Advice and Bishops' Teaching*

In a retreat from lay co-responsibility for the voice and the action of the Church in the world, the CCJP was replaced by a predominantly lay advisory council, the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council (ACSJC), and an expanded committee of bishops with its own secretariat.

The Bishops' Committee for Justice, Development and Peace (BCJDP) conducted three large public consultations modelled on those of the US bishops' conference. They were intended to provide opportunities for the laity to participate in the development of pastoral statements, which it was expected would then have broad support from members of the Church.

These consultative processes were more lengthy, expensive, and controversial than anticipated. For example, public hearings and written submissions for the bishops' Inquiry into the Distribution of Wealth in Australia attracted overtly political behaviour, with bishops and officials being lobbied both publicly and privately. Many thought that the resulting pastoral statement should reflect the view of the majority of those making representations. Far from resulting in wider acceptance of the bishops' teachings among the Catholic community, the consultation process

[26] James Nestor, 'Report of Review of Episcopal Initiatives for the Promotion of Education for Justice, Peace and Development,' *CCJP Occasional Paper*, special ed. (Sydney, 1987), 4–5.

publicly reprised the fixed positions and conflicts that had surrounded the CCJP.[27]

The last significant consultation by the bishops on a social justice issue was a social research project undertaken in partnership with the Australian Catholic University and the then Australian Conference of Leaders of Religious Institutes. It investigated the participation of women in the Catholic Church in Australia, resulting in a major research report and a Social Justice Sunday Statement in which the bishops announced nine action commitments, including the establishment of the Commission for Australian Catholic Women.[28]

In 2006, the Commission for Australian Catholic Women was downgraded from a commission with a mandate to act independently—it became an advisory council called the Bishops' Conference's Office for the Participation of Women—to a commission comprised of bishops.

In 2002, concern for ecology gave rise to a Social Justice Sunday Statement on the environment, and the BCJDP became the Bishops Committee for Justice, Development, Ecology and Peace (BCJDEP). Catholic Earthcare Australia was established as an executive agency of the bishops' conference accountable to the BCJDEP. It, too, retraced parts of the CCJP's journey.

The initial membership of Catholic Earthcare included prominent members of some political parties, and it was inevitably accused of party-political bias. Its mandate was revised to research, education, networking, and providing advice to the bishops. Catholic Earthcare was later placed under the governance of Caritas Australia while remaining a separate entity; in 2020, it became a programme of Caritas Australia.

Following a regular review of bishops' conference structures in 2018, the ACSJC Secretariat became the Office for Social Justice of the bishops' conference, responsible to the successor of the BCJDEP, the Bishops' Commission for Social Justice, Mission and Service. In 2020, the staff of the Office for Social Justice was reduced to one social justice officer, and in 2021 it was renamed the Office for Justice, Ecology and Peace.[29]

[27] Cornish and Freeman, 'Connecting Catholic Social Teaching to Contemporary Australia,' 93–94.

[28] Australian Catholic Bishops Conference, *Woman and Man: The Bishops Respond* – Social Justice Sunday Statement 2000, https://socialjustice.catholic.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Social-Justice-Statement-2000.pdf.

[29] Bishop Vincent Long, 'Making a New Way,' 6 Oct. 2020, https://socialjustice.catholic.org.au/2020/10/06/making-a-new-way.

2.4. *Another Strand of Reception among the Religious and Laity*

The religious institutes and laity responded differently to *Gaudium et Spes* compared to the bishops. The religious institutes took Vatican II to heart, returned to their founders, and embraced 'the call to be present at the heart of the world's greatest needs,' as one religious explains.[30] Many religious institutes held special chapters or congregations to consider their responses to Vatican II.[31] As Condon observes, religious women often 'outstripped the clergy in post-Vatican II education in theology, ecclesiology, and the Church's social justice teachings, and they pursued spiritual formation opportunities at every turn. They led the way in positively responding to Vatican II documents and the understanding of the church in the world that those documents proposed.'[32]

By the mid-1970s, religious women, whose institutes had established Catholic schools, hospitals, and social services across the continent, also began to ask questions about the role of the laity in these ministries and about the role of women in society and in the Church. They supported lay women through the services they provided, and in 1983, the Australian Conference of Major Superiors (whose members were predominantly women) founded the organization Women and the Australian Church to work for change.[33]

While trust in religious leaders has been deeply damaged by the scandal of the abuse of children and vulnerable adults in Catholic institutions,[34] religious women are understood to speak and act as Church and are generally held in high esteem by the community. They are respected because they speak from the authority of their close contact with people who are poor or marginalized. This is reflected in the number of religious women regularly recognized under the Australian Honours system for their work with disadvantaged or vulnerable groups, with women, and in education, health, and social services.

[30] Clare Condon, 'The Experience of Women Religious,' in *Still Listening to the Spirit: Woman and Man Twenty Years Later*, ed. Sandie Cornish and Andrea Dean (Canberra: Australian Catholic Bishops Conference, 2019), 22.

[31] Margaret Beirne, 'Old Habits Die Hard: The Experience of Australian Religious Women in the Wake of Vatican II,' in *Vatican II: Reception and Implementation in the Australian Church*, eds. Neil Ormerod, Ormond Rush, David Pascoe, Clare Johnson, and Joel Hodge (Mulgrave, Vic.: Garratt, 2012), 162.

[32] Condon, 'The Experience of Women Religious,' 22.

[33] Condon, 'The Experience of Women Religious,' 20–23.

[34] For example, the *Australia Talks Survey 2021* by the national broadcaster revealed that 70 per cent of Australians trust religious leaders either 'not at all' or 'not much': https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-12-10/australia-talks-data-explorer-2019/12946988#/responses/how-much-do-you-trust-each-of-the-following-religious-leaders.

Religious women in Australia have also led the development of new models of leadership and governance for church ministries, pioneering the use of Ministerial Public Juridical Persons. Their opening of leadership to lay people, and even handing over governance of works that they established to lay people, has itself been an act of reception of the teaching of Vatican II on the role of the laity.[35]

Ormerod notes that *Lumen Gentium* ushered in a baptismal theology of the People of God, stressed a universal call to holiness, and affirmed the specific vocation of the laity to 'seek the kingdom of God by engaging in temporal affairs and ordering them according to the plan of God.'[36] *Gaudium et Spes* reinforced the importance of the laity in the mission of the Church by focusing on the Church being in and for the world (see, for example, GS 2).

Increasingly, roles in education, health care, and social services, which had previously been undertaken by religious, were taken up by lay people, and former religious made a significant contribution as members of the first generation of lay leaders in these ministries.[37] By the 1980s and 1990s, lay people were prominent in the leadership of these ministries. By 2010, increasing numbers of these services were under the governance of predominantly lay boards, or trustees.

In the last two decades, Catholic health care, education, and social service organizations and networks have increasingly provided strong, respected Catholic voices in policy debates, whereas the voice of the bishops, and of their justice, ecology, and peace structures, has been more muted. The bishops have primarily engaged in policy debates concerning life issues narrowly conceived, rather than socio-economic issues.[38]

Today, peak organizations, such as Catholic Health Australia and Catholic Social Services Australia, and lay movements such as the St Vincent de Paul Society, are perceived by the public as speaking

[35] Sandie Cornish, 'Introduction,' in Sandie Cornish and Andrea Dean, eds., *Still Listening to the Spirit: Woman and Man Twenty Years Later* (Office for Social Justice, Australian Catholic Bishops Conference, 2019), xxv–xxxi, at xxvii.

[36] Neil Ormerod, 'The Laity in the Australian Church,' in *Vatican II: Reception and Implementation in the Australian Church*, eds. Neil Ormerod, Ormond Rush, David Pascoe, Clare Johnson, and Joel Hodge (Mulgrave, Vic.: Garratt, 2012), 64, quoting *Lumen Gentium* 31.

[37] Beirne, 'Old Habits Die Hard,' 167–68.

[38] Public engagement is now grouped with life and family issues rather than with social justice, mission, and service in the organization of the commissions of the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference. See https://www.catholic.org.au/commissions/bishops-commission-for-family-youth-and-life.

authoritatively for the Church—at least in relation to matters connected with the services they deliver—just as Nestor believed might come to pass. The credibility of these organizations in the community and with governments is grounded in their expert knowledge and in service of the poor and marginalized, rather than in formal authority or the nature of their connection with the Church hierarchy.

While the reception of *Gaudium et Spes* by the Australian bishops focused on authority to speak and act, structures, and public engagement, reception by the religious and laity focused on accompaniment and service; from these structures for leadership, governance and advocacy have emerged. The religious and laity embraced the turn to experience more deeply than the bishops did.

3. Urgent Needs Today

New needs continue to arise in the areas of marriage and family life; economic, social, and political life; and peace. Today, the climate emergency and unprecedented levels of human mobility affect all of these spheres.

3.1. *Marriage and the Family Link Personal and Social Morality*

While Church teaching on marriage and the family tends to apply concepts of an ideal-typical family to reality, Catholic Social Teaching must start from the lived reality of family life, in all its diversity and messiness—and the two branches of teaching need to connect. For example, Cruz points out that the presumption of nuclear families is a Western view, and she highlights the growing number of transnational families.[39]

The role of civil law in relation to marriage and family life in pluralist societies must also be addressed. Many Australians saw the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference's opposition to the civil law recognition of same-sex marriage as an illegitimate effort to impose Catholic sexual morality on non-Catholics through its integration into civil law. Only one Australian Catholic bishop publicly supported the change to marriage laws, saying:

[39] Gemma Tulud Cruz, 'Tradition in Liberation: Women, the Transnational Family and *Caritas in Veritate*,' *Feminist Theology* 24, no. 1 (2015).

> in a society where same-sex relationships are legal and gay couples can adopt and raise children, it's a bit of a legal anomaly that their relationship itself doesn't have a clear legal status. The church couldn't recognise a same-sex union as a marriage, except in the limited sense of 'a marriage according to Australian law'. But this is true of many marriages … The church doesn't regard these as valid marriages, but we make no bones about the state giving them civil legal status. The question about any proposed law is not whether it squares with church teaching or a moral ideal, but whether it is a good practical rule for people living in this society at this time. Such a 'common good' argument can be made that, in our pluralist society, it does more for community peace and harmony for gay couples to have a place in the recognised structures than for them to be excluded.[40]

Furthermore, we now know that not everyone is simply male or female. Intersex people may not feature in the Genesis narratives, and they were not acknowledged in *Gaudium et Spes*, but they exist, and their bodies are God given, not a choice. What is God saying to us through them?

3.2. *Women Are Human Persons*

The bishops' research into the participation of women in the Church in Australia found that many women felt that the Church was lagging behind Australian society in recognizing their human dignity and equality with men. There have been advances in relation to some of the issues uncovered by the research, but little or no change in other areas, and in some matters, things appear to have gone backward.[41] This goes to the bedrock of Catholic Social Teaching: the equal dignity of every human person.

Catholic Social Teaching must tackle the demonization of the term 'gender' and the refusal to acknowledge the social construction of complementarity. They are major barriers to progress in teaching and action for the recognition of the dignity and rights of women in the Church and in society.

3.3. *Gospel Nonviolence*

While *Gaudium et Spes*'s analysis of the roots of war and the foundations of peace remains valid, Catholic Social Teaching needs to explore

[40] Bishop William Wright, *Aurora Magazine*, 6 Sept. 2017, https://www.catholic.org.au/acbc-media/downloads/all-downloads/bishops-statements-on-marriage-plebiscite/1986-diocese-of-maitland-newcastle-bishop-bill-wright-6-september-2017/file.

[41] Cornish, 'Introduction,' xxvi.

the meaning of gospel non-violence in relation to violence toward women and First Peoples.

In his 2020 encyclical *Fratelli Tutti*, Francis declined to definitively set aside the just war theory, but his focus was clearly on building a culture of peace and non-violence. In this context, the global epidemic of violence against women could be addressed more directly and substantively. Similarly, the death-dealing social sin of institutional racism experienced by First Peoples in Australia and elsewhere has yet to receive detailed reflection in the more authoritative international Catholic Social Teaching documents.[42]

3.4. *Learning Hard Lessons from the World*

The Church teaches, and it also learns from the world. In Australia, the Church is learning that its credibility, including in its advocacy for social and ecological justice, depends on the congruence of its own practices. Where its witness has been lacking, the Church has little influence.

The institutional culture that generated and covered up the abuse of children and vulnerable adults must be named as a structure of sin and urgently addressed. Initial Church responses of establishing codes of conduct, reporting protocols, offering training, and requiring tick-a-box compliance do not go to the heart of the problem. The abuse of power and a lack of transparency and accountability are enabled by, or even embedded in, some Church laws and practices. Clericalism is reflected in values, attitudes, and thousands of minute daily practices that are pre-reflexive and remain taken for granted. A more substantial and widespread exercise of reflexivity and subsidiarity within the Church could be part of this journey of transformation.

3.5. *The Climate Emergency and Integral Ecology*

Gaudium et Spes reflected the optimism of its time, placing hope in technology, economic development, and education to provide solutions to hunger, poverty, and inequality, but the 2019–2020 Australian bushfire season—following years of drought, which was itself followed by floods, and then a pandemic of zoonotic origin—make apparent the magnitude

[42] Racism has been addressed in numerous messages and addresses, and in documents from the former Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, but has not yet been addressed in any detail in a social encyclical.

of the current climate emergency. There is an urgent need for a just carbon transition to an ecologically sustainable and inclusive economy.

Today, Pope Francis is critiquing the technocratic paradigm and economic models that are excessively materialist and unsustainable. *Laudato Si'* and *Fratelli Tutti* draw attention to the interconnectedness of the web of life on the planet and the need to address the social and ecological crises together, heeding both the cry of the poor and the cry of the earth. *Laudato Si'* repositions human beings as creatures, rather than focusing on human stewardship of God's creation, pointing to the need for a renewal of our Christian anthropology and of our cosmology.

While *Laudato Si'* takes an expansive view of the common good that includes consideration of the interests of future generations, we could also ask to what extent the interests of sentient beings should be included in the common good.

3.6. *The Century of Migration*

The volume and complexity of flows of human movement have increased enormously since *Gaudium et Spes*, and the framework of international humanitarian law has proved inadequate to ensure protection for people on the move. In many countries, including Australia, the right to asylum is effectively denied, and migration policy treats people in an instrumental manner.

Framing migrants not as a problem but as sisters and brothers to be loved, and viewing human movement as a chance to build a better world, has been another great theme of Francis's teaching. Fostering the reception of *Fratelli Tutti*, which is receiving far less attention than *Laudato Si'*, will continue to be a challenge for Catholic Social Teaching.

4. Conclusion

On the eve of the promulgation of *Gaudium et Spes*, Australia had been transformed by a long economic boom and major post-war migrations and was about to enter a period of significant social change. Catholic energy for the social dimension of the mission of the Church had been deflated by a bitter struggle over the role of the B.A. Santamaria-led Catholic Action and his secretive movement, which sought to seize policy control of the Australian Labor Party. The movement split the party, the Catholic clergy, and the lay faithful.

Gaudium et Spes provided the impetus for renewed social action and a new vision for the way in which the Church should engage in action for social change. It was received in different ways by the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference, compared with the religious and the laity. The evolution of the national social justice structures of the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference in this period provides insight into one strand of this split reception of *Gaudium et Spes* in Australia. The emergence of the religious, and of Catholic health care, education, and social service organizations, as respected Catholic voices in the public square arises from another way of receiving *Gaudium et Spes*: engaging with the experience of disadvantaged and marginalized people and groups.

In much of his teaching, Francis is taking us back to conciliar sources and early efforts to apply them, refreshing them by placing them in dialogue with contemporary reality. The climate emergency and migration have emerged as the most urgent needs of today, while the full recognition of the human dignity of women, teaching on marriage and family life in the context of pluralist societies, and addressing gender-based violence and institutional racism remain challenges for Catholic Social Teaching.

The Council acknowledged that the Church not only teaches but also learns from the world. Today, the Church in Australia is learning the importance of authentic witness, the need for greater transparency and accountability, the need to respond more appropriately to the full personhood of women, and the need to address our complicity in injustices toward First Peoples.

GAUDIUM ET SPES, PART II: 'PROBLEMS OF SPECIAL URGENCY' IN NORTH AMERICA

CHRISTINE FIRER HINZE

Vatican II's Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et Spes* (GS), was issued on the last day of the council, 7 December 1965, after several years of study, drafting and redrafting, contestation and compromise. Its value and inclusion were contested up to the very end, when Pope Paul VI himself overruled efforts to categorize it as a message or declaration, or to relegate its second part to an appendix, and instead elevated the entire document to the estimable status of 'pastoral constitution.'[1] Epitomizing the council's decisive break with the anti-modernism of the long Catholic 19th century and its personalist, dialogical turn, the document strives to meet Western modernity on its own terms, in a non-authoritarian space wherein 'modern world' and 'Church' might engage in mutual recognition, inquiry, and collaboration for the common good.[2] Its rhetorical style is attentive, empathetic, and dialogical, its tone neither obsequious nor absolutist. The first conciliar document to be addressed to 'all people of good will,' it does not deliver anathemas or edicts but invites conversation over what the Church and the modern world receive from and can offer to one another. And because, as its first footnote announces, *Gaudium et Spes*'s 'subject matter which is viewed in the light of doctrinal principles is made up of diverse elements, some of which have a permanent value; others, only a transitory one; … interpreters must bear in mind—especially in part two—the changeable

[1] See esp. Peter Hünermann, 'The Final Weeks of the Council,' in *The History of Vatican II*, eds. Giuseppe Albergio and Joseph Komonchak, vol. 5, ch. V, esp. 386–422; see also Ellen Van Stichel and Yves De Maeseneer, '*Gaudium et spes*: Impulses of the Spirit for an Age of Globalisation,' *Louvain Studies* 39, no. 1 (2015): 63–79.

[2] Matthew R.G. Regan, 'Treading Between Joy and Grief: *Gaudium et spes*, Louis-Joseph Lebret, and the Challenge of Modernity,' *Journal of Global Ethics* 17, no. 2 (2021): 243–59; Van Stichel and De Maeseneer, '*Gaudium et spes*.' On 'recognition' in GS, see Massimo Faggioli, 'Reading the Signs of the Times through a Hermeneutics of Recognition: *Gaudium et Spes* and Its Meaning for a Learning Church,' *Horizons* 43 (2016): 332–50.

circumstances which the subject matter, by its very nature, involves.'[3] Accordingly, '*Gaudium et spes* does not offer ready-made solutions, but a *modus procedendi* for the church facing the future.'[4]

This essay considers the reception in North America, particularly the United States, of the teachings in the second part of the document (GS II). Entitled 'Some Problems of Special Urgency,' its five chapters address marriage and family, culture, economic and political life, war and peace, and international relations. Highlighting the subjects of marriage and family and economic life, we will trace the evolving problematic of the Church's moral teaching authority and influence in prominent strands of reception of GS II's teachings.[5]

1. North American Catholics, Vatican II, and *Gaudium et Spes* Part II

1.1. *Prior to the Council*

In Canada and the US, the eve of Vatican II found European American Catholics enjoying a period of unprecedented belonging and well-being. In the US, the election of the first Catholic president, a burgeoning post-war Catholic population spurring a rapidly expanding parochial school system, a surge in vocations to the priesthood and religious life, and Catholics' ideological alignment with their nation's Cold War politics and New Deal-era style economic and work policies all contributed to Catholics' confidence in their identities as both Catholic and American. Similarly, 'the times called forth optimism from Canadians.' As they joined an expanding middle class in record numbers, 'there was a sea change in Catholic attitudes.' Sociologically, these Catholics were leaving behind 'a tragic world view of suffering immigrants' and becoming 'much more satisfied with the world—because the world was treating them better.'[6]

[3] *Gaudium et Spes*, Preface, note 1.

[4] Faggioli, 'Reading the Signs of the Times,' 340.

[5] North American receptions of GS II on culture, international relations, and especially war and peace (presented especially urgently, with ground-breaking attention to peace-making, conscientious objection, pacifism, and nonviolence) abundantly merit study. See Todd D. Whitmore, 'The Reception of Catholic Approaches to Peace and War in the United States,' in *Modern Catholic Social Teaching: Commentaries and Interpretations*, 2nd ed., ed. Kenneth R. Himes, OFM, et al. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2018), 580–609.

[6] Janet Somerville, interviewed by Michael Swan, 'Canadian Influence Unmistakable at Vatican II,' *Catholic Register* (Canada), 6 Oct. 2012, https://www.catholicregister.org/features/item/15188-canadian-influence-unmistakable-at-vatican-ii.

Often overshadowed by this dominant Euro-American Catholic story, Catholics of colour in the early 1960s experienced greater economic precarity and persistent social and ecclesial marginalization. The US civil rights movement, to which Black Catholics were often unsung contributors, was procuring gains for African Americans. But with other 'non-white' Catholic communities who brought distinctive cultures and gifts to the Church, Black Catholics continued to suffer the harms of systemic and everyday racism, including the racism of their own Church.[7]

Sexuality and marriage. Most early-1960s North American Catholics were steeped in a sexual code whose outlines and rationale would have been familiar to St Augustine (ca. 355–430). In local parishes, celibate clergy and religious sisters taught a strict, natural law, rule-based morality of sexual 'thou shalt not's. Sexual purity meant avoiding sinful thoughts and behaviours, and pastoral counselling was limited mostly to brief admonishments to penitents in the context of sacramental confession.[8] As it had for centuries, the Church presented Catholics with only two avenues to sexual virtue: a sex-free celibate life, or indissoluble, sacramental, monogamous, procreative marriage. Faithful married Catholics eschewed adultery, divorce, and, often at great sacrifice, artificial contraception. Extramarital sex, cohabitation, homosexuality, and abortion were taboo. Catholics who strayed from this severe path, and would not (or could not) repent and return, were left to navigate the tender complexities of sexual living beyond the ecclesial pale, consigned to silence or secrecy, officially cut off from the sacramental grace upon which, the Church taught, their eternal destiny depended.

Economy and work. Many Euro-American Catholics were leaving behind immigrant, urban, working-class neighbourhoods and entering the suburban middle classes, buoyed by a booming post-war economy

[7] See, for example, *Uncommon Faithfulness: The Black Catholic Experience*, ed. M. Shawn Copeland (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2009); Shannen Dee Williams, *Subversive Habits: Black Catholic Nuns in the Long African American Freedom Struggle* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2022). On Indigenous Catholics and Residential Schools, see, for example, the National Native American Boarding School Healing Initiative https://boardingschoolhealing.org. On Hispanic Catholics in the US, see Timothy Matovina, *Latino Catholicism: Transformation in America's Largest Church* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).

[8] Bishop Thomas Gumbleton describes the woeful inadequacy of clerics' training for such counselling in 'A Call to Listen: The Church's Theological and Pastoral Response to Gays and Lesbians,' in *More than a Monologue: Sexual Diversity and the Catholic Church*, vol. 1, eds. C. Firer Hinze and J.P. Hornbeck (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014), ch. 5.

and by social policies that aligned with papal teachings on workers' rights to dignified employment, union membership, and access to sufficient and secure livelihoods for themselves and their families. During this (in retrospect, anomalous) mid-20th century period, the male wage-earner/female homemaker ideal, also touted by pre-Vatican II Catholic teaching, seemed for many within reach, though most working-class families, especially families of colour, required two working adults to make ends meet. Socially mobile white Catholics were far less likely than their working-class elders to have been exposed to their Church's teachings on workers' rights. As many moved into the managerial classes, Church economic teachings that focused on the rights of economic non-elites diminished in relevance.[9]

2. Conciliar Teachings

Incorporating attention to 'problems of special urgency' into *Gaudium et Spes* enabled the council's personalist anthropology and dialogical style to freshly illumine some central concerns of modern magisterial social teaching, including in the areas of marriage and family, and work and economy.

Vatican II's treatment of marriage and family echoed traditional Catholic sexual teachings, but with subtle, significant differences. Employing personalist and scriptural language unlike the law- and act-focused vocabulary of moral manuals, GS II's first chapter emphasized sex's simultaneously human and theological import, spoke of equality and partnership between husband and wife, and described couples' vocation to generous and responsible parenthood as demanding prayerful and prudential decisions regarding family size. Conciliar emphases on the freedom and dignity of conscience; a papally appointed commission studying the issue of legitimate means for regulating births; and GS II's equal valuing of marital sex's procreative and unitive meanings seemed to many to augur an easing of Church rules forbidding artificial birth control. In the US, physician John Rock, a devout Catholic and co-developer of the oral contraceptive, became an outspoken public advocate for lifting the Vatican ban. By 1965, polls revealed wide acceptance of 'the Pill' among US Catholics and growing expectations that the Vatican would

[9] See Christine Firer Hinze, *Radical Sufficiency: Work, Livelihood and a U.S. Catholic Economic Ethic* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2021), ch. 5.

follow suit.[10] The more heavily natural law and legalistic treatment characterizing previous teachings on sex and marriage, however, was not to be wholly overcome.[11]

GS II, chapter three, reiterated modern popes' support for workers' rights but approached economic matters more globally, structurally, and theologically. Following John XXIII, GS II looked beyond the industrialized West to nations where poverty and structural inequities stoked massive misery. Fundamental Catholic economic tenets, with potentially radical implications, were underlined: the universal destination of the goods of creation (thus, the rights of all people to their fair share); consequent limits on the rights of private ownership; and obligations of richer countries toward poorer nations.[12] Citing blunt patristic-era warnings to the well-off that their superfluous goods *belonged to* their needy neighbours, GS II extended these exhortations to the national and international problems of development and inequality. For GS II, Judith Merkle notes, addressing these problems requires more than meeting basic needs of the desperately poor. 'Power and wealth must be distributed fairly'; this will entail, by necessity, 'major changes in the economic structures of the world.'[13]

3. North American Receptions of *Gaudium et Spes*, Part II

Historian Stephen Schloesser observes that the council successfully realigned the Church with key modern Western *political* values such as religious tolerance and freedom, democracy, and human rights, while GS II advanced dialogue on contemporary political and economic concerns. But this same realignment did not occur for a range of *biopolitical i*ssues, including 'companionate marriage and its necessary corollary of divorce and remarriage; the nuclear family as an emotional and not an economic unit; the extension of Enlightenment notions of equality to women; the complexity of sexual identities and relationships; and biomedical

[10] See Hünermann, 'The Final Weeks of the Council,' 400–402; Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Catholics and Contraception: An American History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).

[11] See Charles E. Curran, 'Catholic Social and Sexual Teaching: A Methodological Comparison,' *Theology Today* 44, no. 4 (1988): 425–40.

[12] Hünermann, 'The Final Weeks of the Council,' 399–400, describes 'intense debates' over concerns about Marxian interpretations of these principles.

[13] Judith A. Merkle, S.N.D. de N., *From the Heart of the Church: The Modern Catholic Social Tradition* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2004), 121–22.

technologies capable of regulating reproduction, extending the lifespan, and enhancing quality of life.'[14]

As dramatic changes in that biopolitical arena burst forth in 1960s North America, tensions between GS II's (and Catholic teaching's) approaches to 'political' and 'biopolitical' morality set the stage for two broad streams of reception. Catholics constellating around these two trajectories stressed different 'problems of special urgency' and responded to different notes in the document's clarion call to be 'church in the modern world.' Each highlighted different elements of ecclesial social teaching. Each group supported public engagement, but around different issues. Each carried forward different, yet ultimately related, elements of GS II's legacy.[15] Over ensuing decades, these two prominent communities of reception would become, and remain, problematically disconnected.[16]

A first, *social justice*–focused stream of reception, ascendant in the first two post-conciliar decades, embraced the document's charge to collaborate with persons of goodwill in the work of advancing peace and justice. These Catholics were energized by *Gaudium et Spes*'s emphasis on solidarity with all humanity and its outward-facing posture of humility, dialogue, and service. By the later 1960s, Catholic Cold War patriotism, with its 'easy equation of religion and the American economic and political way of life,' gave way as—often younger-generation—sisters, priests, and laity joined publicly in struggles for racial equality and civil rights and against the Vietnam war and the arms race.[17] Social justice Catholics' experiences reshaped their spiritual and religious sensibilities. When, writes Joseph Chinnici, 'people protested, they learned to practice their faith in a new way.' A striking confluence of loosening traditional cultural and ecclesial strictures evoked among many late 1960s Catholics a new sense of institutional freedom: 'When one has been once outside the framework of what is legal, one has entered as if into another world. One

[14] Stephen Schloesser, S.J., '"Dancing on the Edge of the Volcano": Biopolitics and What Happened at Vatican II,' in Paul Crowley, SJ, ed., *From Vatican II to Pope Francis: Charting a Catholic Future* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2014), 3–26, at 6–7, 10–11.

[15] GS and subsequent social teachings make this inseparability clear: for example, World Synod of Bishops, *Justitia in mundo* (Vatican, 1971), 6–7. This intertwining is also evident in contemporaneous ground-breaking statements of Latin American bishops' conferences (Medellín, 1968; Puebla, 1979) and pioneering liberation theologies such as Gustavo Gutiérrez's *A Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1971).

[16] Notwithstanding efforts like the 1990s' Catholic Common Ground initiative, analyzed in Bradford E. Hinze, *Practices of Dialogue in the Catholic Church: Aims and Obstacles, Lessons and Laments* (New York: Continuum, 2006), ch. 9.

[17] Joseph P. Chinnici, OFM, 'Reception of Vatican II in the United States,' *Theological Studies* 64 (2003): 462–93. See also Mark S. Massa, *Catholic Revolutions: How the 60s Changed the Church Forever*; Williams, *Subversive Habits*, ch. 4 and ch. 5.

knows that the domain of the good does not stop at the frontiers of the law considered in its strict materiality, but is able to continue, and at times even begin truly outside of it.'[18]

A second, *biopolitical-evangelical* stream of reception, whose influence increased after 1985, foregrounded *Gaudium et Spes*'s religious purpose: to embody and preach more effectively within modern cultures and circumstances the love of God and the gospel of Jesus Christ. These more ecclesially focused Catholics prioritized the problems of special urgency limned in GS II's first chapter (sexuality, marriage and family; biopolitical or 'life' issues including abortion, contraception, reproductive technologies, euthanasia) and the need to witness to a 'gospel of life' in a secularizing, at times death-dealing culture.[19] In receiving the council's teaching, these Catholics favoured a hermeneutic of continuity, of 'reform within tradition,' that emphasized traditional theological and pastoral motives for Christians' attention to the modern world.[20] For them, GS II assumed 'an organic relationship between intellectual, cultural, social, political and economic developments and the life of the Church itself, its evangelizing drive to make the gospel alive for people.'[21]

GS II and these two dominant reception traditions left urgent, cross-cutting questions unaddressed, particularly concerning the workings and impacts of intersecting vectors of power and difference around gender, race, and socio-economic location in both Church and society. These lacunae would help inspire a third stream of reception, focused on structural critique and liberative social transformation for marginalized and oppressed peoples.

Reception of Biopolitical Teachings. Expectations for a change in Church teaching on contraception were dashed with the July 1968 publication of Pope Paul VI's *Humanae Vitae* (HV).[22] Sexual relations in marriage, Paul wrote, must reflect the 'free, total, faithful and fruitful' marks of

[18] Chinnici, 'Reception of Vatican II in the United States,' quoting Yves M.-J. Congar, *Vraie et fausse réforme dans l'Église* (Paris: Cerf, 1950), 46.

[19] See esp. John Paul II, *Evangelium Vitae*, 'The Gospel of Life' (1995).

[20] See Matthew Levering and Matthew Lamb, eds. *Vatican II: Renewal Within Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), esp. essays *on Gaudium et Spes* by J. Brian Benestad, 147–62, and Matthew Levering, 163–86.

[21] Chinnici, 469, describing the turn to the 'pastoral' articulated in John XXIII's speech opening the council.

[22] Citing the litany of events in North America and internationally contributing to a 'genuinely global collapse of trust in authority' during the portentous year of 1968, Schloesser observes, 'Looking back, a more ill-advised and ill-timed appearance [for *Humanae Vitae*] is difficult to imagine.' 'Dancing on the Edge,' 10.

authentic conjugal love (HV 9). By intentionally dividing 'the inseparable connection, established by God,' between intercourse's procreative and unitive purposes, contracepted sexual acts (indeed, any sexual act other than non-contracepted vaginal intercourse within marriage) violated divine and natural law. Societal acceptance of contraception, the pope warned, would wreak social havoc by fostering selfishness, marital infidelity, family instability, and the objectification of women. And noting that the Church's case against contraception reflected universal natural law, he expressed confidence that 'our contemporaries are particularly capable of seeing that this teaching is in harmony with human reason' (HV 12).

For large numbers of North American Catholics, precisely the opposite was the case. The encyclical's release sparked perplexity and vocal dismay; public statements of dissent among US Catholic theologians, priests, and laity; and, in Canada, the bishops' controversial October 1968 'Winnipeg Statement,' all widely covered in Church and popular media.[23]

By the 1980s, polls showed 90 per cent of lay US Catholics rejecting the birth control ban. In stark contrast to pre-Vatican II's ethos of obedience to Church authority, practising Catholics were now disavowing or ignoring certain aspects of Church moral teaching. Subsequent developments only deepened the crisis of magisterial moral authority and credibility. By the turn of the millennium, multiple revelations of clergy sexual abuse and its mishandling and coverup precipitated, for many, the final unravelling of their already frayed allegiance to Church leadership and moral teaching.

For biopolitical-evangelical Catholics, post-1968 controversies over Church sexual teachings, coupled with increased public and legal acceptance for practices like extra-marital sex, divorce, and especially abortion, exerted a centripetal force, drawing them more strongly toward traditional Church teachings, practices, and leaders. Over ensuing years, small but dedicated numbers found meaning and joy in embracing official

[23] See, for example, Charles E. Curran, *Loyal Dissent: Memoir of a Catholic Theologian* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2006), esp. ch. 3; B. Appleby, 'The Common Good, the Canadian Bishops and the Public Debate on Contraception,' *Conscience* 18, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 15–19; and the 1968 analysis and critique of the 'Winnipeg Statement' by Toronto Msgr. Vincent Foye, 'A Commentary on the Canadian Bishops' Statement on the Encyclical Humanae Vitae,' https://msgrfoy.files.wordpress.com-2013-12-a-commentary-on-the-canadian-bishops-statement-on-the-encyclical-humanae-vitae.pdf

sexual teachings as interpreted in Pope John Paul II's 'theology of the body,' in championing 'a culture of life' versus a 'culture of death,' and in anti-abortion, pro-life activism.[24]

But larger numbers found key biopolitical teachings counterintuitive, irrelevant, or even toxic. Many cordoned off their sexual lives from Church influence. Still practising 'conscientious non-conformers' (Catholics in non-marital sexual relationships, using contraception or prohibited reproductive technologies, cohabiting, divorced and remarried, who favoured abortion rights, or who loved or were themselves LGBTQ+ persons) often endured what historian Leslie Tentler called 'a kind of divided faith, one that alienates them from the sacraments, especially confession, and increases skepticism toward church teaching generally.'[25]

After the term 'pro-life' was adopted by anti-abortion activists in the late 1960s, and after the US Supreme Court upheld the right to abortion in 1973, Catholic bishops became prominent supporters and advocates for biopolitical policies and legislation aimed to protect life 'from conception to natural death.' From the 1980s, pro-life US Catholics (especially white Catholics) increasingly affiliated with the Republican party and with religiously and politically conservative groups championing 'Christian morality' and 'right-to-life' issues. Meanwhile, biopolitical-evangelical Catholics found themselves estranged from social justice Catholics, who gravitated toward the Democratic party and liberal groups and causes. The consequent rift in the unity of the post-conciliar Church reflected a larger trend toward political and cultural polarization that continued to deepen.

Reception of social and economic teachings. One historian dubs the post-conciliar reception of GS II a 'tale of two encyclicals.'[26] In 1967, Paul VI released *Populorum Progressio*, which built on John XXI-II's and GS II's treatments of poverty, inequality, war and peace, and human political and economic rights, integrating them within a vision for authentic human development. *Populorum Progressio* would inspire the scholarship and social justice work of generations of Catholics, but at the time its impact 'was quickly blunted by the promulgation of its successor,' *Humanae Vitae*, just 16 months later.

[24] See John Paul II, *The Theology of the Body: Human Love in the Divine Plan* (Boston: Pauline Books & Media, 1997); John Paul II, *Evangelium Vitae*.

[25] Leslie Woodcock Tentler, 'A Modus Vivendi? Sex, Marriage & the Church,' *Commonweal*, 27 Dec. 2011, https://www.commonwealmagazine.org-modus-vivendi.

[26] Schloesser, 'Dancing on the Edge of the Volcano,' 10.

Social justice-oriented Catholics were among *Humanae Vitae*'s loudest critics and quickest defectors, but in subsequent decades, most engaged enthusiastically with important GS II-inspired episcopal initiatives on politics and economy and with justice-seeking work in national and local grassroots communities and movements, the latter receiving support and funding through the US bishops' Campaign for Human Development, established in 1968.

In the United States, the most significant official outcome—both as process and product—of GS II's reception was undoubtedly the series of nationwide listening sessions, expert and lay input gathering, public releases of drafts and subsequent revising in light of responses, and, ultimately, the promulgation of the US bishops' major pastoral letters on war and peace (1983) and on the economy (1986).[27]

Like its 1983 predecessor, *Economic Justice for All* marshalled Church teachings, social science data, and widespread consultation with experts and everyday people to address economic justice, in particular the struggles and insecurities of poor and economically precarious families. Anticipating a similar move in papal social teaching, *Economic Justice for All* incorporated Christians' call, first articulated by the Latin American bishops, to gospel-impelled, preferential solidarity with the poor, declaring, 'the obligation to provide justice for all means that the poor have the single most urgent economic claim on the conscience of the nation.'[28] Echoing modern popes, the bishops deemed work, decently conditioned and remunerated, as key to honouring this urgent obligation.[29] Three years earlier, the Canadian bishops, in a briefer, compelling letter, 'Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis,' had also centred the option for the poor and its demanding policy implications, but much more sharply and prophetically.[30]

[27] United States Catholic Bishops, *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response* (Washington, DC: USCCB, 1983); United States Catholic Bishops, *Economic Justice for All* (Washington, DC: USCCB, 1986). See also Hinze, *Practices of Dialogue*, ch. 4: Whitmore, 'Reception'; Curran, 'Reception'; Mark Allman, 'Introduction,' in *The Almighty and the Dollar: Reflections on Economic Justice for All*, ed. Mark Allman (Winona, MN: Anselm Academic, 2012), 11–18.

[28] *Economic Justice for All*, 86, 87–89, 90.

[29] *Economic Justice for All*, 103, 104.

[30] Episcopal Commission for Social Affairs, Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, 'Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis,' *International Journal of Health Services* 13, no. 4 (1983), 661–69, https://www.jstor.org/stable/45130764. On 'Ethical Reflections' and its Medellín-influenced development and reception, see Peter E. Baltutis, 'Experimenting Creatively with Being the Church in the Modern World: The Social Affairs Commission of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1965–1984,' in *Vatican II: Expériences*

Both Canadian and US bishops' interventions on economic justice drew significant public interest, debate, and criticism. Pro-capitalist critics decried *Economic Justice for All*'s 'warmed-over New Deal policy proposals'; argued that overreliance on government endangers market freedom and productivity; and faulted *Economic Justice for All*'s redistributive focus for short-shrifting economic creativity, entrepreneurial initiative, and productivity. Politically progressive and liberationist-leaning Catholics lamented the US pastoral letter's relatively mild denunciations of the status quo and inadequate attention to structural sin and transformation, especially in comparison to the stronger stance taken by the Canadian bishops.[31]

But majorities of North American Catholics, if they were aware of post-conciliar economic and social teachings at all, treated them as non-binding. Papal and episcopal declarations on peace or economy did not spur the painful struggles of conscience or clashes with Church authority that, for most, continued to attach to sexual and biopolitical teachings.[32] After 1985, as biopolitical-evangelical Catholicism gained ascendancy, both the consultative processes and the subject matter of the US bishops' peace and economy letters receded from ecclesial and public attention.

Meanwhile, inspired by movements and theologies arising from among dispossessed and poor peoples and churches in Latin America—and, in North America, among Black, Latino/a, and Indigenous Americans—and women, a third, *liberationist* stream of reception to *Gaudium et Spes* had emerged. These Catholics' collaborative theological scholarships, ministries, and activism focused on applying critical social analysis to oppressive ideologies, systems, and institutional structures from a stance of a 'preferential option' for the poor, vulnerable, and excluded. This third, diverse field of reception and contestation (eventually to include feminist, Black, womanist, Latino/a, Indigenous, LGBTQ+, decolonial, anti-whiteness, and ecological theologians and activists) foregrounded what Church officials often treated as 'third rail' issues concerning structured

canadiennes – Canadian Experiences, eds. Michael Attridge, Catherine E. Clifford, and Gilles Routhier (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2011), 253–76.

[31] See Episcopal Commission for Social Affairs, Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, 'Ethical Reflections'; Gregory Baum and Duncan Cameron, *Ethics & Economics: Canada's Catholic Bishops on the Economic Crisis* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1984).

[32] Put another way, only sexual and biopolitical teachings remained 'confession material,' whose unrepented infraction could result in exclusion from the sacraments. See Curran, 'Methodological Comparison.'

power and gendered, raced, and socio-economic inequities and exclusions. While acknowledging *Gaudium et Spes*'s evangelical, biopolitical, and social justice dimensions, liberationists faulted Catholic teaching and practice for insufficiently radical social and structural analyses, inattention to (and complicity in) oppressive power dynamics, and a consequent inability to articulate or motivate the deep personal and social transformation that advancing its own principles demanded.[33]

4. 21ST-CENTURY NORTH AMERICA

Nearly six decades after the promulgation of *Gaudium et Spes*, North American Catholics' reception of the council's moral and social teachings continued amid a lingering COVID-19 pandemic and deeply fraught political, cultural, and ecclesial 'signs of the times.' Surveys tracked increasingly tenuous—or disappearing—ties to institutional Church and local parish life, especially in Anglophone Canada and the US.[34] Tendencies among affiliated Catholics, especially in the US, to segment into antagonistic, disconnected subgroups, often along the social-justice, biopolitical, and liberationist fault lines traced here, mirrored wider political and cultural trends. These tensions reverberated, as well, in the US and Canadian bishops' conferences and in the gamut of responses to the papacy of Francis.[35]

[33] See, for example, works by Bryan Massingale, M. Shawn Copeland; Ada Maria Isasi-Diaz, Orlando Espin, Maria Pilar Aquino; Elizabeth A. Johnson, Rosemary Radford Ruether; see also Anne E. Patrick, 'Toward Renewing "The Life and Culture of Fallen Man": *Gaudium et Spes* as Catalyst for Catholic Feminist Theology,' in *The Church in the Modern World Two Decades after Vatican II*, ed. Judith A. Dwyer (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1986), 55–74.

[34] Distinctive expressions of *sensus fidei* and Church affiliation operated among Latino/a US Catholics and Quebec Catholics and among newer immigrant Catholic communities from, for example, Africa and South Asia.

[35] Seljak contrasts Canadian and US receptions to Francis's papacy, seeing Canadian bishops, especially in Francophone Quebec, aligning more with Francis on social issues. Meanwhile, in the US, 'a hard-right core of bishops … really resist Francis's brand of Catholicism'; Seljak adds that US Catholic bishops 'also have more sway over U.S. politics, largely due to their cooperation and collaboration with the evangelical community.' Christopher Guly, 'Will Pope Francis Embolden Canada's Social Justice Catholics?' *The Tyee*, 22 July 2022, https://thetyee.ca/News/2022/07/22/Pope-Francis-Social-Justice-Catholics.

For some, larger divisions were ameliorated by vital local experiences of Church as inclusive communities of faith, prayer, and practice.[36] However, studies suggested that these experiences were becoming the exception rather than the rule. Some found community in extra-parochial faith- and justice-focused groups. Intergenerationally, increasing numbers of children from historically Catholic families received no exposure to the Church.

Declines in Church affiliation were emblematic of disengagement among North American Catholics with the moral (especially biopolitical) and social teachings that GS II showcased. In the 1970s, many Catholics opposed or conscientiously dissented from teachings on abortion or birth control; by the 2020s, 'they didn't care.'[37] Pastoral silence about sex in most Catholic parishes, combined with bishops' strident public rhetoric about biopolitical issues, perpetuated the impression of Catholic Church teachings as a set of non-negotiable and restrictive prohibitions. Social teachings about justice and peace, meanwhile, received scant attention from pastors and were unknown to the majority of people in the pews. In 2021, Canadian religion scholar David Seljak observed Pope Francis's socially engaged message finding receptive audiences in Canada, particularly among more socially progressive Francophone bishops and dioceses. But Canadian Anglophone prelates, who like their US counterparts maintained a more inward-looking ecclesial and biopolitical focus, were not enamoured.[38]

Meanwhile, dioceses and parishes faced a serious crisis of adult education and formation. Ignorance and apathy about Church social and moral teachings was widespread even among active Catholics, exacerbated by a dearth of inviting, high-quality opportunities for adults to encounter and engage conscientiously with these teachings, much less with contemporary theological conversations and debates surrounding them. More broadly—although the 2022–24 world synodal process was taking intentional steps to redress this—painfully little ecclesial attention or resources had been devoted to empowering everyday Catholics, as part of their

[36] An insightful sociological study of two US parishes representing these different receptions of Vatican II is Mary Ellen Kopieczny, *The Spirit's Tether: Family, Work, and Religion among American Catholics* (New York: Oxford Academic, 2013).

[37] Guly, 'Will Pope Francis?' quoting David Seljak.

[38] Guly, 'Will Pope Francis?' quoting Seljak. See also Dean Dettloff, 'Justin Trudeau's "Celebrity Secularism" and an examination of Canadian Catholicism,' *America*, 20 Apr. 2018, 17–24, https://www.americamagazine.org/politics-society/2018/04/20/justin-trudeaus-celebrity-secularism-and-examination-canadian.

baptismal calling, to cultivate habits of informed dialogue and discernment about moral matters—either within or across different communities of interpretation and reception—in the context of their faith community's teachings and traditions. Exacerbated in untold ways by the heinous crimes and betrayals the clergy sex abuse scandal exposed, this ignorance or indifference testified to Church leaders' tragic failures at preparing and welcoming adult Catholics as knowledgeable and contributive participants in their own traditions.[39]

These failures left most Catholics ill-equipped to bring their faith intelligently and discerningly to bear in either their personal or social lives. They also reflected squandered opportunities for anchoring Catholics' ties to their local churches by making them sites where members could encounter one another across their differences, in communities of learning and deliberation about what discipleship, in practice, means across the gamut of their personal, familial, community, work, and public lives.

The resulting deeply unsatisfactory status quo doubtless contributed to significant declines registered in North American Catholic church membership.[40] It also dampened the Church's corporate public and evangelical witness as, instead of resisting and countering unhealthy societal trends, too many Catholics and their leaders merely replicated them.[41]

Amid these sobering realities, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, sparks of vitality and promise also proliferated. Across the continent, millions of Catholics lived out their faith in diverse and vital ways and forms. Popes and bishops continued to cultivate an expanding body of Catholic social teaching. Responding to and in turn influencing official teachings, scholars and on-the-ground communities brought intellectual and practical energy to all three broad communities of reception. And growing evidence of the interdependencies connecting people—for good and ill—

[39] Marie Ronan connects US Catholics' reactions to the clergy abuse crisis to unprocessed responses to other later-20th-century disruptions in 'The Clergy Sex Abuse Crisis and the Mourning of American Catholic Innocence,' *Journal of Pastoral Psychology* 56 (2008): 321–39.

[40] See, for example, Jeffrey M. Jones, 'U.S. Church Membership Falls Below Majority for the First Time,' *Gallup News*, 29 Mar. 2021, https://news.gallup.com/poll/341963/church-membership-falls-below-majority-first-time.aspx; Kevin J. Jones, 'Canadian Census Shows 2 Million Fewer Catholics as Disaffiliation Grows,' *Catholic News Service*, 27 Oct. 2022, https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/252672/canada-census-shows-2-million-fewer-catholics-as-disaffiliation-grows.

[41] See, for example, Maureen H. O'Connell's searing history of the Philadelphia Catholic Church's active complicity in anti-Blackness in *Undoing the Knots: Five Generations of American Catholic Anti-Blackness* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2021).

across geographic and ecological boundaries drew new attention to the Catholic Church's enormous potential for being a force for good, as a faith community that is global yet locally anchored, multiply varied yet united across its differences.

Biopolitical-evangelical North American Catholics especially cherished the 'life issue'-focused teachings of Pope Saint John Paul II. Many social justice and liberationist Catholics found Pope Francis an inspiring exemplar and champion of *Gaudium et Spes*'s style of compassionate, dialogical, and prophetic Church outreach. Notwithstanding tendencies among different communities of reception to identify (and thereby separate) themselves by such papal allegiances, John Paul II's and Francis's papal teachings and ministries incorporated, with different emphases, strands of all three.

Francis's prophetic, liberationist interpretation of *Gaudium et Spes* emphasized the need for conversion of hearts and transformation of unjust structures. Social justice communities of reception appreciated his call to action by individuals, local communities, and popular social movements, as well as by political leaders and governments. Biopolitical-evangelical communities of reception noted Francis's affirmations of 'life' teachings but looked with apprehension upon his many public pastoral gestures of outreach and care toward Catholics who have experienced harm due to their non-conformity on these matters. Liberationist and justice Catholics rejoiced in these same gestures, including Francis's efforts to invite more women into roles of authority in the Church. They also appreciated his historical-mindedness and his conviction that 'the proclamation of the Gospel in a rapidly changing society demands the courage to listen to reality,' to 'educate consciences to think in a different way, in contrast to the past.'[42] But for many of these Catholics, Francis's vision of gender and his slowness to match inclusive gestures with institutional changes fell far short of their own transformative aspirations.

Though variously received by North American Catholics, Francis's papacy engaged every problem of special urgency treated in GS II. Foregrounding, as inextricably bound, justice for the poor and ecological sustainability, he sought to advance a world-facing 'field hospital' church dedicated to building cultures of compassion and encounter across differences, and a church whose own ways of proceeding were far more

[42] Francis, 'Message to mark the 150th Anniversary of the Proclamation of St. Alphonsus de Liguori Doctor of the Church,' Vatican City, 23 Mar. 2021, https://www.vatican.va.

synodal, consultative, and accountable.[43] Francis's gospel-inspired passion for honouring human dignity and well-being, especially among those 'poor or in any way afflicted' with whom *Gaudium et Spes* pledged special solidarity, made him bold in denouncing the powers that threatened or undermined them. And his Ignatian attunement to the Spirit's working in history and in the whole people of God fuelled his enthusiasm for a synodal Church where contested issues are talked about, adaptation and experimentation are encouraged, and a polyhedronic unity-in-diversity is treasured.

5. Conclusion

As the 21st century proceeds, responding to *Gaudium et Spes*'s call to evangelize in engagement with the urgent needs of our contemporary world will, I believe, require North American Catholics and churches to intentionally cultivate a culture and ethos marked by embodied *solidarity*, conscientious *sufficiency*, and synodal and civic *participation*.[44] Prioritizing and pursuing these virtues and practices will equip Catholic communities formed by *Gaudium et Spes* to resist individualism and polarizing group egoism, consumerist excess and a 'throwaway culture,' and social passivity and disengagement. But seriously practising preferential solidarity and sufficiency will lead to a much more dialectical relationship to the social-economic status quo and entail more and different kinds of gospel-motivated conflict—and sacrifice—than most North American Catholics have yet acknowledged.

To meet the challenges of the contentious spectrum of moral and social concerns addressed by GS II and since, North American Catholics badly need faith communities where solidarity, sufficiency, and participation, infused with a preferential concern for the poor and the earth, are prioritized, taught, and embodied. Giving pre-eminence to participation as synodality, or walking together, means that 'the one thing the church cannot afford to do is to refuse to pay attention to what is actually happening in people's lives. What is at stake, after all, is not the preservation

[43] See, for example, Paul Crowley and Richard Gaillardetz, eds., *Go to the Streets: The Ecclesiology of Pope Francis* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist, 2015); Francis, *Fratelli Tutti* (2021).

[44] For background and arguments supporting this claim, see Firer Hinze, *Radical Sufficiency*, esp. ch. 2 and ch. 7.

of Catholic (or European) institutions … What is at stake is obedience to the living God, without which the church does not have much reason to exist.'[45]

Unleashing the Church's power to advance the gospel and the common good in coming decades will require the collaborative energies and distinct charisms of the whole People of God, across all the communities of reception identified here, and everyone in between. Moving from words to actions that concretely respond 'in love and truth' to 'the joys, hopes, griefs, and anxieties of the people of our age,' centring 'the cries of the poor and the cries of the earth,' will require nothing less.[46]

[45] Luke Timothy Johnson, in Leslie Woodcock Tentler, 'A Modus Vivendi? Sex, Marriage & the Church,' *Commonweal*, 27 Dec. 2011.

[46] GS 1; Benedict XVI, *Caritas in Veritate* (2009); Francis, *Laudato Si'* 49.

THE EASTERN CATHOLIC CHURCHES AND THE RECEPTION OF THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL IN NORTH AMERICA AND AUSTRALIA

JAROSLAV Z. SKIRA

This chapter deals with the various vectors of the reception of the Second Vatican Council (1962–65) among the Eastern Catholic churches in Australia, Canada, and the United States of America. The majority of Eastern Catholic churches are, in essence, formerly Orthodox churches that historically entered into full communion with Rome but have preserved their Eastern Christian traditions of spirituality, theology, and worship. Almost all such churches emerged from one of the three great traditions of Eastern Christianity (Assyrian, Oriental Orthodox, or Eastern Orthodox) and reflect five ritual traditions. Their historic origins and existence have caused tensions in the Catholic Church's ecumenical relations with these various Orthodox churches. This is an important corollary to the issue of the reception of the council since it makes the question of reception among Eastern Catholics multivalent. Reception here indicates how Eastern Catholics have assimilated Vatican II in their own churches as well as how the Catholic Church as a whole—especially the Latin majority—has received the council in matters dealing with Eastern Catholics. Reception can also include Eastern Catholic perceptions of how the council has been received by the Orthodox churches.

The notion of 'reception' can be characterized as being kerygmatic or practical.[1] For the kerygmatic, reception is reflected in formal ecclesial structures or institutions (such as synods, pastoral letters, canonical legislation) while the practical is manifested in the council's impact on the daily life of believers (such as the praxis of the churches, liturgy and spirituality, theological reflection). These categories of reception can be further qualitatively analyzed by analogously using the concept of vectors, which have both direction and magnitude. Kerygmatic and practical

[1] See Gilles Routhier, 'La périodisation,' in *Réceptions de Vatican II: le concile au risque de l'histoire et des espaces humains* (Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Bibliotheek van de Faculteit Godgeleerdheid, 2004), 225–44.

reception thus can be seen to be constituted by smaller subsets, varying in direction and magnitude, of the reception of the council's teachings. Among the Eastern Catholic churches, there are numerous examples of the reception of the council, with some instances of non-reception. These examples manifest a dynamic reception, an ongoing process of reception varying in direction and magnitude within each of the local churches. The vectors of the reception of the council require knowledge of the context of these Eastern Catholic churches during and after the council itself and, crucially, their ability or capacity to receive the council in these continental regions.

1. Demographics of Eastern Catholic Churches

The details gleaned from the *Annuario Pontificio* (1966) at the end of the council show not only the degree to which the Eastern Catholic churches were a very small minority at the council but also that they were even smaller minorities within the Catholic Church in North and South America and Australia. Of the roughly 3,608 council fathers indexed in the *Acta* of the council who participated in the preparatory work or were present at the council itself, about 135 Eastern Catholics (or less than 4 per cent of all council fathers) are listed from the following rites: Alexandrian (7 per cent), Chaldean and Syrian (7 per cent), Armenian (10 per cent), Antiochian (27 per cent), and Byzantine-Slavic (50 per cent). Of all Eastern Catholic fathers, the three largest delegations were the Melkites (23 per cent), the Ukrainians (17 per cent), and the Maronites (15 per cent).[2]

In 1965, Eastern Catholic faithful totalled 740,000 in the so-called diaspora or new world regions. A majority of their metropolises, eparchies, and exarchates were concentrated in the historical territories of the kyriarchal ('mother') church. Only the Ukrainians (11 bishops) and Ruthenians (one bishop) had established hierarchies in these diaspora regions (almost entirely in the United States and Canada),[3] owing to the fact that their churches were suppressed in the former Soviet Union (where such faithful existed in clandestine communities). The

[2] Melissa J. Wilde, in *Vatican II: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), indicates that among the countries of origin for Latin and Eastern Catholics, a minority of fathers were from North America (14.1 per cent).

[3] This data also includes a Ukrainian exarchate in Brazil and an eparchy in Australia.

Syro-Malabar and Syro-Malankara churches existed under majority Hindu political regimes in India, while Maronites and Melkites, with some émigré communities, constituted minority faiths in predominantly Muslim countries in the Middle East. So, a majority of Eastern Catholic faithful during Vatican II either lived under regimes of persecution or as minority religions in their national contexts, all with limits on their freedoms.[4]

By 2017, migration patterns had significantly changed this Vatican II context.[5] Today, the global total of Eastern Catholics is just over 17 million (out of 1.3 billion total Catholics), with 3.7 million (or 21 per cent of all Eastern Catholics) living in North and South America and Australia. Eastern Catholics comprise 23 distinct churches, though not all Eastern Catholic churches have an established hierarchy in these continental areas: only 10 churches in the diaspora regions have Eastern Catholic bishops. Of the 283 Eastern Catholic bishops in 2017, 59 (21 per cent of all Eastern Catholic bishops) ministered to communities in so-called diaspora regions.[6] Australia's more than 325,000 Eastern Catholics (8.6 per cent of all diaspora Eastern Catholics; 1.85 per cent of all Eastern Catholics) have five distinct churches (Chaldean, Maronite, Melkite, Syro-Malabar, and Ukrainian). Canada and the United States have the second-largest concentration of Eastern Catholics, with over 800,000 faithful (4.5 per cent of all Eastern Catholics; 21 per cent of diaspora Eastern Catholics) and the most diverse representation of Eastern Catholics (Armenian, Chaldean, Maronite, Romanian, Ruthenian, Slovak, Syrian, Syro-Malabar, Syro-Malankara, and Ukrainian).[7] The largest diaspora continental concentration of Eastern Catholics, with over 2.5 million Eastern Catholics (15 per cent of all Eastern Catholics; 69 per cent of diaspora Eastern Catholics), with five distinct churches and an ordinariate, call Latin America home.

[4] Wilde, *Vatican II: A Sociological Analysis*, indicates that 278 (approx. 10 per cent) of council fathers came from countries that restricted freedom of religion or persecuted Christians.

[5] For some of the ecumenical context of the post-Vatican II period in the United States, see Jeffrey Gros, 'The Unity of Christians: The United States Catholic Witness,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* 28, no. 2 (2010): 55–80; and Fred J. Saato, *American Eastern Catholics* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2006), ch. 3 and ch. 4.

[6] Only 10 of the 21 Eastern Catholic Churches have local churches in these continental regions.

[7] Georges T. Labaki [Maronite, USA] cautions that statistical information may underrepresent the actual totals since many of the faithful are dispersed throughout the nation and without formal Church registration. See Georges T. Labaki, 'The Maronite Church in the United States, 1854–2010,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* 32, no. 1 (2014): 84.

Currently, there exist 47 eparchies or exarchates and two ordinariates in these continental regions, while at the time of the council there existed only 11 similar jurisdictions, with almost all of them in North America.[8] That means that today, 36 eparchies/exarchates did not exist at the time of the council, being established from roughly the late 1970s, with the most recent being in Canada for Armenians (2014) and Syro-Malabars (2015), plus Maronites in Bogota (2016).

Today, in these continental regions, Eastern Catholic communities are all minority churches in society and within the Catholic communion. Some have their own hierarchies and episcopal conferences, others are exarchates, while other, smaller communities are subject to a local Latin or Eastern Catholic hierarch. The latter is an important part of this historical context in that all of these communities were initially subject to local Latin ordinaries, many of which had been deprived a few decades prior to Vatican II of having their own episcopacy and prohibited from being ministered to by married clergy, which had been their tradition for centuries.[9] The prohibition of married clergy in these regions, during this period and after the council, significantly deprived Eastern Catholics of adequate pastoral care in times when celibate clergy were in very short supply. After the council, some Eastern Catholic bishops went to extraordinary lengths to circumvent such prohibitions by ordaining clergy in canonical territories outside these continental regions where it was permissible to do so and then missioning them back to North America and Australia. This is one example of a conflict between the majority Roman hierarchy resisting receiving Vatican II's teachings on the Eastern churches, while the Eastern Catholics, albeit subversively, moved in a spirit of the reception of the council. The above forms part of the historical context in which Eastern Catholics found themselves during the council years.

[8] This is in addition to one eparchy each in Australia and Latin America and two ordinariates in Latin America.

[9] The first prohibition came from the Congregation for Eastern Churches, *Cum Data Fuerit* (1929), and precipitated hundreds of thousands of Eastern Catholics entering the Orthodox Church. In 1974, the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops' recommendation to lift the ban was rebuked by Rome. David Motoiuk, 'The Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches: Some Ten Years Later,' *Studia Canonica* 36, no. 1 (2002): 189–224, sec. 2.5.2. The prohibition was not rescinded until 2014.

2. Eastern Catholic Participation in the Council

The Eastern Catholic council fathers participated in a number of sub-commissions and debates in the preparatory and conciliar period.[10] The Melkites, through Patriarch Maximos IV Sayegh (Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, and Alexandria and Jerusalem of the Melkite Greek Catholic Church), and the Ukrainian Greco-Catholics, under Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk of Winnipeg (Canada), are generally regarded as having made the most significant contributions to the council.[11] Notably, Hermaniuk was very active at the council as a member of the Preconciliar Theological Commission and the influential Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. At a time when the majority of the Ukrainian hierarchy had been murdered, imprisoned, or forced to exist clandestinely in the former Soviet Union, Hermaniuk exercised prominent leadership of the Ukrainian bishops' conferences at the council.

Central in the Eastern Catholic interventions were affirmations of Eastern Christian ecclesiology, especially synodality and conciliarity. They called for the establishment of an Apostolic College of bishops to assist the pope in governance and pastoral care of the faithful, which was eventually created by the motu proprio *Apostolica Sollicitudo* (1965). The Eastern Catholic fathers affirmed that their churches should possess a form of autonomy within the Catholic communion, akin to the practice of the

[10] For an overview, see *History of Vatican II*, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1995–2006), vol. 1, 36, 200–205, 216, 274; vol. 2, 317–27, 460–65; vol. 3, 398–99, 465–72, 486–88; vol. 4, 151, 175, 322–23, 494; vol. 5, 44–45, 150, 158.

[11] See Maximos IV Sayegh, ed., *The Eastern Churches and Catholic Unity* (Montreal: Palm, 1963); *L'Église grecque melkite au Concile: Discours et notes du Patriarche Maximos IV et des prélats de son Eglise au Concile oecuménique Vatican II* (Beyrouth: Dar Al-Kalima, 1967); Saba Shofany, *The Melkites at the Vatican Council II: Contributions of the Melkite Prelates to Vatican Council II on the Renewal of Moral Theology* (Bloomington, IN: Eastern Christian Publications, 2005); Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, 'Le Vatican II des catholiques Égyptiens: Au temps de Nasser, l'espoir d'un monde meilleur,' *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 61, no. 175 (2016): 361–86; Néophytos Edelby and Ignace Dick, *Les églises orientales catholiques: Décret* Orientalium Ecclesiarum, Unam Sanctam 76 (Paris: Cerf, 1970). For Hermaniuk, see Jaroslav Z. Skira and Peter De Mey, eds., *Met. Maxim Hermaniuk, Vatican II and the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church* (Leuven: Peeters, 2020), especially Atanasij H. Velykyj [a Vatican II *peritus*] and Rodion R. Holovac'kyj, 'The Participation of Ukrainians in the Second Vatican Council (1959–1965),' 223–35; Walter Dushnyck, *The Ukrainian-Rite Catholic Church at the Ecumenical Council, 1962–1965* (New York: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1967). See also Robert F. Taft [Ruthenian, USA], 'Eastern Catholic Churches (*Orientalium Ecciesiarum*),' in *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II – and After*, ed. Adrian Hastings (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 135–40, esp. 135–36.

Orthodox churches, since they should be treated as distinct churches and not simply reduced to a 'rite.' Related to this was the question of the primatial role of the Eastern patriarchs.

Given the diversity of cultures and languages of the various Eastern Catholic churches, it should not be surprising that they were vocal in their support of the use of vernacular in worship (with the debates on the use of Latin seeming to them to be an oddity)[12] and of the uniqueness of Eastern liturgical and sacramental traditions.[13] Although the issue of clerical celibacy was part of the conciliar debates, the Eastern Catholic churches were prohibited from bringing up the issue of married clergy.[14] They also advocated for the restoration of the permanent diaconate. The presence of the Eastern Catholics contributed to new ecumenical attitudes particularly with the Orthodox, as reflected in *Unitatis Redintegratio* (UR) and *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* (OE).[15] This ecumenical spirit contributed to the establishment of the Pontifical Council for Christian Unity (formerly a secretariat). Similarly, at the closing of the council in 1965, Pope Paul VI and Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I nullified the unfortunate anathemas of 1054. These anathemas, whose imposition is not without controversy, are symbolically seen as a pivotal historical moment when East and West broke off communion with each other, thus signalling subsequent periods of further East–West estrangement and division.

[12] The Melkites refused to speak Latin in council sessions, using French instead. However, to this day some have retained ancient liturgical languages in their worship.

[13] During the council's sessions, there are many examples of the fathers participating in Eastern Catholic liturgical services.

[14] See Hermaniuk's diaries for 16 October 1954 in *The Second Vatican Council Diaries (1960–1965) of Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk*, Eastern Christian Studies 15, trans. J. Skira, annot. K. Schelkens (Leuven: Peeters, 2012).

[15] See, for example, Peter De Mey, 'Metropolitan Hermaniuk and the Conciliar Work on *Unitatis redintegratio* and *Orientalium ecclesiarum*: A Comparative Study,' in *Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk, Vatican II and the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church*, eds. Jaroslav Skira and Peter De Mey (Leuven: Peeters, 2020), 99–142. What is also important to note at the time of the council was the presence of Orthodox observers or guests of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. From North America, one can mention Fr. Alexander Schmemann (who attended all four council sessions), Fr. John Romanides, Dr. Nicolas Arseniev, Archman. Panteleimon Rodopoulos, Fr. Quashisha Isaac Rehana, and Dr. George Lamsa. See Christopher T. Washington, *The Participation of Non-Catholic Christian Observers, Guests and Fraternal Delegates at the Second Vatican Council and the Synods of Bishops: A Theological Analysis* (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2015), ch. 2; Radu Bordeianu, 'Orthodox Observers at the Second Vatican Council and Intra-Orthodox Dynamics,' *Theological Studies* 79, no. 1 (2018): 86–106. See also Nicholas Denysenko, *Liturgical Reform After Vatican II: The Impact on Eastern Orthodoxy* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015), esp. 35–61; and Emmanuel Clapsis, 'The Roman Catholic Church and Orthodoxy: Twenty-Five Years after Vatican II,' *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 35, no. 3 (1990): 221–36.

The issue of freedom of conscience and religious freedom were also areas where the Eastern Catholic fathers contributed to the council. This was an acute topic for those churches living under communist and atheistic regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as well as for those Christians living in predominantly Muslim or Hindu countries. The Eastern Catholic fathers were sensitive about the conciliar debates on *Nostra Aetate* and passages on the Jews and Muslims, not simply towards facilitating interreligious dialogue but in terms of not wanting to provoke any hostilities in regions where Christians were minority religions with limits imposed on their religious freedoms.[16] A small group of bishops, including Patriarch Maximos IV, met regularly to discuss issues of social justice and poverty.[17] And a number of speeches were made on married and family life and the missionary activity of the Church. All of the above themes exhibit Eastern Catholic aspirations for the council's work and thus set some of the vectors of its reception.

3. *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* as a Locus of Reception

The Council's decree *On the Eastern Catholic Churches* (*Orientalium ecclesiarum* [OE]) is a core hermeneutic lens for assessing reception among Eastern Catholics. The text states that the 'Catholic Church values highly the institutions of the Eastern churches, their liturgical rites, ecclesiastical traditions and their ordering of Christian life. For in those churches, which are distinguished by their venerable antiquity, there is clearly evident the tradition which has come from the apostles through the Fathers and which is part of the divinely revealed, undivided heritage of the universal church' (no. 1). The decree speaks synonymously of the faithful—including the Latin—as 'particular churches or rites' (OE 2) of 'equal rank' and as constituting the Catholic Church (OE 3), having the same rights and duty to preach the gospel and govern themselves (OE 3, 5). They are called to preserve their venerable Eastern heritage; to re-establish or restore it in cases where it has deviated; and to promote unity, especially with the separated Eastern Christian churches (OE 24). The council affirmed the provisional nature of the decree in saying, 'All

[16] On interreligious dialogue and on religious freedom, see Saba Shofani, *The Melkites at the Vatican Council II*, ch. 5; Jaroslav Z. Skira [Ukrainian, Canada], 'Fostering Dialogue and Promoting the Reception of Vatican II Among Ukrainian Canadians,' in *Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk, Vatican II and the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church*, eds. Jaroslav Z. Skira and Peter De Mey (Leuven: Peeters, 2020), 189–210.

[17] See John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II?* (Cambridge: Belknap-Harvard University Press, 2008), 122–23.

these legal arrangements are made in view of the present conditions, until such time as the Catholic Church and the separated Eastern churches unite together in the fullness of communion' (OE 30). *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*'s promulgation was hailed as a key advance for Eastern Catholics, though influential voices noted that it could have been a much better document.[18]

Orientalium Ecclesiarum complements *Unitatis Redintegratio*'s positive statements about the Orthodox churches; the council's recognition of the sacraments, hierarchy, and apostolicity of these churches; and their special relationship with the Catholic Church. *Unitatis Redintegratio* paved the way to the establishment (in 1980) of formal ecumenical relations with the Eastern Orthodox churches. Other dialogues and exchanges were later spawned with the Assyrian Church and the Oriental Orthodox churches, all exhibiting a continued reception of the council's communion ecclesiology, which in turn led to the development of a theology of 'sister churches' describing the relations between Catholics and Orthodox. The question, tacitly alluded to earlier, that remains is whether the Catholic and Orthodox churches are willing to receive the notion of Eastern Catholics as being *sui iuris* (of their own right) 'sister' churches.[19]

Where there has been a lacklustre reception of *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* is in its concluding statements on the provisional nature of the decree and the Eastern Catholic churches it describes. Eastern Catholics are participants in all modern Orthodox–Catholic dialogues, though only as minority dialogue partners on commissions dominated by Roman Catholic members. Modern international Orthodox–Catholic dialogue on 'uniatism' (defined as a partial union of a part of another church) is bogged down in an ecumenical morass of not knowing how best to deal with one of the most acute issues in ecumenical dialogue between East and West (apart from Roman primacy). The dialogue's Balamand declaration (1993)[20] rejected proselytism and uniatism but affirmed the

[18] Met. Hermaniuk, *The Second Vatican Council Diaries*, 21 Nov. 1964, speaks of OE as a great achievement but attributes the deficiencies in the decree to division among some Eastern fathers. See Pat. Maximos IV Sayegh's critique in *Synod extraordinaire*: *Célébration de Vatican II* (Paris: Cerf, 1986), starting at 392. See also Edward Farrugia, 'Re-Reading *Orientalium ecclesiarum*,' *Gregorianum* 88, no. 2 (2007): 352–72.

[19] See Gregorios III Laham [Melkite, Syria], 'The Ecumenical Commitment of the Melkite Greek Catholic Church,' *Downside Review* 135, no. 1 (2017): 3–20, esp. 6–7.

[20] John Borelli and John H. Erickson, eds., *The Quest for Unity: Orthodox and Catholics in Dialogue. Documents of the Joint International Commission and Official Dialogues in the United States, 1965–1995* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1996), 175–83.

existence of the right of the Eastern Catholic churches to exit and to minister to their faithful. Without a more robust process of truth and reconciliation, fully involving the Eastern Catholics in ecumenical dialogue—and not as minority dialogue partners—the existence of Eastern Catholic churches and the issue of uniatism will continue to be an unbreachable barrier to full communion between East and West, thus impeding the full reception of the council's ecumenical outreach to the Christian East.[21] *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* thus constitutes an important locus for the kerygmatic and pastoral vectors of the reception of the council.

4. Eastern Catholic Canon Law

Subsequent kerygmatic reception of the council includes the development of a *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (CCEO),[22] which have a 'right' and 'duty' to govern themselves according to their own 'special disciplines' (see OE 5). Unlike *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*'s equivocation of Church with rite, the CCEO states that each Eastern Catholic Church is a Church *sui iuris* and observes its own 'liturgical, theological, spiritual and disciplinary patrimony' or 'rite' (CCEO 27–41), notwithstanding claims of universal papal jurisdiction. The difficulty of applying this Code to all Eastern Catholics was recognized in the Code's affirmation that each Church should also develop its own particular laws.[23] Like the conclusion of *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, John Paul II's promulgation of the Code also spoke of the provisional nature of the Code, in anticipation of arriving at full communion with the Orthodox churches.[24] Some Eastern Catholics have lamented that the CCEO was really a product of the papacy and papal commissions, which marginalized to some degree

[21] See Jaroslav Z. Skira, 'The Balamand Document on Uniatism in the Context of the International Orthodox–Catholic Ecumenical Dialogue,' in *Ecumenical Relations Between the Catholic Church and Its Orthodox Sister Churches: Twenty-Five Years After Balamand*, eds. Jaroslav Z. Skira, Peter De Mey, and Herman Teule (Leuven: Peeters, 2022).

[22] *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (Canon Law Society of America, 2001; originally published in 1990).

[23] For example, *The Particular Law of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church According to the Codex Canonum* Ecclesiarum Orientalium (2015).

[24] John Paul II, Apostolic Constitution *Sacri Canones* (18 Oct. 1990). For a summary of Eastern and Orthodox reactions, see Michael A. Fahey [Roman Catholic, Canada/USA], 'Note on the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches and the Orthodox/Catholic Reunion,' *Jurist* 56 (1996): 456–64.

the Eastern hierarchs, making it a 'body of legislation *for* the Eastern Catholic Churches and not *by* the Eastern Catholic Churches.'[25] The dangers thus become the Code's non-reception by the Orthodox, who would see it as an inappropriate model of communion with Eastern churches, and whether the CCEO would be seen in a provisional light like *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* 30, until such time as full unity is achieved.[26]

5. Mission, Evangelization, and Liturgy

The *Liturgical Prescriptions of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (1996) further contributed to the kerygmatic and practical reception of Vatican II to 'help [Eastern Catholics] fully realize their own identity' (no. 5) by exhorting Eastern Catholics to recover and communicate their rich Eastern tradition to the faithful; to recover the tradition where it was lost; to promote liturgical formation for clergy and laity; and to set common principles for liturgical directories for each *sui iuris* church (no. 5). The recovery of Eastern identity is often tied to the recognition that various latinizations had been imposed or had crept into these traditions (such as nos. 24, 59, 107, 108). As part of sustaining or recovering Eastern identity, Eastern Catholics are told to look to the Orthodox churches as normative (nos. 21, 29, 42, 112).

In the continental regions of North America and Australia, Eastern Catholic communities have populations of second and third generations of faithful as well as recent immigrations. Typical processes of linguistic-cultural assimilation have seen Eastern Catholics preserving their ecclesial rites and ethnic customs, despite the loss of the ability to speak in their Church's ethnic language where English (and, to a lesser degree, French and Spanish) has become the dominant or sole language of a community. Eastern Catholic churches desire to maintain an equilibrium in local communities with recent migrants from the 'home country' regions (of those wishing to maintain ethno-linguistic markers as part of a cultural identity) to those generations of the descendants of migrants who still maintain a sense of transnationalism. Church bulletins and

[25] John D. Faris [Maronite, USA] and Jobe Abbass [Maronite, Canada], *A Practical Commentary to the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (Montreal: Wilson & Lafleur, 2019); Victor J. Pospishil [Ukrainian, USA], *Eastern Catholic Church Law: According to the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (Brooklyn, NY: Saint Maron, 1993), 60.

[26] Posphishil, *Eastern Catholic Church Law*, 63–64, states that some desired that the provisional nature of the Code be made explicit.

websites in a number of parishes show that both ethnic-language liturgies and English and French exist in supporting the spiritual and pastoral needs of their communities. Many Eastern Catholic churches have welcomed, in a spirit of evangelization, converts who do not identify ethnically with a Church's original ethnic origins.[27] Transnationalism remains strong in some communities, however.

In preserving their Eastern liturgical heritage, there are some examples of the establishment of liturgical commissions, as advocated by the *Liturgical Prescriptions*, to make liturgical books available to these Eastern Catholic communities in their vernacular languages (nos. 22–30), but more work remains to be done in this area.[28] Tensions about ethnicity and vernacular languages affect many churches, such as Syro-Malabar and Maronite.[29] For Ukrainians, there are no officially approved texts in the diaspora regions.[30] Symbolically important, nevertheless, is that many liturgical texts have removed references to the *filioque* (a latinization) from the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.

The *Liturgical Prescriptions* singles out, as part of the retrieval of Eastern patrimony, the unity of the bestowal of the sacraments of initiation (baptism, chrismation, and Eucharist).[31] Here there is a tacit critique of their use of Roman practices of separating first communion and confirmation instead of the Eastern practices of Christian initiation

[27] Christopher Guly, ed., *Strangers in a Strange Church? New Faces of Ukrainian Catholicism in Canada* (Toronto: Novalis, 2019) catalogues stories of ethnically non-Ukrainian faithful becoming Ukrainian Catholics. See also Bishop Issam Darwish [Melkite, Australia], 'Patriarch and Eparch in Today's Church: Reflections of an Eparch of the Diaspora,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 40, nos. 1–4 (1999): 111, 113; Bishop Basil Losten [Ukrainian, USA], 'The Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USA,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 40, nos. 1–4 (1999): 86; Saato, *American Eastern Catholics*, 131–32.

[28] Robert Taft, 'Liturgy in the Life of the Church,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 40, nos. 1–4 (1999): 203, 225–29.

[29] For example, Labaki, 'The Maronite Church,' 82; Selva J. Raj, 'New Land, New Challenges: The Role of Religion in the Acculturation of Syro-Malabar Catholics in Chicago,' in *South Asian Christian Diaspora: Invisible Diaspora in Europe and North America*, eds. Knut A. Jacobsen and Selva J. Raj (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 184–96. For Australian Chaldean and Syro-Malabar bishops, see the *National Conference on Pastoral Care in a Multicultural Church and Society* (2017), https://www.acmro.catholic.org.au/resources/conference-papers/2017-national-conference-on-pastoral-care-in-a-multicultural-church-and-society.

[30] Daniel Galadza [Ukrainian, Canada], 'Aspects of Liturgical Prayer Life in the Diaspora: Presentation to the Synod of Bishops of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church September 5-7, 2017,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 59, nos. 1–4 (2018): 164–66.

[31] *The Liturgical Prescriptions*, for example, nn. 48, 50, 59, 67.

with paedocommunion.[32] Some Eastern Catholic churches still, however, conduct 'solemn' first communions (or confessions) for catechetical reasons. Catholic bishops in the US and Australia have recognized, too, that Eastern Catholic children are often found in Roman Catholic schools and that care should be taken that these sacraments of initiation are not repeated for them.[33] Some hierarchs have lamented a lack of knowledge about the validity of the Eastern Catholic sacrament of marriage and its ritual forms by some Roman hierarchy and clergy.[34]

The restoration of vesper services on the eve of feasts and Saturday evenings has had a mixed reception in the various Eastern churches, some of which do not intentionally practise it or do not have sufficient clergy or qualified laity to lead them.[35] The *Liturgical Prescriptions* even advocates for the local celebration of Easter on the same day as the Orthodox churches (no. 36), though the issue of the liturgical calendar—and differences from Orthodox usage—remains a point of internal conflict within local eparchies. Some Eastern Catholic eparchies within the same ethno-ritual tradition follow the Julian calendar; others follow the Gregorian (or even a hybrid of the two). Latinizations that still seem to be prevalent are the introduction of Western religious art (images and statues); the absence of the iconostasis; and Roman celebrations such as

[32] Mark Morozovich [Ukrainian, USA], 'The Liturgy and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States: Change Through the Decades,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* 32, no. 1 (2014): 59–60 lists a number of historical examples of latinizations in the US and some areas where reforms were advanced. Moroziwch's 'Ecclesiology and Liturgy as Interpretative Keys for *Orientalium ecclesiarum* at Fifty,' *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 43, no. 2 (2011): 395–406, documents a number of issues still affecting all the Eastern Catholic Churches. See also Bishop Nicholas Samra [Melkite, USA], *Pastoral Letter on Infant Communion and 'First Communion' Ceremonies also called 'Solemn Communion' or 'Eucharistic Awareness,'* https://melkite.org/eparchy/chancery/pastoral-letter-on-infant-communion-and-first-communion-ceremonies.

[33] See such guidance in Australian Bishops' Conference, *Eastern Catholics in Australia* (Canberra: Australian Catholic Bishops Conference, 1997); T.T. Ferguson, 'Ritual Church Ascription,' for the Archdiocese of Detroit (updated 16 Aug. 2010); and *Oriental Orthodox–Roman Catholic Theological Consultation in the United States: Guidelines Concerning the Pastoral Care of Oriental Orthodox Students in Catholic Schools* (1999). Examples of reconfirmations and even rebaptisms are noted by Bishop Peter Stasiuk [Ukrainian, Australia], 'The Eastern Churches Among Roman Catholic Churches,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 40, nos. 1–4 (1999): 180.

[34] Losten, 'Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USA,' 75; Bishop Basil Schott [Ruthenian, USA], 'Experience of Eastern Catholic Churches in North America,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 44, nos. 1–4 (1990): 168.

[35] Galadza, 'Aspects of Liturgical Renewal,' 160. See also Adam A.J. DeVille [Ukrainian, USA], '*Orientalium Ecclesiarum*,' in *The Reception of Vatican II*, eds. Matthew L. Lamb and Matthew Levering (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 324–46, at 328–29, which also catalogues similar themes as my study.

eucharistic adoration.[36] The *Liturgical Prescriptions*, avoiding perceptions of latinization or proselytism, notes that any Eastern Orthodox faithful transferring into the Catholic Church should enter into the parallel Eastern Catholic rite.[37]

The *Liturgical Prescriptions* repeats the council's teaching on sacramental sharing in cases of pastoral need (see OE 26–29; UR 8, 15), but this is not reciprocated by the Orthodox churches (with some rare exceptions).[38] Cases of intermarriage between Eastern Catholics and Orthodox within the same ethno-linguistic groups (such as Arabic-speaking communities), however, are common and are rare occasions for intercommunion. The practice of intercommunion is also, in part, related to the fact that many Eastern Catholic communities lack sufficient clergy to provide for their pastoral care, often being geographically isolated from other communities.[39] In such instances, speaking of the vectors of the direction and magnitude of the practical reception of the council in such small churches is difficult.

6. *Ecclesia sui iuris* and Synodality

The interventions at the council of many of the Eastern council fathers were affirmations of the dignity, autonomy, and synodality of their churches. As noted earlier, their emphasis on synodality and collegiality became hallmarks of their participation since they wished to see such governance and pastoral oversight also in existence at the universal level for the entire Catholic Church in the form of an apostolic council. Post-Vatican II, there exists a dimension of non-reception by the Eastern Catholics in that the apostolic council was seen as solely being of an

[36] Labaki, 'The Maronite Church in the United States,' 81, 83.

[37] See also *Eastern Catholics in Australia*. Ritual ascription caused some controversy at Vatican II, with the Eastern Catholic fathers advocating that non-Catholic faithful are ascribed to their own rite, while some of the Latin fathers stated that such persons should be free to choose their rite. The Eastern Catholic fathers had feared that this would lead to proselytism. A compromise formulation was reached in OE 4.

[38] As an example, see Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, 'Guidelines for Admission to the Eucharist Between the Chaldean Church and the Assyrian Church of the East,' *PCPCU Information Service* 108 (2001/IV): 148–53. A similar provision was made for those in the Syrian Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church in 'Common Declaration of Pope John Paul II and His Holiness Mar Ignatius Zakka I Iwas (1984),' *PCPCU Information Service* 55 (1984/II–III): 61–63.

[39] For example, see Labaki, 'The Maronite Church,' 83. One could also find numerous examples of isolated and underserviced Eastern Catholic Churches in Canada's prairies.

advisory nature.[40] However, one can see an evolution in such vectors of reception in some of the Eastern Catholic churches in their establishing episcopal conferences for their own regions (in addition to participating in national or regional episcopal conferences within Catholic conferences of bishops).

In the US, a special Committee on the Relationship Between Eastern and Latin Catholic churches exists.[41] Eastern Catholic bishops in the United States formed the Eastern Catholic Associates organization for collaboration in catechesis and evangelization.[42] The Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference published the directory *The Eastern Catholic Churches in Australia* (1997); it was adapted by the US bishops in 1999. The North American Orthodox–Catholic Theological Consultation, established by the Catholic conferences of bishops in the US and Canada, has significantly contributed to the kerygmatic and practical reception of the council's teachings on ecumenism, for example.[43]

Complexifying the experience of synodality or collegiality is that Eastern Catholic bishops in such regional conferences also participate in the synods of their kyriarchal churches. Here, pastoral oversight of a particular Church by an Eastern Catholic synod of bishops does not, de facto, see itself constrained by a geographical historical canonical territory but includes so-called diaspora churches, despite canon law *de jure* limiting

[40] In Hermaniuk, *Synod extraordinaire*, see the comments by Sayegh, starting at 392, and Hermaniuk, starting at 394.

[41] John Paul II's *Ecclesia in America*, no. 38, advocates establishing commissions of Latin and Eastern Catholic bishops and the participation of Eastern Catholics in Latin Episcopal Conferences. On this, see Wilton Gregory [Roman Catholic, USA], 'Cooperation and Autonomy: The Relationship Between the Eastern Catholic Churches and the Latin Majority in America,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 40, nos. 1–4 (1999): 148–61. *The Directory for the Application of Principles and Norms on Ecumenism* (1993), no. 28, affirms the same for ecumenical activities. See also Alexander Laschuk [Ukrainian, Canada], 'Participation of Eastern Hierarchs in Conferences of Bishops,' *Studia Canonica* 51, no. 1 (2017): 181–205.

[42] See the proceedings of the 'Encounter of the Eastern Catholic Churches of the Americas and Oceania,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 40, nos. 1–4 (1999). Subsequent Encounters were held in 2006, 2012, 2014, and 2019. On catechesis, see John Katchuba [Ruthenian, USA], 'Eastern Catholic Catechesis in the United States,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 40, nos. 1–4 (1999): 299–304; Sr. Ann Laszok [Ukrainian, USA], 'Catechesis of the Laity,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 40, nos. 1–4 (1999): 305–12; Fr. Anthony Salim [Maronite, USA], 'Catechesis in Syriac-Speaking Churches in the United States,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 40, nos. 1–4 (1999): 313–19.

[43] For dialogue statements, see Borelli and Erickson, *The Quest for Unity*.

aspects of such jurisdictions to particular home-church regions.[44] Here, the continental churches express a transnationalism or a trans-ecclesialism in their mission and evangelization, where more recent migrations to these regions, as mentioned, manifest multi-perspectival identities of the laity and clergy—of their former homelands and of their new homeland.[45] However, such synods and their primates cannot ordain bishops for themselves or establish new hierarchies or missions outside their own 'historical territories' without seeking papal approval (despite the fact that Rome appoints Roman bishops in the historically Eastern Christian territories). Some Eastern Catholic hierarchs reflect varying vectors of non-reception of conciliar and canonical norms on territorial circumscription with objections to the possibility of unilateral curial or papal interference in diaspora churches.[46]

The new reality of the indigeneity of diaspora churches is progressively appearing and thus the question of whether they will one day evolve into new *sui iuris* churches.[47] Following *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* 4, migration patterns of the faithful have seen the need to establish new churches and hierarchs where necessary. In certain cases, such churches have needed assistance in pastoral care, where bi-ritual clergy and the sharing of worship spaces with Roman churches have been practised. Where problems can arise is when the synods of the mother churches do not pay sufficient

[44] CCEO, no. 3, is one example of territorial circumscription. See the critiques on this issue by Bishop Nicholas Samra [Melkite, USA], 'Eastern Catholicism in the Middle East Fifty Years after *Orientalium ecclesiarum*,' at 'Conference on the Vatican II Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches, *Orientalium ecclesiarum* – Fifty Years Later,' Sheptytsky Institute, University of St. Michael's College, Toronto, Canada (18 Oct. 2014), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nQZKDqXcOEo. See also Faris, 'Eastern Churches in a Western World,' 130–31.

[45] For Syro-Malabar Catholics (USA), see Jaisy Joseph, 'Negotiations In-Between: Indian Catholics in Diaspora,' in *Scattered and Gathered: Catholics in Diaspora,* ed. Michael L. Budde (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2017), 167–78. The Syro-Malabar diocese in Chicago encompasses parishes within the USA but is also still part of that Church's synod in India. The Ukrainian Catholic Synod initiated a new pastoral program called 'The Vibrant Parish' for application in all the Ukrainian churches globally.

[46] Bishop Isaam Darwich [Melkite, Australia], 'Patriarch and Eparch,' 114–15. The issue of territorial circumscription emerged as a topic at the Pan-Orthodox Synod (Crete, 2016) and the question of granting autocephaly. This issue is tied, as with Roman primacy and jurisdiction, to primacy in the Eastern Orthodox churches. Further study is needed to ascertain the degree to which Eastern Catholics view the spiritual head of their churches in their respective primates (patriarchs, major archbishops) and not the pope.

[47] See Melkite Bishop Nicholas Samra's comments on speaking of the 'new world' and not diaspora churches, owing to the fact that such Eastern Catholics are no longer immigrants but have become second- and third-generation faithful. Samra, 'Welcome to Our Encounter,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 40, nos. 1–4 (1999): 41–42.

attention to the needs of those communities outside their historical territories.[48] Others speak of a need to collaborate in pastoral ministry in churches of the same ritual traditions, despite their differing ethno-cultural origins.[49] Further study is needed on the role and place of the laity in Eastern Catholic continental episcopal conferences and synods and their role in ministry and parish life. For monastic communities in these continental regions, there is an absence or decline in monastic life. It is quite common, however, to find ritually Eastern Catholic branches within predominantly Latin religious orders (such as Jesuits, Franciscans, and Redemptorists) in these regions.

Some Eastern fathers at the council promoted the idea of the establishment of new patriarchates where needed (like the Ethiopian and Ukrainian). The Ukrainian Church has had a particularly strong movement for the establishment of a patriarchate in the continental regions under study.[50] This is one area where there has not been a kerygmatic reception of the council by one constituency (Rome), while another (the Eastern Catholic) has received de facto such a teaching. New patriarchates have not been created, mostly due to fears that their establishment would derail ecumenical relations with the Orthodox churches (who protest at the mention of such ideas). Conversely, given the smaller size and limited resources of some Eastern Catholic churches, establishing such elaborate hierarchies is unwarranted. Further, the Eastern patriarchs are still not envisioned in *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* and canon law in terms acceptable to the Orthodox, since they are not seen as primates of autonomous churches but remain subject to claims of papal universal jurisdiction and primacy.[51] One area of ordained ministry where there has been a symbiosis with

[48] See the comments on pastoral care in Saato, *American Eastern Catholics*, 132–34. On the Ukrainian Catholic Church in North America, see Andriy Chirovsky [Ukrainian, USA], 'A Report on the Ottawa Colloquium on the Future of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church in North America,' *Logos*: *A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 56, nos. 1–2 (2015): 99–162.

[49] Saato, *American Eastern Catholics*, 133.

[50] Myroslaw Tataryn [Ukrainian, Canada], 'Vatican II's Call to Renewal: Re-Visiting Sheptytsky's 1942 Initiative for Re-Union,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 57, nos. 1–4 (2016): 121–33, describes the complexities of the historical movement toward a Ukrainian Catholic patriarchate. John Madey, 'The Catholic Syro-Malankara Church: Some Reflections on Its Canonical Status Past and Future,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 43–45 (2002–2004): 181–202, advocates for a primatial structure under a Catholicos.

[51] See Adam A.J. De Ville, *Orthodoxy and the Roman Papacy:* Ut Unum Sint *and the Prospects of East–West Unity* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2011), on Orthodox responses on ecumenically (re)envisioning papal primacy.

the Latin rite is restricting ordination solely to men (notwithstanding the issue of married clergy noted above). However, some of the Orthodox churches—with significant advocates in the US—have moved to consider the ordination of women to the diaconate.

7. Eastern Catholic Evangelization and Education

It is almost a given that each Eastern Catholic Church in these continental regions has some form of catechetical formation for its youth (such as Sunday schools and Youth for Christ groups) and even possibly for adults. The 'God with Us' series is an effort of the Eparchial Directors of Religious Education and the Eastern Catholic Associates to provide for the formation of Eastern Catholics in the United States.[52] The *Liturgical Prescriptions* similarly advocates for formation according to one's rite (no. 71).[53] There have been a number of advances in access to formation and higher education in these Eastern Catholic diaspora communities as some have developed their own local seminary system post-Vatican II,[54] though many still rely on the importation of clergy from the territories of their mother churches to offset the dearth of diaspora vocations (which tends to strengthen ethnicity and transnationalism and can be a source of a clash of cultures within parishes). John Paul II's *Orientale Lumen* advocated for greater knowledge between East and West and for Catholic seminarians and laity (in seminaries and theologates) to be educated about the Christian East.[55]

The ecumenical warming with the Orthodox has also accorded some Eastern Catholics access to some Orthodox institutions (like St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary, New York), while the Orthodox also study within Catholic contexts.[56] Some Eastern Catholic churches have

[52] 'God with Us' series, http://easterncatholic.org.

[53] See CCEO, nos. 328, 330.

[54] Seminaries have included the Melkites (Massachusetts), Chaldeans (California), Maronites (Washington, DC), Ruthenians (Pennsylvania), and Ukrainians (Connecticut; Washington, DC) in the US, plus Ukrainians (Edmonton, Alberta) in Canada.

[55] *Orientale Lumen* (1995) 24 cites an earlier directive by the Congregation for Catholic Education (1987), which was repeated in John Paul II, *Ecclesia in America* (1999), no. 38, and *The Program of Priestly Formation* (2005) of the Committee on Priestly Formation of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2005. Morozowich, 'Ecclesiology and Liturgy,' 405, stated (in 2011) that 'little evidence exists to suggest that this directive has ever been truly implemented.'

[56] Such as St. Michael's College and Regis College in the University of Toronto, Canada, or the Orthodox Christian Studies Center, Fordham University, US.

developed important centres of learning, such as the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies (University of St. Michael's College, Toronto) and Sts. Cyril and Methodius Byzantine Catholic Seminary (Duquesne, Pennsylvania). Not to be forgotten is the Jesuit-founded John XXIII Ecumenical Center, Fordham University (New York, 1951–85), then relocated as the Center for Eastern Christian Studies, University of Scranton, along with its former journal, *Diakonia: Dedicated to Promoting a Knowledge and Understanding of Eastern Christianity*.[57] Greater ease and freedom of travel have allowed for more possibilities for formation, especially in higher education. Publications in the United States (*Eastern Churches Journal* and its associated press) and Canada (*Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*) have made major contributions to the re-establishment and promotion of the Eastern Christian patrimony advocated by *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*[58] and contributed to the reception by the Orthodox churches of the council's spirit of *rapprochement*. Related to education and research on Vatican II are studies by Roman Catholic scholars about reception, some of which mention Eastern Catholics to varying degrees,[59] while others make no mention of them at all. Lamentable have been cases of the prohibition of Eastern Catholic children from registering in Catholic parochial schools in the US.[60] In Canada, by contrast, government funding prohibits such restrictions in Catholic schools and, in a number of places, there exist distinct Eastern-Rite Catholic schools.[61]

[57] See the special issue of a conference of Latin and Eastern Catholics members of Jesuits for the Christian East, in *Diakonia* 28, nos. 2–3 (1994).

[58] *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 39, no. 1 (1998) contains four essays on the nature of Eastern Catholic theology primarily from the Byzantine-Slavic traditions.

[59] For example, Alberigo and Komonchak, eds., *History of Vatican II* (5 vols.); Lamb and Levering, *The Reception of Vatican II*; Richard R. Gaillardetz, *The Church in the Making:* Lumen Gentium, Christus Dominus, Orientalium Ecclesiarum (New York: Paulist Press, 2006).

[60] Eastern Catholic children were compelled to be registered in the local Latin parish as a condition of admission. See Losten, 'The Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USA,' 75; Bishop Wilton Gregory [Roman Catholic, USA], 'Cooperation and Autonomy,' *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 40, nos. 1–4 (1999): 153; Saato, *American Eastern Catholics*, 127–30.

[61] The Toronto, Ontario (Canada), area has four such Eastern-rite Catholic schools. Other Eastern Catholic churches support Saturday heritage language schools up to high school, which include catechetical formation, like the Armenian Catholic Schools in Toronto.

Orientale Lumen conferences (in the US) have also become grassroots venues for the practical reception of the council and for discussing the modern needs of Eastern Catholic churches.[62] The Kievan Church Study group, a North American initiative composed of bishops, clergy, and scholars, has similarly contributed to the renewal in Eastern Catholic churches and the dynamic reception by the Orthodox of the main thrust of Vatican II's teaching on the Orthodox East.[63] There are also a number of other local initiatives by Eastern Catholic churches in the areas of social justice, mostly in outreach for the poor and homeless. Welcome Home (Winnipeg, Canada) is one such success story. The Catholic Near East Welfare Association in the United States and Canada has provided material and humanitarian support to the Eastern Catholic churches in underprivileged countries or to Christians afflicted by war or persecution. Eastern Catholic churches in North America and Australia, from the council to today, have been vocal about religious liberty of their marginalized or persecuted fellow faithful in other parts of the world, continuing what they affirmed at the council.

8. Conclusion

The above discussion has shown a number of vectors of the kerygmatic and practical reception of Vatican II among Eastern Catholics in North America and Australia. Given that such churches are minority churches in these regions, sometimes geographically dispersed and with limited resources or with deficiencies in pastoral and material infrastructure, a judgment about their reception of the council must take into account these diverse contexts. The place that Eastern Catholics have in Orthodox–Catholic ecumenical relations, and the fact that they are minority churches in the Catholic communion, may function as encumbrances to the reception of the council by the broader Catholic Church. Of course, despite past attempts at latinization and lingering remnants of such attitudes today, the Eastern Catholic churches owe a tremendous amount of gratitude to the Catholic Church for its pastoral and material solicitude for them.

[62] See, for example, *Orientale Lumen XV–XXI: Conference 2011–2017 Proceedings* (Fairfax, VA: Eastern Christian Publications, 2017).

[63] See a number of essays of this group in *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 34, nos. 1–4 (1993); 35, nos. 1–4 (1994); and 36, nos. 1–4 (1995).

The preceding overview of the reception of the council has shown that the Eastern Catholic churches have focused on the pastoral care of their faithful, with tensions arising in the areas of collegiality, synodality, and jurisdiction and ongoing efforts in liturgical reform and evangelization —all of which are rooted in *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*'s call for a rediscovery and reinvigoration of their Eastern Christian heritage. These areas are intertwined with ecumenical reconciliation with the Orthodox churches, raising the question of whether a robust reception of the council by Eastern Catholics will ultimately signal a maturation of ecclesial self-identities leading to the prospect of full communion with their respective Orthodox churches.[64]

[64] Some Eastern Catholic primates have signalled that they would renounce their primatial roles to the Orthodox in a vision of full communion. For example, see Bishop Elias Zoghby (Melkite), *We Are All Schismatics*, transl. by Philip Khairallah (Newton, MA: Educational Services, 1996; orig. pub. 1981); Tataryn's 'Vatican II's Call to Renewal' catalogues similar proposals by Ukrainian Catholic hierarchs.

THE RECEPTION OF *UNITATIS REDINTEGRATIO* IN CANADA

CATHERINE E. CLIFFORD

'Reception' is a complex, multivalent reality. It involves much more than the institutional 'application' of new Church teaching or guidelines, including the various 'Directories' intended to guide the practical living out of interchurch relations.[1] In the Canadian context, the texture of interchurch relationships varies greatly from one region to the next and is unavoidably coloured by historical patterns of immigration: the dominance of French-speaking Catholicism in Quebec and that of Anglican and Presbyterian communities in areas settled by the British and the Scots in Atlantic Canada, Ontario, and southern British Columbia. Subsequent waves of immigration from Ireland, Italy, Germany, and Ukraine brought new Latin and Eastern Catholic and Orthodox communities. More recent migrations from Latin America, the Caribbean, China, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Africa have contributed to the diversity of Canada's churches, which until the late 20th century largely reflected the 'mainline' traditions of Protestantism and Catholicism.

It is not possible to speak of a uniform or homogenous reception of Vatican II's ecumenical impulse across Canada. It has varied given the unique history of the individual dioceses and regions—each context with its particular blend of confessional diversity and shaped by the challenges of geography and social life. Nonetheless, it is possible to distinguish several features of a distinctly Canadian ecumenical ethos. I propose an exploration of the most outstanding of these by considering, first, the roots of this reception that began during the council years; and, second,

[1] Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, 'Directory Concerning Ecumenical Matters: Part One, *Ad Totum Ecclesiam*, 14 May 1967,' in *Vatican Council II: Volume 1. The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents*, New rev. ed., ed. Austin Flannery (North Port, NY/Dublin: Costello/Dominican Publications, 1975), 483–501; 'Directory Concerning Ecumenical Matters: Part Two: Ecumenism in Higher Education, *Spiritus Domini*, 16 April 1970,' Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, 'Directory Concerning Ecumenical Matters, 515–32; Pontifical Council for the Promotion of Christian Unity, *Directory for the Application of the Principles and Norms of Ecumenism* (1993), http://www.christian-unity.va/content/unitacristiani/en/documenti/testo-in-inglese.html.

the varieties of institutional reception reflected in the collaboration of the Canadian churches on questions of social justice, in theological education, and in the participation of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops in the Canadian Council of Churches. Third, I offer a brief survey of the fruits of formal theological dialogue at the national level and conclude by drawing attention to the significant contributions of Canadians to ecumenical initiatives and dialogue at the international level.

1. Developments During the Conciliar Period (1959–65)

The receptive activity of the Catholic Church in Canada did not wait for the conclusion of the council. Indeed, the debate and activities relating to the council and its protagonists would have a transformative effect on the life of the local Church from the opening session. During the Second Vatican Council, the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops (CCCB), an organization in existence since 1943, found new life and purpose. To reflect the council's principal aim of restoring church unity (*Unitatis Redintegratio* [UR] 1), the conference established a new national office for ecumenical affairs in 1962. The national office was initially associated with two other offices: one, in Toronto, staffed by John Keating, CSP, and the other, serving the Francophone community, the Canadian Centre for Ecumenism in Montreal, under the leadership of Irénée Beaubien, SJ. While the Anglophone centre appears to have been short-lived, the centre in Montreal—despite many challenges—continues to function today with a broader interfaith focus.[2] Much insight can be gained into the arc of Canadian ecumenism over the years through its bilingual journal, *Ecumenism*/*Oecuménisme*.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Montreal, Paul-Émile Léger, attuned to ecumenical concerns in the years leading up to Vatican II,[3] took the

[2] Irénée Beaubien, 'The Canadian Centre for Ecumenism: Intuition, Action, Evolution,' *Ecumenism* 132 (1998): 4–7; 'The Canadian Centre for Ecumenism,' *Ecumenism* 153–54 (2004): 4–7; David Fines, 'The Canadian Centre for Ecumenism is 50 Years Old,' *Ecumenism* 185 (2013): 14–29; 'Célébration du centenaire du Père Irénée Beaubien, SJ: Une biographie abrégée et illustrée,' *Œcuménisme* 196–97 (2016): 15–31. Gilles Routhier, 'The Ecumenical Movement in Quebec: A Long Pilgrimage toward Christian Unity,' *Ecumenism* 184 (Fall–Winter 2012–13): 43–48.

[3] Gilles Routhier and Riccardo Burigana, 'La conversion œcuménique d'un évêque et d'une église: Le parcours œcuménique du cardinal Léger et de l'église de Montréal au moment de Vatican II. – I. Les premiers ébranlements. II. L'engagement résolue,' *Science et Esprit* 52, (2000): 171–92, 293–319.

council's ecumenical intention to heart by establishing the first diocesan ecumenical commission in North America, under Beaubien's leadership. Seizing a unique opportunity for common witness, Beaubien was a key protagonist in the ecumenical effort to build a 'Christian Pavilion' for Expo '67, a major national exposition held in Montreal to celebrate Canada's centenary.[4] Léger offered the full collaboration and support of his diocese to the local arrangements committee that would host the fourth international meeting of the World Council of Churches' (WCC) Commission on Faith and Order in Montreal from 12 to 26 July 1963. Beaubien attended planning meetings from the fall of 1962 onward. That meeting proved to be a key turning point in the ecumenical life of the Archdiocese of Montreal[5] and for the growing theological consensus on the question of the relationship between Scripture and Tradition, one of no little consequence for the council's teaching on divine revelation.[6]

In November 1962, Léger intervened in the debate on the draft of *De fontibus*,[7] arguing for the rejection of the schema, noting that its 'two-source' theory of revelation did not reflect the state of contemporary historical and exegetical studies. More importantly, he argued, the condemnatory tone of the schema did not correspond to the need for a renewed and positive expression of doctrine envisioned by Pope John XXIII, one that would take greater account of the perspectives of other Christians. On November 20, after the vote which narrowly missed the two-thirds majority required to reject the schema definitively, Léger met with

[4] Irénée Beaubien, 'The Christian Pavillion at Expo '67,' *Ecumenism* 135 (1999): 4–5, 30; 'The Christian Pavillion at Expo '67,' *Ecumenism* 167 (2007): 33–35; Gisèle Boucher, 'Au Père Irénée Beaubien: Sur le Pavillon chrétien – Expo '67,' *Œcuménisme* 201–202 (2017): 45–46.

[5] Routhier and Burigana refer to the event as 'un moment capital dans l'évolution de l'œcuménisme à Montréal.' 'La conversion œcuménique d'un évêque et d'une église,' 300.

[6] Riccardo Burigana, 'Scripture, Tradition and Traditions: Proofs of Dialogue among Christians. Between Vatican II and the Conference of Faith and Order (Montreal, 12-26 July 1963),' in *L'Église canadienne et Vatican II*, ed. Gilles Routhier (Montréal: Fides, 1997), 373–96. For a concise exposition, see Martien E. Brinkman, 'Scripture and Tradition,' in *Progress in Unity? Fifty Years of Theology within the World Council of Churches: 1945–1995. A Study Guide* (Leuven/Grand Rapids: Peeters/Eerdmans, 1995), 39–58, esp. 44–51.

[7] AS I/3, 41–42. Léger had already made known his displeasure with the schema and with the tenor of the preparatory documents during the preparatory phase of the council. See Gilles Routhier, 'Les réactions du cardinal Léger à la préparation de Vatican II,' *Revue de l'histoire de l'Église en France* 80 (1994): 281–302. So concerned was Léger that he addressed a letter of 'supplication' to John XXIII, co-signed by other members of the Central Preparatory Commission (Frings, Döpfner, König, Suenens, Alfrink, Liénart). For the text, see AS VI/I, 54–62.

Pope John, urging him to withdraw the schema and establish a joint commission with representatives of both the Doctrinal Commission and the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. This joint commission would be tasked with preparing a new draft on revelation, one more attuned to the wider ecumenical implications of its teaching. The Faith and Order Commission's acknowledgement of the interdependence of Scripture and Tradition, and its distinction between the Apostolic Tradition (with a capital 'T') and the legitimate diversity of expression in the various (small 't') ecclesiastical traditions, would find an echo in the council's own deliberations and teaching.[8]

Several months later, during the first intersession of the council, Cardinal Léger welcomed the Commission on Faith and Order, together with the general secretary of the WCC, W.A. Visser 't Hooft, to the campus of McGill University in Montreal—the first time a Cardinal of the Catholic Church would address such a gathering. The Montreal meeting marked the first official participation of Catholic theologians in the commission's work.[9] The delegation included five official observers (George Tavard, Gregory Baum, Bernard Lambert, Godfrey Diekmann, Jan C. Groot) and 15 invited guests (including Johannes Willebrands, under-secretary of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, and the American biblical scholar Raymond Brown, who delivered a keynote on the ecclesiology of the New Testament[10]).

[8] Burigana, 'Scripture, Tradition and Traditions.' It is against the background of these debates that Yves Congar would publish his influential work *La Tradition et les traditions*. 2 vols. (Paris: Fayard, 1960–63): English translation: *Tradition and Traditions: An Historical and Theological Essay* (New York: Macmillan, 1966). The influence of the French-born George Tavard, who by this period had moved to the United States, is also of note. See *Holy Writ or Holy Church: The Crisis of the Protestant Reformation* (London: Burns & Oates, 1959).

[9] Paul Crowe, 'The Roman Catholic Presence in the Faith and Order Movement,' *Bulletin Centro Pro Unione* 62 (2002): 3–15; John Gibaut, 'The Commission on Faith and Order and the Second Vatican Council: Perspectives from the Commission Meetings, 1959–1968,' *Ecumenical Review* 66, no. 4 (2014): 400–20. Gibaut describes how these encounters prepared the way for the full participation of Catholic theologians in the Faith and Order Commission and led to the establishment of the Joint Working Group between the World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church.

[10] Raymond Brown, 'Unity and Diversity in New Testament Ecclesiology,' *Novum Testamentum* 6, no. 3 (1963): 298–308. For a complete list of Catholic delegates, see *The Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order*, ed. P.L. Rodger and L. Vischer (London: SCM, 1964), 29.

2. New Initiatives for Ecumenical Collaboration in the Wake of the Council

2.1. *Collaboration with the Canadian Council of Churches*

No doubt inspired by the creation of a Joint Working Group between the WCC and the Roman Catholic Church in the wake of the council, the Canadian Council of Churches and the CCCB established a Joint Working Group by the late 1960s. This group functioned as the principal clearing house for joint initiatives until 1986, when the bishops' conference became an associate member of the council. It was only after coming to an agreement concerning the council's mode of governance and decision-making in 1997 that the conference of bishops would become a full member of the Canadian Council of Churches. Adopting the model of a 'forum,' where initiative resides not with council staff but with the consensus of the churches, the council would provide a model for Catholic participation and membership in councils of churches elsewhere.[11]

In 1975, the principal members of the Canadian Council of Churches—the Anglican, Evangelical Lutheran, Presbyterian, United, and Roman Catholic churches of Canada—signed an agreement on the mutual recognition of baptism. In subsequent years, the council's Commission on Faith and Witness has explored approaches to the joint preparation for baptism and celebrations of ecumenical prayer.[12] To foster dialogue and mutual understanding in a context of debate on matters of human sexuality, it prepared a resource, in 2000, surveying the churches' understanding of Christian marriage.[13] More recently, it has created shared resources on religious freedom, interfaith prayer, human trafficking, racism, interculturality, and reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples in Canada. This enumeration reflects a culture of pragmatic collaboration and common witness on matters of social justice that is characteristic of interchurch relations in Canada.

[11] 'Roman Catholic Bishops Ask for Full Membership in the Canadian Council of Churches' (21 Jan. 1997), https://www.cccb.ca/media-release/roman-catholic-bishops-ask-for-full-membership-in-the-canadian-council-of-churches; Donna Geernaert, 'Councils of Churches? New Possibilities for Catholic Participation,' *SEDOS Bulletin* 31 (June–July 1999): 178–86.

[12] Canadian Council of Churches, Commission on Faith and Witness, *Initiation into Christ: Reflections and Common Teaching on Preparation for Baptism* (Winfield, BC: Wood Lake Books, 1992); *Liturgies for Christian Unity: The First 100 Years [1908–2008]* (Ottawa: Novalis, 2008).

[13] Canadian Council of Churches, Commission on Faith and Witness, *Together in Christ: The Hope and Promise of Christian Marriage* (Ottawa: Novalis, 2000).

In 1984, Fr Bernard de Margerie was appointed as a full-time ecumenical officer in the Diocese of Saskatoon, in the province of Saskatchewan. Under his guidance, the ecumenical office for the Catholic diocese reached out to other Church leaders to establish the Prairie Centre for Ecumenism, which is jointly sponsored by Anglican, Evangelical Lutheran, United, Ukrainian, and Roman Catholic churches. The centre remains an important impetus for ecumenical formation and joint initiative in Western Canada.

2.2. *Ecumenical Coalitions for Social Justice*

Vatican II's *Decree on Ecumenism* observed that the 'active faith' of fellow Christians inspires 'a strong sense of justice and a true charity toward others.' This same impulse had given rise to 'many organizations for the relief of spiritual and material distress, the advancement and education of youth, the establishment of more humane social conditions of life, and the promotion of peace throughout the world.' For this reason, it suggested that 'ecumenical dialogue' might take as its starting point 'the application of the gospel to moral questions' (UR 23). A pragmatic spirit led the CCCB, the Canadian Religious Conference, and other Catholic agencies into a series of partnerships with other churches or Church-sponsored agencies to collaboratively address a host of issues. Canada's ecumenical coalitions for social justice offer a model of how churches might give a common witness in society by pooling their resources and expertise.[14] They have discovered that by working together, the churches are more effective in speaking truth to power. At the same time, the experience of cooperation in service of the common good has helped to break down residual tensions that linger after centuries of estrangement.

The United Church of Canada was born in 1925 from a union of Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregationalist communities. It established a Committee on Roman Catholic Relations in 1945 'to discern the trend of Protestant-Catholic tensions,' a response to conflicts in Canadian society emerging from the growing presence of Catholic immigrants and those related to rival public and Catholic educational systems. A similar committee existed within the Church of England in Canada (as the Anglican Church of Canada was known until 1955). The 'new religious climate' signalled by the Second Vatican Council, including the participation of

[14] Donald F. Thompson, 'Coalitions as Vehicles for Unity,' *Ecumenism* 86 (1987): 5–13.

Canadian ecumenical observers at the council, led Anglicans to seek 'ways and means of improving Protestant-Catholic relations.'[15] Through the 1960s, new efforts of joint cooperation focused on the areas of public health, as the country established a system of publicly funded health care; on labour rights; and on poverty. A jointly organized conference met in 1965 to consider the 'Implications of a Health Charter for Canadians.' Social justice activists and Church leaders worked across denominational lines through the Religion-Labor Council and the National Committee on the Church and Industrial Society.

Among the most significant events was the organization of the Canadian Conference on Church and Society in 1968,[16] co-sponsored by 12 churches and provincial government agencies. Reports from its working groups, on questions as diverse as 'food, education, health, housing, aid and trade,' would set the agenda for the next decade of ecumenical collaboration. This initiative was supported by the CCCB's Social Action office, under the direction of William Ryan, SJ, working in close collaboration with the newly established Pontifical Council Justitia et Pax, whose Cardinal president, Maurice Roy, was the Archbishop of Quebec. Keynote speakers included Dame Barbara Ward and Dom Helder Camara.

Responding to the exhortations of Pope Paul's 1967 encyclical letter, *On the Development of Peoples* (*Populorum Progressio*), this meeting coincided with the founding of the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace and, by 1970, of a new ecumenical Coalition for Development.[17] The work of the latter would be carried forward by

[15] Roger Hutchinson, 'Ecumenical Witness in Canada: Social Action Coalitions,' *International Review of Mission* 71, no. 283 (1982): 344–52. See also Stuart Macdonald, 'Canadian Presbyterians and Vatican II,' in *Vatican II: Canadian Experiences – Expériences canadiennes*, eds. Michael Attridge, Catherine E. Clifford, and Gilles Routhier (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2011), 78–105; John H. Young, 'Reaction to Vatican II in the United Church of Canada,' in Attridge, Clifford, and Routhier, *Vatican II: Canadian Experiences*, 106–23; Allan L. Hayes, '"Hold on to Your Hats": Vatican II and *Aggiornamento* in the Anglican Church of Canada,' in Attridge, Clifford, and Routhier, *Vatican II: Canadian Experiences*, 124–46.

[16] *Pussycat Purr or Tiger Roar?* Report of the Canadian Conference on Church and Society, Université de Montréal, 26–29 May 1968. On the cross-fertilization between the activities of the Pontifical Council Justitia et Pax and Canadian social justice initiatives, see Catherine E. Clifford, 'Social Justice at the Second Vatican Council,' in *Turning to the World: Social Justice and the Common Good Since Vatican II*, eds. Carl N. Still and Gertrude Rompré (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018), 163–77.

[17] Strategy Committee Report to Canadian Council of Churches, Canadian Catholic Conference, and All Concerned Canadians, *Towards a Coalition for Development* (May 1969).

the Interchurch Committee for the Promotion of Justice in Canada. This initial experiment with a coalition model inspired a series of subsequent collaborations between the CCCB, Canadian religious orders, and Anglican and mainline Protestant churches on a host of critical issues: the Interchurch Consultative Committee on Development and Relief, the Interchurch Project on Population, GATT-Fly, the Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility, the Interchurch Committee on Human Rights in Latin America, Project North (the Interchurch Project on Northern Development), the Canada-Asia Working Group, the Interchurch Committee for Refugees, the Interchurch Coalition on Africa, the Church Council on Justice and Corrections, Project Ploughshares, and the Task Force on Responsible Alternatives to the Death Penalty. In 2001, 11 coalitions were reorganized under a single coordinating umbrella, KAIROS, which remains an important nexus for ecumenical justice initiatives. In the past two decades, attention has turned increasingly to the issues of eco-justice and the rights of Indigenous Peoples in Canada.

2.3. *Theological Education*

Gregory Baum, a German immigrant to Canada, was invited to serve as a *peritus* to the Vatican's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity soon after completing his doctoral thesis, *That All May Be One*, a survey of magisterial teachings on the question of Christian unity.[18] During the council, he contributed to the work of the sub-commission 'On the Jews,' a text which became the basis for *Nostra Aetate*. In 1962, he established a Centre for Ecumenical Studies at the University of St. Michael's College, Toronto. The centre closed in 1968 when a plan was announced to form the Toronto School of Theology—a consortium of seven church colleges representing Catholic, Anglican, United, and Presbyterian traditions. Educators reasoned, 'The whole Toronto Graduate School in Theology has become an ecumenical center.'[19] Ecumenical collaboration in theological education remains one of the distinctive features of ecumenical life in Canada. Similar consortia were soon established from coast to coast, from the Atlantic School of Theology (Halifax) to the Vancouver School of Theology (University of British Columbia), and at

[18] Gregory Baum, *That All May Be One: A Study of Papal Doctrine (Leo XIII–Pius XII)* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1958).

[19] Gregory Baum, 'A Sign of the Times,' *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 5 (1968): 572–73.

the universities of McGill (Montreal), Saskatchewan (Saskatoon), Winnipeg, and Sudbury. In 1981, at the suggestion of the Canadian Anglican–Roman Catholic dialogue commission, a program in Anglican Studies was established through collaboration of the Anglican Diocese of Ottawa and Saint Paul University, a pontifical faculty of theology. Though greatly diminished by declining enrollments and reduced support for theological education, these collaborative efforts continue today.

3. Commissions for Bilateral Dialogue on Theological and Pastoral Issues

The North American Orthodox–Catholic Theological Consultation, established in 1965 between the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) and the Assembly of Canonical Orthodox Bishops of the United States of America, has been co-sponsored by the CCCB since 1997. It has produced an impressive series of reflections of matters of theological concern.[20] This dialogue has the distinction of maintaining open communication and dialogue in the period of the 1990s when, after the fall of the iron curtain and the collapse of the Soviet Union, new tensions arose between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Greco-Catholic Church of the Ukraine, leading to a suspension of theological dialogue at the international level.[21]

The Anglican–Roman Catholic dialogue of Canada (ARC Canada) was established in the wake of the council, meeting for the first time in 1971, thanks to the efforts of John Keating, advisor to the Canadian bishops' ecumenical office, and Eugene Fairweather, professor of theology at

[20] For links to a complete inventory of agreed statements and documents, see https://www.usccb.org/committees/ecumenical-interreligious-affairs/ecumenical-documents-and-news-releases#tab--orthodox.

[21] The North American Orthodox–Catholic consultation issued two statements in this period: 'A Joint Communiqué on Current Tensions between Our Churches in Eastern Europe (1990),' https://www.usccb.org/resources/a-joint-communique-on-current-tensions-between-our-churches-in-eastern-europe.pdf, and 'Joint Statement on Tensions in Eastern Europe Related to "Uniatism",' https://www.usccb.org/resources/joint-statement-on-tension-in-eastern-europe-related-to-uniatism.pdf. See also Joint Orthodox-Catholic Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church, 'Balamand Document: Uniatism – Method of Union in the Past, and the Present Search for Full Communion [1993],' http://www.christianunity.va/content/unitacristiani/en/dialoghi/sezione-orientale/chiese-ortodosse-di-tradizione-bizantina/commissione-mista-internazionale-per-il-dialogo-teologico-tra-la/documenti-di-dialogo/testo-in-lingua-inglese.html.

Trinity College, Toronto, and an Anglican observer during the third and fourth sessions of the council. Both served on the Joint Preparatory Commission that met several times in 1967 to 1968 to prepare the mandate for the Anglican–Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC), which began its work in 1970.[22] Both Fairweather and the Dominican Jean-Marie Tillard, who had advised the CCCB during the council, were appointed to ARCIC and later to ARC Canada, ensuring a close coordination between these two bodies, as reflected in the study of common themes and the reception of ARCIC's work at the regional level. Among its more creative contributions are a study of the experience of Anglican and Catholic women in ecclesial ministries—an effort to speak to the new challenge of mutual recognition represented by the ordination of Anglican women[23]—and an agreed statement on the infallible exercise of the papal teaching office,[24] a contribution to ongoing dialogue on authority in the Church. On several occasions, ARC Canada reacted publicly to responses by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith on the work of ARCIC, pointing to infelicitous discrepancies in theological method.[25] In addition, it prepared several documents aimed at receiving the growing agreement realized in the work of ARCIC within the Canadian context.[26] More recently, ARC has produced video resources to encourage common witness. In addition to this commission for theological dialogue, an official dialogue was established between the Anglican and Catholic bishops of Canada in 1974, creating a space for the sharing of common pastoral concerns and an impetus for the development of common pastoral guidelines.[27]

[22] Joint Anglican–Roman Catholic Preparatory Commission, 'The Malta Report (1968),' in Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission, *The Final Report* (London: SPCK/Catholic Truth Society, 1982), 108–16.

[23] ARC Canada, 'Reflections on the Experience of Women's Ministries (1991),' in *Common Witness to the Gospel: Documents on Anglican–Roman Catholic Relations 1983–1995*, eds. J. Gros, E.R. Elder, and E.K. Wondra (Washington, DC: USCCB, 1997), 149–76.

[24] ARC Canada, 'Agreed Statement on Infallibility (1992),' in Gros, Elder, and Wondra, *Common Witness*, 184.

[25] ARC Canada, 'Comments of the Anglican–Roman Catholic Dialogue of Canada on the Observations of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith on *Salvation and the Church* (1990), in Gros, Elder, and Wondra, *Common Witness*, 52–62, and 'Reply to the Vatican Response to the Final Report of ARCIC I (1993),' in Gros, Elder, and Wondra, *Common Witness*, 78–104.

[26] ARC Canada, 'On the Way Together: A People Created for the Common Good' (1998); 'A Response to "The Gift of Authority"' (2003); and 'A Response to "Mary, Grace and Hope in Christ"' (2008), https://ecumenical-dialogue.ca/arc-canada.

[27] Anglican–Roman Catholic Bishops' Dialogue of Canada, 'Pastoral Guidelines for Interchurch Marriages' [1987], in Gros, Elder, and Wondra, *Common Witness*, 177–83,

The largest constituency of Lutherans in Canada belong to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (ELCIC). While there has not been a sustained bilateral dialogue, a delegate of the ELCIC served for many years as an observer of the ARC dialogue, an expression of the full communion established between the Anglican Church of Canada and the ELCIC in 2000. From 2015 to 2017, a Joint Working Group was established by the ELCIC and the CCCB to prepare resources for local communities in view of the joint commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the Reformation. In 2013, the Lutheran Church in Canada (LCIC), a smaller, more conservative denomination with strict adherence to the 16th-century Lutheran Confessions, approached the CCCB with the desire to establish a dialogue on questions of mutual interest. Conversations have explored the topics of Scripture and Tradition, the doctrine of justification, Eucharist, ministry, and the Reformation, yet, to date, they have not produced any published studies.

The Roman Catholic–United Church dialogue was established in 1974 to foster mutual understanding and the pursuit of visible unity. It has explored the question of inclusive language in the formula of baptism,[28] changing attitudes toward marriage and their impact on the theology of Christian marriage,[29] the understanding of collective sin in the Church in relation to the failings of the churches in the history of residential schools and the call to reconciliation with First Nations,[30] and the call to Christian hope in the face of climate change.[31] Perhaps reflecting the pragmatic ethos of the United Church, this dialogue has increasingly opted to give priority to common witness over doctrinal matters.

Dialogue was established between the USCCB in 1984 and the Polish National Catholic Church, a small self-governing church of Polish immigrants in the Old Catholic tradition, who trace their roots to a break from the American hierarchy in 1897 following conflict over linguistic and

and 'Pastoral Guidelines for Churches in the Case of Clergy Moving from One Communion to Another' [1991], in Gros, Elder, and Wondra, *Common Witness*, 221–31.

[28] 'In Whose Name? The Baptismal Formula in Contemporary Culture' (2000), https://www.cccb.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/The-Baptismal-Formula-in-Contemporary-Culture_.pdf.

[29] 'Marriage: Report of the Roman Catholic–United Church Dialogue' (2012), https://ecumenical-dialogue.ca/archive/rc-ucc/2012-05-16_rc-uc_marriage_en.pdf.

[30] 'Report of the Dialogue on the Theme: Sin, Reconciliation and Ecclesial Identity' (2004), http://ecumenism.net/archive/dialogues_ca/2004_rc_ucc_sin_reconciliation_ecclesial_identity.pdf.

[31] 'The Hope within Us: A Report on Climate Change by the Roman Catholic–United Church Dialogue in Canada' (2018), https://www.cccb.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/hope_within_us.pdf.

cultural traditions, including the ordination of ethnic clergy. The CCCB has participated in this dialogue since 2008.

Exploratory conversations began between the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada and the CCCB in 2008, leading to the establishment of a Joint Working Group in 2010 whose purpose is to foster mutual understanding. It has produced a series of resources aimed at creating a more informed awareness of one another's traditions for use by members of each community.[32]

A discussion of the reception of *Unitatis Redintegratio* in Canada would not be complete without some acknowledgement of the significant contributions of Canadian ecumenists to the broader reality of ecumenical dialogue at the international level. During the Second Vatican Council, Gregory Baum and Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk, of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Eparchy of Winnipeg, both served as members of the Secretariat for Christian Unity.

Jean-Marie Tillard, OP, professor of theology at the Dominican College, Ottawa, would make a remarkable contribution as a member of multiple dialogue commissions. He served as a member of ARCIC and ARC Canada from their time of their founding in 1968 and 1971, respectively. In 1977, he was appointed to the international Commission for Dialogue with the Disciples of Christ; in 1979, he was appointed to serve as a member of the new Joint Orthodox–Catholic Theological Commission. He was named to the WCC's Commission on Faith and Order in 1975 and became vice-moderator in 1977. Tillard served in all these commissions until his untimely passing in 2000.[33]

Another Canadian multi-tasker was Margaret O'Gara, professor at the University of St. Michael's College, Toronto. After a long tenure as a member of ARC Canada (1976–1993), O'Gara was appointed to the US Lutheran–Catholic Dialogue, and soon after to the Lutheran–Roman

[32] Evangelical Fellowship of Canada and Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops National Dialogue, *We Are Neighbours: Catholics and Evangelicals in Canada. Study Guide* (2021), https://www.cccb.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Study-Guide_Evangelical-Catholic-Dialogue_Final_EN_June-7.pdf; Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, 'Our Roman Catholic Neighbours' (2019), https://www.evangelicalfellowship.ca/Resources/Documents/Our-Roman-Catholic-Neighbours; The Episcopal Commission for Christian Unity, Relations with the Jews, and Interfaith Dialogue of the CCCB, 'Our Evangelical Neighbours: A Catholic Reflection on Evangelical Christianity' (2016), https://www.cccb.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/CCCB_Our_Neighbours_e-web.pdf.

[33] Pascale Watine Christory, *Dialogue et communion: L'itinéraire œcuménique de Jean-Marie R. Tillard*. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium (Leuven: Peeters, 2015).

Catholic Commission on Unity (1995–2007). She worked as a member of the Disciples of Christ Roman Catholic International Commission from 1983 and was instrumental in establishing the Evangelical–Roman Catholic Dialogue of Canada in 2008. She served on both these commissions until her death in 2012. O'Gara was also a member of Bridgefolk, a North American organization for the promotion of dialogue and mutual understanding between Mennonites and Catholics.

Finally, the extraordinary ecumenical culture of the Canadian context was no doubt instrumental in producing ecumenical leaders from other Christian communities who desired to initiate more formal dialogue and renewed relations with the Catholic Church. George Vanderveld, professor of theology at the Institute for Christian Studies in Toronto, was the founding co-secretary of the International Consultation between the Catholic Church and the World Evangelical Fellowship in 1993. Similarly, Helmut Harder, professor at the Toronto Mennonite Theological Centre, and Larry Miller, general secretary of the Mennonite World Conference (MWC), have played leading roles in the development of official relations between the MWC and the Catholic Church, including the establishment of an international dialogue which met from 1998 to 2003. From 2012 to 2018, Miller served as secretary of the Global Christian Forum, an organization sponsored by the WCC, the World Evangelical Alliance, and the Catholic Church to bring together Christian leaders of historic mainline churches with Evangelicals, Pentecostals, and African Instituted Churches for exchanges concerning common challenges and to foster mutual respect.

4. Conclusion

As this brief survey suggests, Canadians have embraced the ecumenical commitment of the Second Vatican Council in many ways and have made significant contributions to the wider ecumenical movement. While working to overcome divisions on doctrinal matters, they have consistently reflected on the pastoral dimension of those commitments, including the realities of interchurch families and ecumenical ministries in institutional settings. They have worked collaboratively to share resources for theological education and pastoral care, keeping in view the importance of common witness and service in the context of Canadian society.

RECEPTION OF THE DECREE ON ECUMENISM IN THE UNITED STATES CONTEXT

SUSAN K. WOOD

The reception of the Decree on Ecumenism in the United States context is a story not only of the actions of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) in setting up an administrative structure to respond to Vatican II's ecumenical mandate but also the rich history of the bilateral dialogues and their synergy with international dialogues. This reception is also coloured by the cultural, political, and social context that is the US. The fragmentation within Protestant churches due to disagreements around moral issues and the politicization of religion in the US context that divides religious families within themselves, complicating dialogue between them, also affects the practice and reception of ecumenism in the US.

1. HISTORY

In April 1964, the Administrative Board of the US bishops' conference appointed an ad hoc committee chaired by Albert Cardinal Meyer to explore how a commission dedicated to ecumenical work might assist the bishops with the ecumenical developments that would follow upon the actions of the council.[1] The following November, the full body of bishops approved the mandate of this new commission, which included the preparation of suggested guidelines for common prayer and worship; the establishment of eight subcommissions to explore the possibilities of formal dialogues with Orthodox, Protestant, and Jewish bodies; the endorsement of national workshops for diocesan ecumenical officers and the nation's seminaries; the establishment of an Inter-Confessional Institute for Ecumenical Research; and the enlistment of experts to assist the bishops in ecumenical endeavours. The staff office of the commission

[1] This history is from https://www.usccb.org/committees/ecumenical-interreligious-affairs/committee-history.

opened on 7 January 1965 with Monsignor (later Cardinal) William W. Baum, STD, as its first executive director. The National Conference of Catholic Bishops would expand the mandate in 1966, renaming the commission the Committee on Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs and initiating informal dialogue with the Jewish community.[2]

The commission met for the first time on 10 March 1965 and was quickly joined by ecumenical counterparts to establish the first dialogues with Lutherans, Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Reformed, and the Orthodox (joined by the Canadian Catholic Conference to become the North American Catholic–Orthodox Theological Consultation in 1997)—all beginning their work in 1965. The number of these bilateral consultations later expanded to include the Methodist Church (later the United Methodist Church) in 1966, the Disciples of Christ in 1967 (assumed by the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity in 1981), the American Baptists in 1967 (ended in 1971), the Southern Baptists in 1967 (ended in 2001), the Oriental Orthodox in 1978, and the Polish National Church in 1984.

The Commission for Ecumenical Affairs established a Joint Working Group in May 1966 with the Division of Christian Unity of the National Council of the Churches of Christ. In 1969, Roman Catholics became full members of that body. The commission also took over from the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity the appointment of observers and consultants to meetings of the Consultation on Church Union and the US conference of the World Council of Churches. The committee joined Christian Churches Together as a founding member in 2002.

2. Reception through Dialogue

Ecumenical dialogue commenced in the United States directly on the heels of the council. The dialogues with Baptists and evangelicals generally illustrate the challenges of dialogue with decentralized denominations, while two dialogues are notable for their contribution to and synergy with their international counterparts.

[2] Formal relations began in 1977 between the Synagogue Council of America and the Secretariat for Catholic–Jewish Relations; the dialogue is now fully integrated into the Secretariat for Catholic and Interreligious Affairs. Work in Interreligious Affairs increased significantly beginning in 1987, with the addition of staff with this expertise.

2.1. *Baptists*

One of the principal opportunities for mending the relationship between Baptists and Catholics has been dialogue, but such dialogue has been a challenge because of the multiplicity of Baptist groups and the fluid relationship between Baptists and the broader category of evangelicals. Evangelicals constitute 55 per cent of US Protestants today and probably about 7 per cent of the US population.[3]

From 1967 to 1970, a joint delegation representing the American Baptist Churches and the Catholic Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs met annually; in the process, they discovered a genuine common faith in one another.[4] The USCCB began working with the Interfaith Evangelism Department of the Southern Baptist Convention (formerly Interfaith Witness) in 1971 and initiated conversations in 1978. The final set of conversations began in 1994 and ended in 2001. Topics included the environment, poverty, racism, life, and sickness, disability, and healing. Its last round addressed issues pertaining to Scripture and salvation.

No US official dialogue between Baptists and Catholics presently exists, but the vacuum that created is in part filled by Christian Churches Together (CCT), founded in the US in March 2006 as a forum that would bring together all the major denominations in the country, including evangelicals and Catholics. Currently, 43 churches and Christian organizations belong to CCT, which meets annually to pray together, build relationships of trust, and discern challenges that need to be addressed in society to strengthen the collective Christian witness to the world.

The USCCB's relationships to the following churches mostly occur in the Faith and Order Commission of the National Council of Churches: among the African American churches, this includes the Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.; the National Baptist Convention of America, Inc.; and the National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc.

A survey of over 4,000 Americans found adherents to the four marks of evangelicalism outlined by British historian David Bebbington—conversionism, activism, biblicism, and crucicentrism—in 13 different kinds

[3] Pew Research Center, *America's Changing Religious Landscape*, 12 May 2015, http://www.pewforum.org/2015/05/12/americas-changing-religious-landscape. See discussion in Thomas Rausch, SJ, 'A New Ecumenism? Christian Unity in a Global Church,' *Theological Studies* 78, no. 3 (2017): 596–603, at 598.

[4] The papers from these meetings were published in the American Baptist journal *Foundations* from 1967 to 1973.

of Baptists.[5] The Baptists within the group have largely been Southern Baptists, signalling that in the United States, relationships with Baptists cannot be neatly divided between Baptists associated with the Baptist World Federation, engaged in official dialogue with the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, and Southern Baptists, who broke fellowship with the Baptist World Federation in 2014. When we add to this other evangelicals who do not self-identify as Baptists, as well as Pentecostals, who although they may share similarities with both groups have their own distinctive characteristics, clearly there is a large Christian population not included in traditional ecumenical efforts.[6]

2.2. *Lutherans*

The Lutheran–Catholic dialogue was the first dialogue established by the Commission for Ecumenical Affairs (now called the BCEIA). It is arguably the flagship dialogue of the USCCB, not only on account of the number of substantial statements issued since 1965[7] but also because of its contribution to the international Lutheran–Catholic dialogue, most notably to the eventual consensus document *The Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification* (JDDJ), signed by representatives of the Catholic Church and the Lutheran World Federation on 21 October 1999.[8] This consensus statement was the first and—as of yet—the only official

[5] David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1993).

[6] In the present discussion, the question arises, 'Are Baptists evangelicals?' In the US context, this has been a shifting identification because 'evangelical' was considered a northern term, so Southern Baptists eschewed it. The term also did not fit the theological liberalism of the pre-conservative resurgence years (https://www.thegospelcoalition.org/blogs/evangelical-history/are-southern-baptists-evangelicals). However, as Thomas S. Kidd and Barry Hankins explain in *Baptists in America: A History*, historically, Baptists are evangelicals, especially in America. The Great Awakening, an interdenominational evangelical movement of the 18th century, rebirthed the Baptist movement in the American colonies.

[7] *The Status of the Nicene Creed as Dogma of the Church* (1965), *One Baptism for the Remission of Sins* (1966), *The Eucharist* (1967), *Eucharist and Ministry* (1970), *Teaching Authority and Infallibility in the Church* (1978), *Justification by Faith* (1983), *The One Mediator, the Saints, and Mary* (1990), *Scripture and Tradition* (1995), *The Church as Koinonia of Salvation* (2004), *The Hope of Eternal Life* (2010), and *Faithful Teaching: Toward Discerning Together the Truth of the Gospel* (2019).

[8] The Lutheran World Federation and the Roman Catholic Church, *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000). Originally published as *Gemeinsame Erklärung zur Rechtfertigungslehre* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Otto Lembeck/Paderborn: Bonifatius-Verlag, 1999).

reception on the part of the Roman Catholic Church of the results of dialogue with ecclesial communities issuing from the Protestant Reformation.

The US Lutheran–Catholic Dialogue began work on justification in 1978, issuing its document *Justification by Faith* in 1983.[9] Its introduction presents the statement as a response to the Malta Report's statement that 'a far reaching consensus is developing' but that 'a further treatment of the subject and its implications is needed' (no. 2). Although the document acknowledges several remaining differences—including forensic and effective justification, the sinfulness of the justified, the sufficiency of faith, the meritorious nature of good works, the freedom and goodness of all human beings, and satisfaction and justification as 'a' or 'the' critical principle in the Church, it articulates a fundamental affirmation on the nature of trust or assurance of salvation and on the fundamental experiential attitude of the justified in relation to God (no. 157).

This document was one of the convergence documents studied by the Ecumenical Study Group of Protestant and Catholic Theologians (*Ökumenischer Arbeitskreis evangelischer und katholischer Theologen*, also known as the Jaeger-Stählin Group) tasked with assessing the results and reception given to ecumenical convergence documents.[10] The results of this work ultimately led to the formulation of the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification, ratified by the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation and the Roman Catholic Church.

An effort for the reception of dialogue on the topics of Eucharist, church, and ministry resulted in the document *Declaration on the Way*, a project undertaken with sponsorship of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELCA) and the USCCB.[11] It identifies 32 convergence statements culled from dialogues, provides a foundation for those agreements, and then more tentatively suggests possible ways forward regarding a select number of remaining differences. Neither a consensus

[9] H. George Anderson, T. Austin Murphy, and Joseph A. Burgess, eds., *Justification by Faith*, Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue VII (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985).

[10] For a more complete account of the path to the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification, see Susan K. Wood and Timothy J. Wengert, *A Shared Ecumenical Journey: Lutherans and Catholic Traveling toward Unity* (New York: Paulist Press, 2016), 34–66; and John A. Radano, *Lutheran & Catholic Reconciliation on Justification* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009).

[11] Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops and Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, *Declaration on the Way: Church, Ministry and Eucharist* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2016).

document like the JDDJ nor a dialogue statement from the national bilateral dialogue, the *Declaration on the Way* represents a new genre of ecumenical statements as an interim document marking progress achieved in dialogue by identifying statements of consensus while also acknowledging that full agreement has not yet been reached on all aspects of these topics. *Declaration on the Way* was accepted by the 2016 ELCA Churchwide Assembly by a vote of 931 to 9 and was endorsed unanimously by the USCCB's Ecumenical Committee. It, too, now contributes to a growing international consideration of these issues.

2.3. *Orthodox*

The USCCB Secretariat for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs engages in two dialogues with America's Orthodox leadership in the Assembly of Canonical Orthodox Bishops of the United States.[12] The first, the North American Orthodox–Catholic Theological Consultation, dating from 1965, issued a statement in 2015 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary outlining the work accomplished over that time.[13] The longevity and continuity of the North American dialogue stands in contrast to the International Orthodox–Catholic dialogue, which after its initial meeting in 1979 has been fraught with numerous interruptions.[14] In addition to formally responding to documents issued by the international dialogue, the North American dialogue has addressed a number of sensitive issues between Catholics and Orthodox. Among the documents it especially recommends for official consideration and reception are *The Holy Eucharist* (1969), *Baptism and Sacramental Economy* (1999), *The Filioque: A Church Dividing Issue?* (2003), and *Steps Towards a United Church* (2010), which addresses issues of primacy and conciliarity.

[12] Includes the Albanian Orthodox diocese of America; the American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Diocese of the USA; the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America; the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Diocese of the USA, Canada, and Australia; the Georgian Apostolic Orthodox Church in North America; the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America; the Orthodox Church in America; the Romanian Orthodox Archdiocese in the Americas; the Serbian Orthodox Church in North and South America; and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the USA.

[13] The North American Orthodox–Catholic Theological Consultation, *The Love of Christ Compels Us* (2 Cor. 5:14): *Fifty Years of Theological Dialogue*, 24 Oct. 2015, https://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/ecumenical-and-interreligious/ecumenical/upload/Orthodox-Catholic-Dialogue-50th-Anniversary-Statement.pdf.

[14] For this history, see Ronald G. Roberson, CSP, 'Relations Between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church,' https://cnewa.org/eastern-christian-churches/toc/ecumenical-relations/relations-between-the-catholic-church-and-the-orthodox-church.

In addition to substantial theological statements, the consultation has addressed a variety of pastoral challenges common to Catholics and Orthodox in North America, such as interchurch marriages, the spiritual formation of children in Orthodox–Catholic families, and the commitment to uphold the dignity of human life. Growing out of a need for a place for bishops to discuss issues more pastoral in nature, such as marriage and the humanitarian crisis in the Middle East, the Joint Committee of Orthodox and Catholic Bishops first met in 1981and continues to meet annually.

A major challenge of the North American Catholic–Orthodox Theological Consultation has been the reception of its work. Probably the most theologically significant of its contributions, the document on the *filioque*, was unanimously received by the bishops of the Ecumenical Committee of the USCCB but was never brought to the entire conference for confirmation. Without that, its recommendations sit on a shelf with no hope of implementation. The reception of *Steps Towards a United Church* has been facilitated by its translation into multiple languages.

3. Challenges to Ecumenical Dialogue in the US Context

The primary challenges to ecumenical dialogue in the US context include the fragmentation of the various Protestant groups in the United States; the politicization of religion in the US; and the problem of distinguishing between commonly held moral values and divergent prudential judgments for instantiating those values in US society.

3.1. *The Fragmentation of Ecclesial Groups in the United States*

The tale of merger, fragmentation, and shifting alliances of communion illustrates the complex relationship of weakened or failed communion within denominational identities that co-exists with strengthened ties of communion interdenominationally.[15] Efforts for unity are frequently more vigorous across denominational differences than within the same family of churches.

[15] This material on church fragmentation is from Susan K. Wood, 'The Shifting Ecumenical Landscape at the 2017 Reformation Centenary,' *Theological Studies* 783 (2017): 573–95, at 587–90.

Episcopalians/Anglicans

Tendencies toward both fragmentation and merger within the Anglican churches are largely due to debates over human sexuality and ministry. With the election of Gene Robinson, a priest in a non-celibate same-sex partnership, as bishop of New Hampshire in 2003, significant rifts began to appear, culminating in the action of the Primates' Gathering at Canterbury in January 2016, which imposed the penalty of suspension from ecumenical dialogues and voting in matters of doctrine and polity within the Communion for a period of three years for the Episcopal Church's action in its 2015 General Assembly to change its canonical definition of marriage to be gender neutral.

Fragmentation within the Anglican Communion occurred when several African provinces broke communion with the Episcopal Church, some setting up parallel jurisdictions within the United States and Canada, such as the Anglican Mission in the Americas (AMiA), under Rwandan jurisdiction and formed in 2000 before the Robinson election, and the Convocation of Anglicans in North America (CANA), under Nigerian jurisdiction, formed in 2005.

The Global Anglican Future Conference (GAFCON), formed in 2008, sponsored the formation of a new province, the Anglican Church in North America (ACNA), comprised mainly of disaffected conservatives from the Episcopal Church and the Anglican Church of Canada. It also brought together disparate groups that had, for various reasons, left the Episcopal Church, such as the Reformed Episcopal Church. Though the GAFCON provinces recognize and are in full communion with the ACNA, ACNA is not in communion with the See of Canterbury and so is not a member province of the Anglican Communion.[16]

Lutherans

The history of Lutheran synods in the US is also one of fragmentation and merger.[17] The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) resulted from a merger in 1988 of the American Lutheran Church (ALC),

[16] AMiA left the ACNA less than a year after its formation and then experienced further fragmentation when, in 2011, the majority of AMiA bishops repudiated their Rwandan oversight and forged ahead autonomously. The remaining bishops under Rwandan oversight formed PEARUSA (PEAR stands for Province de l'Église Anglicane au Rwanda). Parishes and dioceses of PEARUSA were transferred from Rwandan oversight and entered into full partnership with the ACNA.

[17] For an account of the merger that resulted in the ELCA, see Edgar Trexlar, *Anatomy of a Merger: People, Dynamics, and Decisions that Shaped the ELCA* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1991).

the Lutheran Church in America (LCA), and the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (AELC). The ELCA split from the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod (LCMS) in 1976 over differences regarding scriptural interpretation.[18] Of the American Lutheran groups, the ELCA is the largest, is a member of the Lutheran World Federation, and is the Lutheran Church with which the Roman Catholic Church in the United States is in dialogue. The LCMS, dating from 1857, is the next-largest group, followed by a much smaller Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Church (WELS), dating from 1850. The ELCA, LCMS, and WELS are not in full communion with each other. The LCMS and WELS are among the minority of worldwide Lutheran Church bodies not belonging to the Lutheran World Federation and not being signatories to the JDDJ.

The ELCA vote in 1999 to accept the document *Called to Common Mission* established full communion with the Episcopalians and called for a laying on of hands by bishops installed into the historic episcopate, understood to be a sign but not a guarantee of apostolic succession.[19] In opposition, some Lutherans organized the Word Alone Network, which became a voice for opposition in the ELCA. The network eventually disbanded, helping to create in 2001 a new Lutheran group, the Lutheran Congregations in Mission for Christ (LCMC), intended to be more an association of congregations than a traditional Lutheran synod. The historian Mark Granquist calls the combined schism that produced the LCMC and the North American Lutheran Church (NALC) 'the largest American Protestant schism since the nineteenth century.'[20]

A more recent split from the ELCA in 2010 resulted in the NALC as a result of the 2009 vote by the ELCA churchwide assembly vote on sexuality. This last vote was a mere two votes over the required two-thirds majority. NALC now has grown to over 100,000 members and 300 congregations.[21] It has petitioned the Lutheran World Federation for membership, an ironic and as of yet unsuccessful attempt to forge communion with a body of member churches after breaking communion with the ELCA, a member church of the LWF.

[18] This division followed a major split at the seminary in St. Louis in 1974, which resulted in the formation of 'Seminex' (Seminary in Exile).

[19] See the text of 'Called to Common Mission' (1999, 2000): http://download.elca.org/ELCA%20Resource%20Repository/Called_To_Common_Mission.pdf.

[20] Mark Granquist, *Lutherans in America: A New History* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015), 348.

[21] Granquist, *Lutherans in America*, 344.

Baptists

While Southern Baptists are no longer members of the World Baptist Federation as of 31 May 2004, they are the largest Protestant denomination in the United States, according to the 2014 Pew Landscape Study (5.3 per cent of the US adult population) and make up one fifth of evangelical Protestants.[22] Allied with the Baptist World Alliance, the North American Baptist Fellowship numbers 22 Baptist Unions in the United States and Canada, with 19.8 million Baptists and 55,500 congregations.[23] The American Baptist Churches USA, a member of the Baptist World Federation, is usually considered mainline, although varying emphases may be found among its congregations. From 1907 to 1950, it was known as the Northern Baptist Convention and from 1950 to 1972 as the American Baptist Convention. In 2017, it numbered just over 1,145,000 members, compared with the SBC's 14.8 million members and 47,456 Southern Baptist churches spread across 41 state conventions in 2018, although they remain heavily concentrated in the South. All this is to say that in the United States, any ecumenical reconciliation with Baptists must take into account Southern Baptists as well as those Baptist groups affiliated with the Baptist World Federation. The average American finds it very difficult to distinguish among the various Baptist groups in the public forum in the US.

The ecumenical consequences of this ecclesial fragmentation of Anglicans/Episcopalians, Lutherans, and Baptists are several. First, such fragmentation has been one of the causes of declining membership in these larger churches, which decreases the ecumenical footprint of dialogue. There is a tendency to ecumenically dismiss these smaller fragmented groups so they are not part of the larger conversation. Second, the fragmentation diminishes the diversity present around the ecumenical table. This may make it easier to reach ecumenical consensus but at the cost of truly wrestling with more significant differences. Third, it is not the responsibility of Catholics to determine the ecclesial legitimacy of breakoff groups, which raises the question of appropriate ecumenical ecclesial responses to them.

[22] Dalia Fahmy, '7 Facts about Southern Baptists,' Pew Research Center, 7 June 2019, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/06/07/7-facts-about-southern-baptists.

[23] North American Baptist Fellowship, 'About NABF,' https://nabfellowship.org/members.

3.2. *The Politicization of Religion in the United States*

The politicization of religion in the United States raises the ecumenical question of whether individuals appeal to religious values to advance political positions or whether they adopt political positions to advance religious values. The answer probably depends on the individual. A danger of forming religious alliances between Baptists (or evangelicals generally) and Catholics to engage the culture politically is that first, no one political party equally represents all moral social issues, and second, political conservatism is no more Christian than political liberalism. Third, such alliances tend to oversimplify what are complex issues in terms of causes and effects. For instance, in the 1980s, some conservative Christians saw the Republican party and Ronald Reagan's and George Bush's stances on certain pro-life and pro-family positions as compatible with a certain 'conservative' Christian understanding of these issues. Conservative Baptists tend to favour the Republican Party, as do many American Catholic bishops.[24] Nevertheless, despite their access to government, practices they opposed, such as abortion, continued. Abortions actually began to decline under George Bush; this trend continued in the presidencies of Bill Clinton and Barack Obama, due to a number of factors, such as increased access to contraception, a recession during which many couples put off having children, and increased emphasis on social services. Abortions peaked in 1981. Between 2008 and 2011, before the surge in restrictions levied by state governments, the abortion rate fell 13 per cent. Under Obama, the abortion rate fell 5 per cent.[25] One concludes that a correlation cannot be made between Catholic and evangelical moral stances and the political parties they might champion because the forces driving changes in behaviours are more complex.

In 1992, Catholic Richard John Neuhaus and evangelical Charles Colson, mutually concerned by Protestant–Catholic tensions in Central and South America, formed an unofficial fellowship of Catholic and Evangelical scholars, Evangelicals and Catholics Together (ECT), which has issued eight documents.[26] ECT I affirms a common principle of belligerency: 'Christians individually and the church corporately also

[24] In 2014, roughly two-thirds of Southern Baptists identified as Republican or Republican-leaning: https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/06/07/7-facts-about-southern-baptists.

[25] Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 'Abortion Surveillance – United States, 2012,' 27 Nov. 2015, https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/ss6410a1.htm.

[26] *Evangelicals and Catholics Together: The Christian Mission in the Third Millennium* (1994); *The Gift of Salvation* (1997); *Your Word Is Truth* (2002); *The Communion of Saints* (2003); *The Call to Holiness* (2005); *That They May Have Life* (2006);

have a responsibility for the right ordering of civil society.'[27] Both Colson and Neuhaus were active leaders of conservative moral causes and worked for doctrinal consensus out of shared social-political conviction.

A criticism of Evangelicals and Catholics Together is whether it is captive to the partisanship of modern American politics. As Mark Noll and Carolyn Nystrom's book put it, 'Is ECT more than an arm of the American religious Right with an add-on of theology? Does ECT's cobelligerency equate to American conservative Republicanism?'[28] Critics have pointed out that the document is 'strong in denouncing pornography and defending "parental choice in education" but silent on the treatment of immigrants and the availability of affordable health care to all citizens.'[29] Subsequent ECT documents concentrated on doctrinal issues and largely avoided social-political commentary. ECT IV identified cobelligerences as 'Evangelicals and Catholics together share, and must together contend for, the Christian world view' grounded in the Bible, the creeds, confessions, and worship.[30]

Although social issues undoubtedly provide occasions for alliances between Catholics, Baptists, and other evangelicals, they also cause further fragmentation. For example, even though unsuccessful in the end, Black Baptist ministers joined the Archdiocese of Washington in resisting opposing same-sex marriage legislation by the DC Council. On the other hand, the board of the American Baptist Churches Pacific Southwest, which numbered 300 congregations, withdrew from its covenant relationship with American Baptist Churches (USA) because of its refusal to deal with churches with lax policies on homosexuality based on the principle of autonomy of local churches and Baptist freedom.[31] The culture wars in the United States divide churches as well as political parties. As new alliances form, old ones splinter.

Do Whatever He Tells You: The Blessed Virgin Mary in Christian Life and Faith (2009); *In Defense of Religious Freedom* (2012).

[27] 'Evangelicals and Catholics Together: The Christian Mission in the Third Millennium,' *First Things* (May 1994): 18, https://www.firstthings.com/article/1994/05/evangelicals-catholics-together-the-christian-mission-in-the-third-millennium.

[28] Mark Noll and Carolyn Nystrom, *Is the Reformation Over? An Evangelical Assessment of Contemporary Catholicism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 181.

[29] Noll and Nystrom, *Is the Reformation Over?* 181.

[30] 'The Communion of Saints,' *First Things* (Mar. 2003): 27.

[31] Gregory Tomlin, 'Split among American Baptists over Homosexuality Is Final,' Baptist Press, 18 May 2006, http://www.bpnews.net/23275.

3.3. *Commonly Held Moral Values, Divergent Prudential Judgments*

One of the documents of Vatican II that made the reception of the Decree on Ecumenism possible was the Declaration on Religious Freedom (*Dignitatis Humanae*), so divisions on religious freedom carry over to ecumenical divisions. Evangelicals and Catholics shared a common concern for religious freedom after the Communist Revolution of 1917, through the Cold War, and up to the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1989. The focus then shifted to problems created by the US Supreme Court's attempt to balance the 'free exercise' and 'no establishment' provisions of the First Amendment of the Constitution. The group associated with Evangelicals and Catholics Together viewed this to be a profound distortion of public life where citizens were either legally proscribed or culturally discouraged from bringing into public life the religious sources of their deepest moral convictions.[32] Religious conviction became increasingly marginalized as a source of moral argument in public life.[33] Furthermore, in the public sphere, the very language of religious freedom shifted to 'freedom of worship,' thereby severely restricting the concept, privatizing it, and removing witness to moral values from the public sphere. In response, members of Evangelicals and Catholics Together issued a statement in 2012, 'In Defense of Religious Freedom,' in support of a full notion of religious freedom.

In the United States, the controversy regarding religious freedom came to a head around the implementation of the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare), which some saw as pressuring institutions and religious employers to conform their health insurance policies to the standards of the US Department of Health and Human Services, including providing contraceptives and abortion-inducing drugs. This was a hotly contested issue within the Catholic community. For example, the Catholic Health Association (CHA), representing most of the hospitals in the US, initially parted company with most of the US bishops and supported passage of the Obamacare health mandate with the accommodation that ensured no-cost contraceptive coverage to employees of religious affiliated organization by making insurers, rather than the religious employers,

[32] See, for example, Richard John Neuhaus, *The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984).

[33] George Weigel, 'Introduction' to ch. 8, 'Freedom,' in *Evangelicals and Catholics Together at Twenty: Vital Statements on Context Topics*, eds. Timothy George and Thomas G. Guarino (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos, 2015), 132.

responsible for paying for the cost of contraceptives.[34] Ultimately, CHA found the implementation of the Affordable Care Act too cumbersome. Sr. Carol Keehan, president and chief executive officer of the CHA at the time, explained, 'many of our members were hearing from local insurance companies and agents that "well, we may not carve out explicitly how we're charging you for this but there is no free lunch and you are going to pay for it one way or the other." That was exactly what the goal was *not*. The goal was to not pay. And that's not the fault of the White House. That's the reality of the marketplace.'[35]

The competing issues regarding the Affordable Care Act were religious freedom—that is, the freedom of faith-based organizations to be except from a mandated requirement to provide contraceptives, on the one hand, and expanded health care for millions of Americans who did not have affordable health care, on the other hand. While many Republicans and bishops and Catholics opposed Obamacare for the first reason, many Democrats and other Catholics supported it for the second reason. The issue was made more difficult because Republicans did not offer an alternative to the Affordable Care Act that would expand health care coverage while protecting religious freedom at the same time. The controversy was the occasion of some ecumenical alliances between evangelicals and Catholics but also was the cause of divisions within the Catholic community, illustrating the complex web of shifting relationships around moral issues.

4. New Fissures and a Call to Ministerial Mutuality

Today, new fissures around moral issues such as contraception, abortion, and same-sex marriage occasion new divisions in these ecclesial relationships, and ecclesial communities are divided within themselves, further complicating dialogue across confessional divides. Ecumenical dialogues have begun to consider why Christian churches are coming

[34] *Realizing Our Vision for U.S. Health Care*, 14 October 2010. This 20-page booklet provides an assessment of the health reform law relative to the values and principles named in the Catholic Healthcare Association's document *Our Vision for U.S. Health Care* (2008).

[35] Emily Douglas, 'Catholic Health Association Pulls Support from Contraception Mandate,' *The Nation*, 20 June 2012, https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/catholic-health-association-pulls-support-contraception-mandate.

to different conclusions on some of these issues.[36] For example, the Anglican–Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC-III) is examining the following topic: 'The Church as communion, local and universal, and how in communion the local and universal come to discern right ethic teaching.' Even though, ironically, the Episcopal Church in the United States was not able to participate in ARCIC-III because the Archbishop of Canterbury considered its teaching on some matters of sexuality to be inconsistent with that of the Anglican Communion, the US dialogue with the Episcopal Church continued to meet and addressed a similar topic in its document 'Ecclesiology and Moral Discernment.'[37]

The 2009 decision of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America to admit people in publicly accountable, life-long, monogamous, same-gender relationships to serve as rostered leaders of that church led to further exploration of what the sixth round of the US Lutheran–Catholic Dialogue had much earlier called 'magisterial mutuality':

> Has not the time come for our churches to take seriously the possibility of what we have come to call "magisterial mutuality"? Should we not recognize the Spirit of Christ in each other's church and acknowledge each other's Ministers as partners in proclaiming the gospel in the unity of truth and love? Should we not listen to each other in formulating teaching, share each other's concerns, and ultimately develop a more unified voice for Christian witness in the world?[38]

[36] In addition to the statements cited below, US ecumenical statements treating ethical issues include the United Methodist and Roman Catholic statement on the Eucharist and ecology, 'Heaven and Earth Are Full of Your Glory' (2012), and on ethical issues regarding death and dying, 'Holy Living and Holy Dying' (1989); the Roman Catholic–Reformed Consultation statement 'Ethics and the Search for Christian Unity' (1980); and the Orthodox–Catholic Theological Consultation documents 'An Agreed Statement on the Sanctity of Marriage' (8 December 1978) and 'An Agreed Statement on Respect for Life' (24 May 1974).

[37] ARC USA, 'Ecclesiology and Moral Discernment' (Apr. 2014), https://www.usccb.org/resources/ecclesiology-and-moral-discernment-seeking-unified-moral-witness.

[38] The term was first suggested by Avery Dulles and occurs in Section IV of the Common Statement prepared as a concluding summary of Round VI of the Lutheran–Roman Catholic Dialogue: *Teaching Authority & Infallibility in the Church*, eds. Paul C. Empie, T. Austin Murphy, and Joseph A. Burgess (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1978), 36, par. 55. With its most current statement, *Faithful Teaching*, the commission hoped to contribute to the growing ecumenical conversation surrounding moral discernment, such as two recent papers of the World Council of Churches' Faith and Order Commission: *The Church: Towards a Common Vision* (2013) and *Moral Discernment in the Churches* (2013).

Rather than focusing on a particular moral or doctrinal issue, participants decided to consider the theology, structures, and processes behind Lutheran and Catholic efforts to teach faithfully in its 2019 document 'Faithful Teaching: Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue XII.'[39] This signals not only a shift of ecumenical dialogue expanding from the doctrinal divisions initially separating the churches to contemporary moral issues, but also a change to an effort to understand how and why another community may arrive at a different position within a common commitment to gospel values. The next step would be for churches to consult one another when making decisions and then ultimately to teach with a united voice.

At times, these more contemporary differences prevent more traditional divisions from being addressed. For example, arguably more work would have been done on the mutual recognition of ministry and the contemporary applicability of Leo XIII's 1896 bull, *Apostolicae Curae*, regarding the validity of Anglican orders had not Episcopalians and Lutherans admitted women to ordination. The decision by Church bodies to ordain ministers in committed same-sex relationships makes the likelihood of such ecumenical work even more distant.[40]

The US cultural context contributes its share of obstacles to achieving closer agreement. Compromise on the issue of same-sex marriage that would distinguish between a civil union and a sacramental marriage is made more difficult in a US context where a civil marriage and a sacramental marriage occur within the same ceremony with the same person officiating. A couple could get around that by getting married before a civil justice of the peace, but the US Catholic bishops are unlikely to advocate the separation of all sacramental marriages from civil marriage, as is the case in some other countries.

[39] Lowell G. Almen and Denis J Madden, eds., *Faithful Teaching: Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue XII* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2023).

[40] The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America Churchwide Assembly voted in 2009 to adopt Resolution 2 by a vote of 559 to 451: 'Resolved, that the ELCA commit itself to finding a way for people in such publicly accountable, lifelong, monogamous, same-gender relationships to serve as rostered leaders of this church': https://www.elca.org/News-and-Events/6218?_ga=1.107752834.1287315157.1433951594. See also 'A Social Statement on Human Sexuality: Gift and Trust,' adopted by Churchwide Assembly, 19 Aug. 2009, at https://www.elca.org/Faith/Faith-and-Society/Social-Statements/Human-Sexuality; and U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, 'Marriage: Love and Life in the Divine Plan,' approved by the USCCB in November 2009: http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/marriage-and-family/marriage/love-and-life/index.cfm.

5. Conclusion

In individual dialogues, significant progress has been made toward agreement on the doctrinal issues that have historically divided Christian churches, although few of these have been officially received.[41] Meaningful reception remains a challenge. The Vatican has a policy of not responding officially to national dialogue statements, which is understandable given the sheer number of them. Doctrinal reception really needs to occur on behalf of the whole Catholic Church and be applicable universally. As the process leading to the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification indicates, evidence for a consensus accumulates over decades at multiple levels until the cumulative weight and longevity of the agreement is such that a synthetic process of reception can occur. Dialogue in the United States contributes to this but is only one part of a much larger process.

Concurrently, the membership in mainline Protestant churches has been steadily declining in the US,[42] and traditional structures for ecumenical dialogue have been ill-suited to adapt to independent, non-denominational, and many evangelical and Pentecostal churches. The ecclesial structures are simply not in place for consensus statements. Going forward, this requires renewed attention by Catholics to include more voices in the ecumenical conversation.

Is ecumenical dialogue, then, worth the effort? Absolutely. The Decree on Ecumenism says, 'We must get to know the outlook (*animus*) of our separated fellow Christians' (UR 9). Catholics need to know what animates our fellow Christians. We cannot stop talking to one another, officially or unofficially, for the alternative is to remain in an ecclesiastical silo, a violation of the catholicity we profess.

[41] Michael A. Fahey, SJ gives some reasons for this in 'A Promising New Thrust in Ecumenical Theology,' in *A Church with Open Doors: Catholic Ecclesiology for the Third Millennium*, eds. Richard R. Gaillardetz and Edward P. Hahnenberg (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2015), 181–96, at 189.

[42] In 2007, there were an estimated 41 million mainline Protestant adults in the US. As of 2014, there were roughly 36 million, a decline of 5 million. Evangelicals constitute a clear majority (55 per cent) of US Protestants today. Religiously unaffiliated adults now outnumber either Catholics or mainline Protestants; they are second in size only to evangelical Protestants. See Pew Research Center, *America's Changing Religious Landscape*.

THE RECEPTION OF VATICAN II'S DECREE ON ECUMENISM IN AUSTRALIA

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The Second Vatican Council's Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*, ushered in a new era of relationships between the Catholic Church and other Christian churches and communities. By recognizing ecumenism's quality as a *movement*, the council affirmed the centrality of reform and renewal if the Church is to live and give witness to the unity given by Christ. Renewal becomes the primary criterion for reflecting on the reception of the decree.

Among the many directives in the decree, five stand out as indicators of what reception will look like.[1] First, that we ensure that we do all we can to acquire an accurate knowledge and understanding of our ecumenical partners, their history, and their current condition. Second, that there be a dialogue between competent experts from different churches so that each may explain their teachings and all may gain a truer knowledge and more just appreciation of the teaching and life of each communion. Third, that Catholics cooperate with other Christians for the sake of the common good of humanity. Fourth, that Catholics join in prayer with other Christians, especially prayer for Christian unity. Finally, that Catholics examine their own faithfulness to Christ's will for the Church and engage in the task of renewal and reform.

These criteria will be applied in evaluating the reception of the decree in Australia. The chapter will begin with a description of the Catholic Church in Australia on the eve of the council. After this, we will look at the instruments that were put in place after the council to assist the implementation of the decree. This will be followed by a review of various aspects of this implementation: spiritual ecumenism; ecumenical education and formation; theological investigations and theological dialogue; and ecumenical relations. The chapter will conclude by considering the state of the ecumenical movement in Australia at the end of the second decade of the third millennium and ask if we are still up for reform.

[1] These are all listed in *Unitatis Redintegratio* 4.

1. Australian Catholics on the Eve of the Council

The 1961 national census of the population of Australia indicated that of a population of 10.5 million, there were 2.6 million Catholics, or 25 per cent. The Church of England (now the Anglican Church of Australia) was the largest of the Christian denominations, with 35 per cent of the population. Christians overall represented 88 per cent of the national population.[2] Despite a relatively large Christian population, Australia never had an established church and from the earliest days of white settlement was secular in outlook.

Historically, the Catholic population was predominantly of Irish stock and still mainly working class.[3] However, by the 1960s this was changing, as Catholics gained greater access to higher education and were entering the professions. The long antipathy between Irish and English played out in Australian society and its religious mix. Consequently, Catholics in Australia were tribal in their religious affiliation. Patrick O'Farrell described this 'social Catholicism' as 'traditional self-containment and insulation. … [T]he Church had traditionally been a protective and segregating environment, setting itself to some degree apart from the rest of the community.'[4] Catholics socialized together in Catholic tennis clubs and went to Catholic dances; their young people belonged to Catholic youth organizations, from which sprang many Catholic marriages. Even Catholic lawyers worked in Catholic law firms. At the beginning of the 1960s, there were still job advertisements that included the line 'Catholics need not apply.'

This does not mean that Catholicism was not vibrant. The Catholic community was cohesive, with a strong parish base. Its cohesion was often built on the need to combat an enemy, usually seen as Protestants or secularists. This was no more clearly evident than in the history of Catholic education. O'Farrell claims that 'Catholic schools became a symbol of the Catholic unity and of the preservation of the religious,

[2] *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30th June, 1961*, Vol. VIII, Australia, Pt 1, Cross-classifications of the Characteristics of the Population, prepared under instructions from the Right Honorable the Treasurer by K.M. Archer Commonwealth Statistician, 78–79. The 2016 census shows that Catholics now account for 22.6 per cent of the population and Anglicans, 13.3 per cent. The overall Christian population has shrunk to 52 per cent. The fastest-growing category is those with 'no religion,' who are 30 per cent of the population.

[3] For a useful analysis of the Irish in Australia, see Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1966), 46–70. See also Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2000).

[4] Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History*, 3rd rev. ed. (Kensington NSW: New South Wales University Press, 1992), 431.

political and social status of Catholics.'[5] The debates about education in the late 19th century saw the bishops reject the compulsory free secular education system proposed by the state authorities, which would include religious instruction offered by the churches in the state schools. The Catholic bishops joined with secularists against the Protestant churches to oppose the teaching of religion in state schools.[6] On the eve of the council, there was still an expectation that Catholic parents would send their children to Catholic schools. These schools instilled a sense of Catholic identity, but it was an identity that was defined *against* others, particularly other Christian denominations.

Of course, this could never be absolute, and people were not totally set apart from each other. When friendships developed into marriages, there were new challenges to face. O'Farrell notes that from the mid-19th century until the 1960s, about one third of marriages involving a Catholic partner were 'mixed marriages.'[7] Stories abound of the pain experienced by these couples as they could not be married before the altar; instead, they were married in the sacristy. Of course, it was never possible to be married in the church of the non-Catholic partner—Catholics were still not allowed to enter a non-Catholic church. However, the phenomenon of mixed marriages also meant that Catholics were seeing other Christians in a different light and recognizing not only that they were good people, but also that in their religious practice they were often more devout that many Catholics.[8]

By the time the council opened, many sections of the Catholic Church were ready for a new and closer relationship with other Christians.

2. The Australian Bishops

The Australian bishops, as we would expect, were mixed in the hopes for the council. Historian Jeffrey Murphy identified three dominant attitudes to the council: those who were reformers; those who were indifferent; and those who were studiedly silent.[9] In August 1962, the bishops

[5] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 185.

[6] See O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 188–89.

[7] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 421. By way of example, O'Farrell gives the statistics for Adelaide. In 1960, 29.8 per cent of marriages were mixed marriages; by 1969, the rate had risen to 52 per cent.

[8] It was not uncommon to hear some say something like 'N. is a good-living person, but not a Catholic.'

[9] Jeffrey J. Murphy, '"Up to Jerusalem": Australian Bishops' Suggestions for the Agenda of Vatican II,' *Australasian Catholic Record* 78 (2001): 30.

issued a pastoral letter in which they described as 'an illusion' any impression 'that the primary and immediate purpose of the Ecumenical Council is the re-union of the separated Churches with the See of Peter.'[10]

Nevertheless, the submissions made by individual bishops in preparation for the council indicate that there was already genuine concern for ecumenism. The longest submission came from Archbishop Romolo Carboni, the Apostolic Delegate.[11] He requested that the council explore 'the extent to which schismatics and heretics were also members of Christ's mystical body.'[12] He also lent his support to the suggestion of Bishops Doody and O'Donnell that reunion with Anglicans should be a special concern and treated separately from Protestants. Bishop Goody proposed that there be a dispensation from celibacy for Anglican clergy who became Catholic. Goody also made a number of suggestions pertaining to the Orthodox churches: that there should be a study of the *filioque* and the procession of the Holy Spirit; that consideration be given to the devolution of power to metropolitans and primates; and that the ordination of married men be explored. Bishops O'Brien and Cullinane noted that if there were to be a true reconciliation with other Christians, then Catholics would need to accept publicly some of the blame for the division that occurred in the 11th and 16th centuries.[13]

During the conciliar debates, Bishop Goody spoke officially on behalf of the Australian and New Zealand bishops. Early in his speech, he noted that he had received a donation from the local Anglican bishop to assist

[10] Jeffrey J. Murphy, 'Developing Perceptions about the Council and the Preparatory Phase: 1960-62,' *Australasian Catholic Record* 79 (2002): 80. Murphy comments that the bishops 'knew the Council would not necessarily realise rapprochement with other Christian communities.'

[11] Murphy, '"Up to Jerusalem,"' 35. Murphy quotes from the *Acta* that Carboni made his submission 'after having consulted face to face and by letter … co-workers in its apostolic delegation, some provincial superiors and some theologians and canonists from the seminaries of Australia and of New Zealand.'

[12] Jeffrey J. Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II: 1959–1965' (PhD diss., Griffith University, 2001), 98. This suggestion picks up theological currents that were growing stronger, especially since Pius XII's encyclical *Mystici Corporis*. The idea in this suggestion will be central in the move to introduce the phrase *subsistit in* into *Lumen Gentium*. See Cardinal Johannes Willebrands, 'Vatican II's Ecclesiology of Communion,' *One in Christ* 28 (1987): 179–91.

[13] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 98–99, 338–39. Edward Doody was the bishop of Armidale; Patrick Mary O'Donnell was coadjutor and later archbishop of Brisbane; Launcelot Goody was bishop of Bunbury and later archbishop of Perth; Eris O'Brien was archbishop of Canberra-Goulburn; John Cullinane was auxiliary bishop in Canberra-Goulburn.

in his travel costs to Rome.[14] On more substantive matters, he called for 'a short and accurate recapitulation of the dogmatic definitions produced by the Tridentine and Vatican Councils, especially those which deal with grace and justification, with Eucharistic sacrifice and with the primacy of the Roman Pontiff.'[15] He identified the non-negotiable Catholic doctrines: a valid hierarchical priesthood; the primacy of the Holy See; the seven sacraments; and the cult of the Virgin Mary. He also set out a type of formula for dialogue:

> in the beginning of the dialogue, to establish a foundation for good social relations, it is not appropriate to underline, so to speak, the differences and difficulties, but when at length those friends sit with us around the table, then it seems altogether desirable that those matters which they lack in doctrine and in the practice of the Catholic Church, not only should mention be made of them but they should be placed clearly in the light of necessity.[16]

A more cautious approach was taken by Bishop Muldoon, who did not warm to the suggestion that the Catholic Church should accept some of the blame for the divisions. He also claimed some authority to make judgments about these matters and cautioned those who had 'scarcely ever seen a Protestant' not to rush to rash judgments.[17] Furthermore, he took exception to the phrase in the draft text that 'several visible elements' are perhaps found outside the Church. He went on, 'Schism hardly demonstrates unity, but rather splits. This kind of word game adds nothing to ecumenism; on the contrary, it could do much damage.'[18]

Notwithstanding the caution expressed by Muldoon, it seems that there was sufficient energy among the Australian bishops to begin to implement the ecumenical directives coming from the council. However, as the council was concluding, they probably did not fully realize all that reception of the decree would entail, nor that it would be a lengthy process that could not be rushed.

[14] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 199.

[15] Quoted by Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 199, 424.

[16] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 424.

[17] Thomas Muldoon was auxiliary bishop in Sydney. His speech on the floor of the council demonstrated the hyperbole for which he was renowned: 'Heed us, who live our whole lives among Protestants. As we well know from our very bitter almost daily experience, very many hover around like vultures, ready to seize whatever they can twist against the Church.' Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 435.

[18] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 434.

3. Instruments to Promote Ecumenism: National and Diocesan

The reception of the Decree on Ecumenism took place over time and happened both formally and informally. The sense of ecumenism being a movement remained important: the real test of reception was that an ecumenical spirit took root and developed at the grassroots. Any structures that were put in place had the aim of assisting both formal and informal reception.

Nationally, as the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference evolved, the coordination of ecumenical work was undertaken by a group of bishops that was called by various names and is today called the Commission for Christian Unity and Inter-Religious Dialogue.[19] The commission is assisted by two councils made up of experts. One of these councils is the Australian Council for Christian Unity. Over the years, the commission played an important role in the ecumenical formation of those who were to be local ecumenical leaders. Most notable was the series of biennial conferences for diocesan ecumenical commissions, to which an international speaker was often invited.[20] These gatherings were also an occasion for dioceses to report on local ecumenical activity, thereby sowing seeds for initiatives that might be taken up in other dioceses.

Most dioceses established an ecumenical commission which coordinated ecumenical engagement within the diocese and assisted parishes to develop an ecumenical consciousness. These structures ensured that the ecumenical focus was on building relations with other Christians through prayer and joint actions. In the metropolitan dioceses, it was usual to employ a full-time ecumenical officer, who was a point of contact not only with parish representatives but also with their counterparts in other churches.

At the national level, the bishops, conscious that the basis for the Catholic Church's ecumenical engagement is our common baptism, set about a process of formally recognizing the baptism of Christians in the major denominations. This began in 1969 with a decision 'that conditional baptism be not administered when the fact of the administration of

[19] It is useful to note that this commission also includes interreligious dialogue. I will return to this later.

[20] Among the speakers at these formation weekends were Cardinal Edward Cassidy (soon after his retirement as president of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity [PCPCU]); Cardinal Walter Kasper, president of the PCPCU; and other staff from the PCPCU, including Monsignor John Radano, Monsignor Don Bolen, and Monsignor Juan Usma Gómez.

Baptism in the Anglican Church is duly certified.'[21] There followed formal recognition of baptism in the Presbyterian Church and the Methodist Church (1973), the Lutheran Church (1976), the Uniting Church (1979),[22] the Congregational Church (1980), and the Mar Thoma Church (2011).

The bishops' commission also coordinated the various theological dialogues and recommended to the conference the appointment of experts to them. For many years, the members of the commission have met annually with their Anglican counterparts to discuss matters of mutual interest. In the 1990s, the conference participated in the negotiations that led to the formation of the National Council of Churches in Australia (NCCA) and became a member.[23] At the state level, Catholic dioceses joined the state ecumenical councils.[24]

As we survey the various instruments that were put in place in the years after the council, it is important to recognize that these structures were dynamic and flexible and have evolved to meet the changing situation. Above all, they enabled local communities to get on with the ecumenical work. While they are a sign of institutional reception of the Decree on Ecumenism, they also contributed to spiritual and theological reception and thus contributed to renewal in the Catholic Church.

4. Signs of the Reception of *Unitatis Redintegratio*

Apart from these structural initiatives, other dimensions of church life point to the reception of the decree.

4.1. *Spiritual Ecumenism*

In the early days after the council, Australian Catholics soon found themselves praying with other Christians. The Week of Prayer for Christian Unity was celebrated between Ascension and Pentecost, and many

[21] Minutes of the Australian Episcopal Conference, Apr. 1969.

[22] The Uniting Church in Australia was formed in 1977 as a union of Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational churches. The recognition in 1980 of baptism in the Congregational Church dealt with baptisms before the formation of the Uniting Church.

[23] The NCCA came into existence in 1994. The Catholic Church had not been involved in the predecessor bodies of the NCCA: the Australian Committee for the World Council of Churches (1946) and, later, the Australian Council of Churches. The Catholic Church joined the NCCA as a single member, with the point of contact being the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference.

[24] At the state level, each diocese joined the local ecumenical council. However, all of the New South Wales dioceses withdrew from the NSW Ecumenical Council in 2011.

Catholic parishes joined in a common prayer service. During the Week, there was often a prayer service each day, hosted by one of the local churches, including the Catholic Church; there might also be an exchange of pulpits. Later on, the Catholic Church participated in the group adapting the international resources for local use.[25] In recent years, however, all the churches in Australia have struggled to maintain congregational support for the Week of Prayer.[26] While the fervour of ecumenical prayer is not as strong as it was in the years immediately after the council, there are still Catholic parishes where a petition would be included in the Prayer of the Faithful (Universal Prayer) for one of the neighbouring churches of another denomination.

Perhaps more popular were joint prayer services during Advent and Lent, where there would typically be carol singing and Stations of the Cross. Often, these events were held in public spaces rather than churches. In this way, the Christian communities found themselves giving witness together in the broader society.

Notwithstanding the change in the way Catholics participate in ecumenical prayer, what is not in question is that today praying with and for other Christians comes naturally to them.

4.2. *Ecumenical Education and Formation*

Following the instruction in the Ecumenical Directory, seminaries in Australia soon introduced a course in ecumenism for all students. These courses presented the Catholic principles of ecumenism but also helped students get to know and understand other Christian churches. They may have included a guest lecture from one or more lecturers from non-Catholic theological colleges.

By the 1980s, the theological formation of seminarians was taking place in theological colleges that were separate from the seminary. Each

[25] The Faith and Unity Commission of the NCCA was responsible for the adaptation of the international resources for local use. With Catholic membership of the NCCA and its commissions, Catholics were invariably involved in the preparation of the local resources. See www.ncca.org.au.

[26] There is no hard data on the reasons for this decline. However, two observations can be made. The first is that the Week of Prayer usually falls close to NAIDOC Week. This week celebrates the culture of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians. The churches in Australia, including the Catholic Church, have used this as a time of prayer. For Catholic involvement in this area, see https://www.natsicc.org.au/liturgy-resources.html. The second is that the World Day of Prayer (formerly the Women's World Day of Prayer) in February still has strong support (see https://www.worlddayofprayeraustralia.org/world-day-of-prayer/origins).

of the colleges was part of a theological consortium consisting of the theological colleges of several denominations.[27] These colleges also became places of formation for lay ministry and for the spiritual formation of lay people. While part of the motivation for the formation of the consortia was to facilitate civil accreditation of courses, each of them was deliberately ecumenical.[28] Education administrators worked closely together across their denominations on the development of academic programs; lecturers might find themselves teaching students from different churches; and students could be in class with those from a different theological tradition. The consortium took a different shape in each city, ranging from separate campuses for each denomination to a single multi-denominational campus. In recent years, however, some Catholic bishops took the local theological college out of the consortium and brought it into one of the newly established Catholic universities.[29]

Other avenues of ecumenical theological education have also existed. The most notable of these is the Centre for Ecumenical Studies, which offered an ecumenical summer school (and later a winter school) as well as a study day to coincide with the beginning of the NCCA Triennial Forum. These courses were taught jointly by people from different churches. Both Catholic lecturers and students have participated in these courses in various Australian cities.

4.3. *Theological Dialogue*

It is in the area of theological dialogue that the reception of Vatican II's Decree on Ecumenism is most evident. Australian theologians have been appointed to international bilateral dialogues.[30] Three national bilateral

[27] Catholic theological colleges were members of the Melbourne College of Divinity (now the University of Divinity), the Sydney College of Divinity, the Brisbane College of Theology, the Adelaide College of Divinity, and the Perth College of Divinity.

[28] For example, the Sydney College of Divinity has a statement about its ecumenical identity. Part of that statement speaks of the characteristics of this identity. 'The ecumenical identity of the SCD is characterised by: a willingness to engage with each other on matters relating to our disciplines in learning, teaching and research; a spirit of generosity; an openness to learn from each other; and a desire to give witness to the communion we already share': https://scd.edu.au/resources/ecumenical-identity-of-the-scd-statement.

[29] This happened in Brisbane in 2009 and in Adelaide in 2013, when both these colleges joined the Australian Catholic University. Somewhat earlier, the seminary in Perth reopened, with its students attending the University of Notre Dame Australia.

[30] Bishop Bede Heather chaired the conversations with the Baptist World Alliance. Australian members of ARCIC have been Rev. John Thornhill, SM, Rev. Peter Cross, and, currently, Dr Emmanuel Nathan. Australian members of MERCIC have been Bishop

dialogues were established: with the Anglican Church of Australia, the Lutheran Church of Australia, and the Uniting Church in Australia.[31] However, by the late 2010s, only the dialogue with Lutherans remained active.

The output of these dialogues can be sampled with reference to the dialogue with the Lutheran Church of Australia. The early dialogue themes focused on the obvious topics: baptism, Eucharist (*Sacrament and Sacrifice*), ministry (*Pastor and Priest*), and Church (*Communion and Mission*). In the late 1990s, when the international dialogue was working on justification, the Australian dialogue took this up as a topic and published a report in 1999 (*Justification*). This topic is central to the Lutheran confessions. Not only did it mark a new stage for the Lutheran Church in its relationship with the Catholic Church, but it was also an opportunity for Catholics to understand Lutherans at their core, as it were. The claim made at the conclusion of the document expressed the significance of the agreement:

> With joy and gratitude to God … we recognise that in substance we do share a common faith in the doctrine of justification and that this dialogue has strengthened the bonds between us. Our agreement on justification must inevitably form the basis for all further dialogue between Lutherans and Roman Catholics. This opens the way to exploring the possibility of a more visible unity – as Jesus prayed, 'that they may all be one' (John 17:21).[32]

It was in the more recent dialogue topics, however, that the importance of renewal in the Catholic Church is more clearly seen. The dialogue on *The Ministry of Oversight* (2007) had to consider synodality in the Church; it noted that the Catholic Church could learn from the Lutheran Church in this matter.[33] Likewise, the dialogue on *The Petrine Ministry in a New Situation* (2016), which took up Pope John Paul II's invitation to explore that topic,[34] arrived at a series of concrete suggestions as to how reform in the Catholic Church might continue and how this would

Michael Putney (co-chair), Rev. Denis Edwards, and, currently, Bishop Shane Mackinlay and Rev. Gerard Kelly.

[31] For the agreed statements from these dialogues, see *Stages on the Way: Documents from the Bilateral Conversations between Churches in Australia I*, ed. Raymond K. Williamson (Melbourne: The Joint Board of Christian Education, 1994), 56–129, 243–64, and *Stages on the Way: Documents from the Bilateral Conversations between Churches in Australia II*, ed. Raymond K. Williamson (Strathfield: St Pauls, 2007), 137–276.

[32] *Justification: A Common Statement of the Australian Lutheran–Roman Catholic Dialogue* (1999), no. 11, https://www.alrcdialogue.org/_files/ugd/d27f77_06ec83e8e93c4ea3a7500d18a8818b0a.pdf.

[33] *The Ministry of Oversight: The Office of Bishop and President in the Church*, Lutheran–Roman Catholic Dialogue in Australia 2000–2007, nos. 94–115.

[34] John Paul II, *Ut Unum Sint*, no. 95.

assist in developing the relationship between the Bishop of Rome and the Lutheran Church.[35]

4.4. *Ecumenical Relations*

There is no doubt that the Catholic Church has a very different relationship with the other Christian churches today than on the eve of the council. This can be illustrated with reference to three events.

The first of these events occurred in 2004 at the Triennial Forum of the NCCA. During that meeting, the Catholic Church, together with the other member churches of the council, entered into a covenanting relationship. This was a multilateral and multidimensional relationship. Each church could sign the parts of the document that it was able in conscience to sign. The commitments included praying for each other, sharing physical resources, participating in common mission and ministry, and the recognition of sacraments and ministry.[36] While the Catholic Church was not able to sign all the dimensions, it was able to sign most of them. This document was seen by all the churches as an enabling document that might promote local ecumenical covenants. Both at the diocesan and the parish level, covenants exist, although they are predominantly bilateral.[37]

The second event is of a very different kind. Shortly after the agreement with the Lutheran Church on justification, the Holy See published *Dominus Iesus*. The Lutheran members of the dialogue were puzzled that the document seemed to undo the new relationship that had been achieved with the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification*. The dialogue between the two churches could well have been suspended because of this crisis. However, the maturity of the relationship between Catholics and Lutherans in Australia was demonstrated when the dialogue group suspended its current topic and began to explore what was necessary for Lutherans to be recognized as a true church. The result was the seven-year dialogue on the ministry of oversight, referred to above.[38]

[35] *The Petrine Ministry in a New Situation: A Joint Statement on the Papacy by the Lutheran–Roman Catholic Dialogue in Australia 2011–2016*, nos. 153–58.

[36] National Council of Churches in Australia, 'Australian Churches Covenanting Together' (2010), https://www.ncca.org.au/faith-and-unity/503-2016-australian-churches-covenanting-together-document-20160626/file.

[37] For example, there is a covenant between the Anglican Diocese of Brisbane with the Catholic Archdiocese of Brisbane and the Diocese of Toowoomba. Similarly, there is a covenant between the Anglican Diocese of Bathurst and the Catholic Diocese of Bathurst.

[38] An interesting footnote to this episode is the 2013 decision of the General Convention of Synod of the Lutheran Church of Australia to change the name of the church's head pastoral office from 'president' to 'bishop.' While this decision was not a direct result of the dialogue, the dialogue did contribute to the decision-making process.

The final event is an example of a joint celebration. Once again, it involves the Lutheran Church. In 2017, Catholics joined with Lutherans in the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the Reformation. This took the form of a full day of activities in Adelaide, at both Lutheran and Catholic venues. The day began with Morning Prayer in one of the Lutheran city churches and concluded with Evening Prayer in St Francis Xavier Cathedral, followed by a dinner. At the evening prayer, a joint statement was signed by the bishop of the Lutheran Church of Australia, John Henderson, and the chair of the Catholic Bishops Commission for Ecumenism and Inter-Religious Relations, Christopher Prowse. In the statement, the two bishops acknowledged the pain of past division, noted that the 'Second Vatican Council … provided a pathway for renewal,' and committed their churches 'to that on-going renewal that will take us to the heart of the gospel.' The statement pointed to the challenges the two churches must face together in Australia:

> The question the church faces today and into the future is about how we communicate the truth about God. The anniversary of the Reformation prompts us to reflect together on this question. It will require a renewed commitment to teach God's word. It will require a re-statement about the saving love of God revealed in Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit. It will require fresh imagination about how to speak of God to a diverse society like Australia, characterised as it is by religious pluralism, by scepticism about God and by suspicion of the church.[39]

This statement shows how both churches have grown to understand each other, as they have helped each other to hear more clearly the saving word of God.

5. Reception: An Ongoing Agenda

According to the five criteria outlined at the beginning of this paper, the Catholic Church in Australia has been actively engaged in the process of reception of the Decree on Ecumenism. Yet, in the report above, there were signs that the Catholic Church was in a different space at the end of the second decade of the third millennium than was the case in the first decades after the council. Catholics have been successful ecumenically,

[39] 'A Statement on the Occasion of the 500th Anniversary of the Reformation,' Lutheran Church of Australia and Bishops Commission for Ecumenical and Inter-Religious Relations, https://www.alrcdialogue.org/_files/ugd/d27f77_f904f6bbd5364f4a936ef5ad0fd5ad1d.pdf.

but there are signs that traditional ecumenical activities and engagements are tapering off.

The great achievement in the popular Catholic imagination is that the sectarianism that characterized the years before the council is now well and truly gone. Anyone under the age of 60 would not know a time when there was mutual suspicion and hostility between Catholics and other Christians. Some people now move easily between churches and live as though there is de facto unity. This is not just the case for Catholics but for others as well. If the aim of the council was the unity of the Christian churches, then for many people this has been achieved, and we can move on. This attitude fits well with the Australian character, which is highly pragmatic. Perhaps the situation can be described, however, as practical unity rather than theological unity.

It is significant that two of the three bilateral dialogues involving the Catholic Church are not currently functioning. However, this situation is not unique to the Catholic Church; many of the other national bilateral dialogues have also gone into hibernation. There are several reasons for this, sometimes to do with church leadership and membership of the dialogue. In some cases, the dialogues have gone as far as they can without being able to take concrete steps toward unity. This raises the question of whether the theological dialogues have exhausted the theologically divisive topics. Might we be at the point where Church leaders (as distinct from theologians in dialogue groups) need to imaginatively explore what concrete steps toward unity could be taken?

A further factor that may be instructive is the resurgence of concern for Catholic identity in Catholic agencies, specifically education, health care, and social welfare.[40] While no one seems to have made a link to ecumenism, the consequences may be significant because for some, the Catholic identity agenda is reminiscent of pre-conciliar Catholic tribalism. In some other churches, there was a similar movement. No doubt this is connected to a sense of marginalization from the public square felt by the churches. It is telling that the churches could not address this as

[40] The focus on mission and identity is happening as these agencies transfer to being lay-led organizations after decades of leadership by religious men and women. Much of the literature has emerged from conferences on the topic. For example, Neil Ormerod, ed., *Identity and Mission in Catholic Agencies* (Strathfield: St Pauls, 2008); Gerald A. Arbuckle, *Crafting Catholic Identity in Postmodern Australia* (Deakin, ACT: Catholic Health Australia, 2007); Gabrielle McMullen and John Warhurst, eds., *Listening, Learning and Leading: The Impact of Catholic Identity and Mission* (Ballarat, Vic.: Connor Court, 2014).

a common issue and that their common identity through baptism could not be a basis for Christian witness in the world. It is as though they have not yet taken to heart the ecumenical learnings of the past 50 years; perhaps they have not realized that they no longer have the 'luxury' of defining themselves against each other.

In all of the churches, including the Catholic Church, those actively engaged in the ecumenical movement are now predominantly grey haired. Where is the next generation of ecumenists? The energy has now shifted to interreligious relations. This is understandable because of the growing religious diversity of Australia, in particular the higher profile of Muslim Australians. It is significant that the relationship between Christians and members of other religions is developing ecumenically.[41] This raises a theologically important question about the relationship between ecumenical work and interreligious work. The work is happening, but there has been little theological reflection on it so far.[42]

This leads to one final question. For all of the success of the Australian Church in receiving *Unitatis Redintegratio*, might the real test be whether its reception follows the criterion presented by Pope John Paul II in *Ut Unum Sint*?

> [E]cumenism, the movement promoting Christian unity, *is not just some sort of "appendix"* which is added to the Church's traditional activity. Rather, ecumenism is an organic part of her life and work, and consequently must pervade all that she is and does; it must be like the fruit borne by a healthy and flourishing tree which grows to its full stature.[43]

[41] A positive example of this is Youth PoWR (Parliament of the World's Religions), which 'brings together young adults aged 18-35 to have a voice and a vote in shaping our multicultural, multi-religious society.' The most recent initiative of this group is *The Sydney Statement*, an interfaith charter. See https://catholicoutlook.org/youth-powr-to-launch-their-interfaith-charter-the-sydney-statement.

[42] The most significant and helpful reflection is from John D'Arcy May. He writes: 'we have gone far enough in imagining the ecumenical to realise how deep the problems of religious pluralism lie, and how crucial their solution is to coping with the future opened up by globalisation, over-population and climate change. On any account, it is clear that 'ecumenical' means more than liberal or diplomatic; it is not the soft option but the hard edge, the attempt to re-shape identities in the face of existential threats, both local and global.' See John D'Arcy May, *Imaging the Ecumenical: A Personal Journey* (Northcote, Vic.: Morning Star Publishing, 2016), 172.

[43] John Paul II, *Ut Unum Sint* (25 May 1995), no. 20. Emphasis in the original.

The fact that ecumenism did not appeared in the listening and discernment phases of the Plenary Council[44] might suggest that it is not yet an organic part of the Church's life and work. However, positively, we can claim that good seeds have been planted over the years as *Unitatis Redintegratio* has been received. If there is the will to make ecumenism even more visibly an organic part of the life and work of the Catholic Church in Australia, the groundwork has been done. However, it will require imagination to work out the next steps to take as we move into the third decade of the third millennium. To employ a phrase that has been used in connection to the Plenary Council, 'it can no longer be business as usual.'[45]

[44] In 2018, it was announced that the Catholic Church in Australia would hold a plenary council. Work began almost immediately on the listening and dialogue phase, which invited people to meet in small groups across the country. The council met in two sessions, in October 2021 and October 2022.

[45] This is the expression used by Archbishop Mark Coleridge, president of the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference, when he introduced the plenary council to the Australian public.

FRAMING THE RECEPTION OF *NOSTRA AETATE* IN NORTH AMERICA

DARREN J. DIAS, OP

> The church reproves, as foreign to the mind of Christ, any discrimination against people or any harassment of them on the basis of their race, color, condition in life or religion. (*Nostra Aetate*, no. 5)[1]

This striking phrase that concludes *Nostra Aetate* is particularly pertinent today when considering its reception in North America.[2] It provides an interpretive key for a continent rife with racism, anti-Black and Indigenous racism in particular; anti-immigration discourses and policies, including the construction of a wall along the southern border of the United States of America[3]; Islamophobia expressed in travel bans and violent attacks on mosques and individuals; and high incidences of missing and murdered Indigenous women. *Nostra Aetate* makes a powerful theological claim that discrimination, racism, and harassment are 'foreign to the mind of Christ' himself. This phrase speaks to the particularity of the North American context that informs the narrative of reception of *Nostra Aetate*. Thus, two important considerations should frame this narrative: the first relates to the interpretation of the document itself, and the second refers to the social and historical context of its reception.

Perhaps more than for any other conciliar document, assessing the reception of *Nostra Aetate* requires framing the narrative beyond a survey of its historic and genetic development and implementation within the Church[4]: that is, from what the council document says to its interpretation

[1] Citations from *Nostra Aetate* are from *Vatican Council II*, ed. Austin Flannery, OP (New York: Costello Publishing Company, 1996).

[2] In this chapter, I use 'North America' to refer only to Canada and the United States of America.

[3] In this chapter, I use 'US' for the United States of America and for the term 'American.'

[4] For examples of this common approach, see Edward Idris Cardinal Cassidy, *Ecumenism and Interreligious Dialogue* (New York: Paulist Press, 2005); Darren Dias, 'Fifty Years and Learning: Developments in the Roman Catholic Church's Encounter with Religions,' *Toronto Journal of Theology* 32 (2016): 341–61; *Nostra Aetate: Celebrating 50 Years of the Catholic Church's Dialogue with Jews and Muslims*, eds. Pim Valkenberg and Anthony Cirelli (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2016).

and implementation through various ecclesially sponsored offices, dialogues, and events. Instead, since *Nostra Aetate* is about the Church's relationship with the religiously other, those others must have a place in the narrative of reception.[5] The narrative of *Nostra Aetate*'s reception cannot be 'self-referential' if it is to respect the very intention of the document to draw Christians out of themselves into constructive engagement with the religiously other.[6] The second consideration goes to the heart of this project that examines regional receptions of Vatican II. The narrative must be framed by features specific to North America—even as vast and diverse a region as it is. The colonial settlement of the continent is a pervasive and unifying trope for understanding the specificity of the North American context. In the period under consideration, from the Second Vatican Council until today, two significant historical features, often unattended to, emerge to shape the narrative of reception: Indigenous relationships and spiritualities, and the phenomenon of migration. In this chapter, I will first briefly problematize the document itself by raising some critiques that result from an 'other-oriented' reading of *Nostra Aetate*. I will then attend to the historical realities of Indigenous issues and migration to frame a narrative of reception that is not limited to the implementation of the teachings within ecclesial structures and institutions.

1. Privileging the Other

A postcolonial or decolonial[7] reading of *Nostra Aetate* and its reception is attentive to particular sets of questions that reframe common narratives. Questions like these: What is the place of the stories marginalized or occluded by dominant discourses? What sources and histories are valued? What is the agency of the marginal or imagined other in the narrative—in the case of the reception of *Nostra Aetate*, non-Christian believers? What is the impact of the religiously other for the Church in

[5] See 'Principle 17 Ad Infra/Ad Extra,' in Ormond Rush, *The Vision of Vatican II* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press Academic, 2019), 182–87.

[6] *Nostra Aetate* states: 'The church, therefore, urges its sons and daughters to enter with prudence and charity into discussion and collaboration with members of other religions' (NA 2); 'this sacred council wishes to encourage and further mutual understanding and appreciation. This can be achieved, especially, by way of biblical and theological enquiry and through friendly discussions' (NA 4).

[7] For a discussion on 'decolonial' and 'postcolonial' approaches to theology, see Joseph Drexler-Dreis, *Decolonial Theology in the North Atlantic World* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 8.

theories of the reception of *Nostra Aetate*? Building on Michel de Certeau's 'heterology' or phenomenology of the other, Michael Barnes argues that '"the returning other", other persons, other stories, other experiences, which, once marginalised to the border of the known and familiar, manage somehow to insinuate themselves back into the centre of critical reflection.'[8] Forms of otherness from the past are recovered as they continue to affect our reading of not only the past but equally the present. De Certeau attends to 'historical moments of transformation or rupture.'[9] Systematic discourse tends to be totalizing and repetitive, reducing otherness into what is already known. The question for De Certeau is not just how the other is to be known but the significance of the other for the same.[10] What is the significance of followers of traditional religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Judaism in their North American particularities in understanding both *Nostra Aetate* itself and its reception?

Like the other documents of Vatican II, *Nostra Aetate* has a decidedly positive tone. In spite of the Cold War, the Indochina and Vietnam wars, civil rights movements, independence struggles across the globe, and forced migration and family separations, *Nostra Aetate* (NA) opens by claiming that 'In our day, … people are drawing more closely together and the bonds of friendship between different peoples are being strengthened' (NA 1). This rather bourgeois Eurocentric perspective is furthered in a series of purportedly perennial and cross-cultural human questions addressed by all religions:

> *What is humanity? What is the meaning and purpose of life? What is upright behavior, and what is sinful? Where does suffering originate, and what end does it serve? How can genuine happiness be found? What happens at death? What is judgment? What reward follows death? And finally, what is the ultimate mystery, beyond human explanation, which embraces our entire existence, from which we take our origin and towards which we tend? (NA 1)*

These are theological questions framed by existentialism and phenomenology; it remains to be demonstrated that these are universal questions common to humankind and not culturally and religiously specific to Western Christianity. If these questions are specific to Western Christianity, then *Nostra Aetate* has defined what religion is to the exclusion of non-Christian and non-Western conceptions.

[8] Michael Barnes, *Theology and the Dialogue of Religions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 26.

[9] Barnes, *Theology and the Dialogue of Religions*, 61.

[10] Barnes, *Theology and the Dialogue of Religions*, 117.

In its structure, the document reveals a hierarchical taxonomy of religions and cultures. *Nostra Aetate* begins by commenting, almost in passing, on practitioners of traditional religions who perceive 'a hidden power, which lies behind the course of nature and the events of human life' (NA 2). Traditional religion is contrasted with the more sophisticated Buddhism and Hinduism that, 'found in *more advanced civilizations* endeavor by way of *well-defined concepts* and *exact language* to answer these questions' (NA 2; emphasis mine). Islam and Judaism are treated next in the sequence. They are superior to other religions because, not unlike Christianity, they are monotheistic.[11]

Resemblance to Christianity is a key element in discerning value in other religions. This domesticates the other, reducing the other to the same instead of respecting that which makes the other *other*, irreducible difference. For example, with no mention of the Qur'an or the prophet Mohammed, Muslims are credited for revering Jesus and honouring Mary (NA 3). Muslims and Christians are encouraged to 'forget the past, riddled with many quarrels and dissensions' (NA 3). Distant memories of the crusades notwithstanding, the recent occupation of Muslim countries in Asia, North Africa, and the Middle East by European Christian powers would mean forgetting not only the past but the present.

The last section of *Nostra Aetate* treats Judaism. Jewish scholar Armand Abécassis points out that the title of the document does not apply to Judaism since 'Judaism in not a non-Christian religion, it's more that Christianity is a non-Jewish religion.'[12] Defining other religions by what they are not, what they seemingly lack, is problematic in general, but especially peculiar historically and theologically in the face of Judaism. *Nostra Aetate* portrays Judaism as surpassed not only in terminology, such as the 'Old Testament,' but in the assertion that 'the church is the *new people* of God' (NA 4; emphasis mine). To the claim that 'the Jews remain very dear to God, for the sake of the patriarchs,' Abécassis counters that contemporary Jews are dear 'also for that which they are' in the present.[13] In the wake of pogroms, the Shoah, and incidents of anti-Semitism, Abécassis critiques the weakness of the term 'decries' instead

[11] SimonMary Asese Aihiokhai, 'Going Beyond *Nostra Aetate*: The Way Forward for Interreligious Dialogue,' *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 51 (2016): 386–401, at 388.

[12] Armand Abécassis, 'Le judaisme n'est pas une religion non chrétienne, c'est plutot le Christianisme qui est une religion non juive,' my translation; 'Point de vue juif sur *Nostra Aetate*,' in *Juifs et chrétiens au Canada*, eds. Jean Duhaime and Gilles Routhier (Montréal: Fides, 2017), 69.

[13] Abécassis, 'pour ce qu'ils sont eux aussi,' my translation, 'Point de vue juif sur *Nostra Aetate*,' 71.

of something stronger like 'condemns' in reference to anti-Semitism. Perhaps not without theological and political reasons, the failure to mention the two most important issues to the international Jewish community of the time—the Shoah and the state of Israel—are for Jewish readers serious lacunae in the document.

Like any text, *Nostra Aetate* has limitations. Postcolonial reading strategies reveal difficulties not so that the text might be abandoned but in order to think more deeply about the dynamism of history and reception and the forgotten or absent narratives in this process. Such reading strategies point to the necessity of a critical appropriation of *Nostra Aetate*. It is, after all, a document internal to the Church about external relationships. As Michael Fitzgerald attests, *Nostra Aetate* does not treat followers of different religions but only certain aspects of their belief 'systems.'[14] The religions are selectively treated by its Christian authors, and the depth and diversity within those traditions is absent. The document contains representations of religiously others that are a Christian caricature of them at worst and an unnuanced composite at best. As SimonMary Asese Aihiokhai concludes: 'This document that attempts to foster dialogue among peoples, religions, and cultures is itself laden with colonial narratives, perceptions, imageries, and forgetfulness.'[15]

2. Indigenous Spiritualities

Both the USA and Canadian governments enacted policies aimed at 'civilizing' Indigenous Peoples, forcibly removing Indigenous children from their families and placing them in state-sponsored schools that in many cases were operated by Christian churches. The forced cultural and religious assimilation of Indigenous Peoples became feverish with the settlement of the western parts of the continent beginning in the late 19th century. In 1891, the American government ordered the 'compulsory attendance' of Indigenous children in Native American boarding schools. The last of these schools closed in 1973. Catholic boarding schools were operated under the aegis of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. The ardent effort to civilize and convert Indigenous children was a collective Catholic effort supported by figures such as the first USA-born saint, Katharine Drexel, and spurred by fierce competition with Protestant

[14] Michael L. Fitzgerald, '*Nostra Aetate*: A Key to Interreligious Dialogue,' *Gregorianum* 87, no. 4 (2006): 699–713, at 704.

[15] Asese Aihiokhai, 'Going Beyond *Nostra Aetate*,' 388.

missionaries for the souls of the Indigenous.[16] In Canada, a similar Residential Schools system lasted from 1880 until 1996.[17] These government schools were largely operated by Christian churches. By 1930, three fifths of the schools were run by Roman Catholics, a quarter by Anglicans, and the rest by the United and Presbyterian churches of Canada.

Catholic-run boarding schools were like other residential/boarding schools: Indigenous children were separated from their families. They were also forbidden from speaking their languages, wearing traditional dress, and practising their spirituality. The children were forced to adopt white American/Canadian culture and customs, to speak English, and to become Christian. The living conditions in the schools were horrendous, with widespread disease and psychological, physical, and sexual abuse at the hands of teachers, including vowed religious and Church ministers. However, it was apparent by the 1960s that the violent attempts of cultural and religious assimilation policies in Canada and the USA were demonstrable failures. Indigenous populations resisted and persisted in their cultures, languages, and spiritual practices.

Grassroots Indigenous liberation movements began in the 1950s, connected to global Indigenous rights movements, anticolonial movements, and civil rights movements. In 1968, the American Indian Movement was founded in Minneapolis. Incidents at Wounded Knee in 1973 and Pine Ridge in 1974, and the subsequent imprisonment of Leonard Pelletier in 1977, galvanized Indigenous movements in North America. In 1969, Vine Deloria, the son of an Episcopal missionary and with a degree in theology, published the influential *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. The Indigenous renaissance that emerged in the last 60 years has been particularly attentive to the area of religion and spirituality.[18] Indigenous theological scholarship and literature have since flourished.[19]

[16] See Amanda Bresie, 'Mother Katharine Drexel's Benevolent Empire: The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and the Education of Native Americans, 1885–1935,' *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 32 (2014): 1–24.

[17] J.R. Miller, 'Residential Schools in Canada,' https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/residential-schools.

[18] Achiel Peelman, *L'Esprit est Amerindien* (Montréal: Mediaspaul, 2004), 12.

[19] Some examples of scholarship in this area are Adrian Jacobs, 'The Meeting of the Two Ways,' in *Native and Christian: Indigenous Voices on Religious Identity in the United States and Canada*, ed. James Treat (New York: Routledge, 1996), 184–90; Stanley McKay, *The First Nations: A Canadian Experience of the Gospel-Culture Encounter* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1995); Gregory Baum and Harold Wells, eds., *The Reconciliation of Peoples: Challenges in the Churches* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1997); Jeff Corntassel, ed., *Everyday Acts of Resurgence: People, Places, Practices* (Olympia, WA: Daykeeper Press, 2018); Marc Fonda, 'Canadian Census Figures on

Part of Indigenous resurgence includes the appropriation of Indigenous spiritual and cultural resources after centuries of forced conversion and cultural genocide.[20] Far from a simple return to the past, this resurgence speaks pointedly to today's issues: ecology, land, spirituality, dialogue, hierarchy, and violence.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) (2008–2015) was a product of the *Indian Residential Schools Agreement* (2006) between the Canadian government and former Residential School students. It formally recognized the damage suffered by students in the system and established compensation packages. The TRC documented the history and impact of the Residential Schools system and hosted several reconciliation events. The summary report of its findings came in the form of 94 Calls to Action. The Calls to Action name the government policy toward the First Nations as 'cultural genocide' aimed at ridding the state of its legal and financial responsibilities to Indigenous populations, evading treaties, and controlling land and resources.[21]

The TRC calls upon churches and interfaith groups to adopt, comply with, and implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (#48). This means 'Respecting Indigenous peoples' right to self-determination in spiritual matters, including the right to practise, develop, and teach their own spiritual and religious traditions, customs, and ceremonies' (#48.ii). The text issues a call to repudiate the Christian concepts that have justified and continue to justify European and settler sovereignty over Indigenous lands (#49). Four TRC calls to action directly entreat Christian churches to apology and reconciliation. The first is that the pope apologize for 'the Roman Catholic Church's role in the spiritual, cultural, emotional, physical, and sexual abuse of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children in Catholic-run residential schools'

Aboriginal Spiritual Preferences: A Revitalization Movement?' *Religious Studies and Theology* 30 (2011): 171–87; Judy Iseke, 'Spirituality as Decolonizing: Elders Albert Desjarlais, George McDermott, and Tom McCallum Share Understandings of Life in Healing Practices,' *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 2 (2013): 35–54; Mary L. Keller, 'Indigenous Studies and "the Sacred,"' *American Indian Quarterly* 38 (2014): 82–109, 133; Frederick Laugrand and Jarich Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism and Christianity: Transitions and Transformations in the Twentieth Century* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010); Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

[20] Peelman, *L'Esprit est Amerindien*, 25.

[21] Brian McDonough, 'The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,' in *The Church and Indigenous Peoples in the Americas: In Between Reconciliation and Decolonization*, ed. Michel Andraos (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2019), 56–77, at 60.

(#58); this apology happened in Canada in July 2022.[22] Second, the TRC calls churches to 'education strategies to ensure that their respective congregations learn about their church's role in colonization' (#59). Next is the call that 'schools of theology, seminaries, and other religious training centres … develop and teach curriculum for all student clergy, and all clergy and staff who work in Aboriginal communities, on the need to respect Indigenous spirituality *in its own right*' (#60; emphasis mine). Finally, the TRC calls churches to establish permanent funds for Indigenous community-based projects to support education and to create dialogues around 'Indigenous spirituality, self-determination and reconciliation' (#61).

In 2015, in response to the Calls to Action, the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops (CCCB) issued a statement acknowledging that the Residential Schools were part of a larger national colonial policy that has had and continues to have negative impacts on all society, especially Indigenous communities.[23] The bishops invited all dioceses and Catholics to promote the work of reconciliation and justice by engaging in meaningful dialogue with First Nations.[24] They called for the restoration of Indigenous family structures that had been rent by Residential Schools and for an analysis of the disproportionately high number of incarcerated Indigenous people.[25] The work of the TRC and the Calls to Action occasioned a new type of relationship between the CCCB and Indigenous communities.

On 19 March 2016, Feast of St Joseph, principal patron of Canada, the CCCB issued a formal statement repudiating the 'doctrine of discovery' and 'terra nullius' that justified European seizure of land inhabited by the Indigenous Peoples.[26] In a separate document issued on the same day, the

[22] See Chanelle Robinson, '"Papa Don't Preach": Imagining a Theology of Apology in Canada,' *Toronto Journal of Theology* 35 (2019): 9–24.

[23] CCCB, 'Statement by the Permanent Council of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops in an Initial Response to the Summary Report and Calls to Action by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,' https://www.cccb.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/16.-Statement_by_the_Permanent_Council_on_the_TRC_-_EN.pd_.pdf. Prior to 1993, the focus of the CCCB's relations with the Indigenous Peoples had been environmental issues. At least 15 letters of solidarity and/or advocacy on ecology were issued since 1975. Beginning in 1981, the CCCB also began advocating for the recognition of Indigenous treaty rights and land claims in at least 12 public communications to government. See CCCB, 'CCCB and Indigenous Peoples,' https://www.cccb.ca/indigenous-peoples.

[24] CCCB, 'Statement by the Permanent Council.'

[25] CCCB, 'Statement by the Permanent Council.'

[26] CCCB, 'The "Doctrine of Discovery" and *Terra Nullius*: A Catholic Response, https://www.cccb.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/15.-29-Mar-2016_Ctholic-response-to-

CCCB, the Canadian Religious Conference, and other ecclesial institutions affirmed their support for and agreement with the United Nations' Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. Unlike some previous documents, which focused on social justice issues, the statement makes a clear reference to Indigenous spirituality as a dialogue partner:

> In the case of those who hold to Indigenous spirituality apart from Christianity, the Catholic Church approaches them as we would the followers of any other religion: with humility, respect, and the invitation to a sincere dialogue. As the CCCB's Commission for the Evangelization of Peoples wrote in 1999, 'As bishops, we respect your ancestral customs and spiritual heritage. We also respect those among you who have found in contemporary expressions of these traditions ways to revere the power of God present in all of Creation. We renew our commitment to the dialogue that has begun between our respective spiritual heritages.'[27]

Dialogue with First Nations is complex because Indigenous spiritualities are scarred by the history of colonialism. Many Indigenous Peoples 'adopted Christianity without necessarily abandoning their traditional religion.'[28] In fact, adopting Christianity may have been a strategy to maintain their own spiritualities and traditions in the face of forced conversions and cultural genocide. According to Achiel Peelman, the adoption of Christianity while maintaining Indigenous spirituality takes the form of either syncretism or dualism. Syncretism names the real exchange between the two traditions. Indigenous Christians maintain their proper worldview and integrate Christian elements into their religious rituals.[29] Dualism names the simultaneous belonging of Indigenous people to two traditions: depending on concrete life circumstances, they live in two 'cultural universes' that never really encounter one another.[30] Unlike other interfaith encounters, the encounter with Indigenous spiritualities is often related to or embedded within Christianity because a high proportion of Indigenous identify as Christian.

In spite of the significant transformation in the relationship between Indigenous communities and churches, Michel Andraos laments, 'Even though the involvement of churches and Christianities in the violent colonial history and the genocide of Indigenous peoples are now well

doctrine-of-discovery-and-tn.pdf.

[27] CCCB, 'A Catholic Response to Call to Action 48 of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,' https://www.cccb.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/14.-Catholic-response-call-to-action-48.pdf, 4-3.

[28] Peelman, *L'Esprit est Amerindien*, 27.

[29] Peelman, *L'Esprit est Amerindien*, 28.

[30] Peelman, *L'Esprit est Amerindien*, 28.

documented and accepted as fact by the leadership of many churches and most Christians, theological understanding and analyses of these colonial relations are still inadequate.'[31] In this current context, Andraos names specific challenges for theology today in the encounter with Indigenous: 'acknowledging the importance of the Indigenous peoples' lived spiritual experiences and practices of before the Christian "evangelization"; understanding the significance of traditional ceremonies and rituals for the life of Indigenous peoples in the churches and for the whole church; dialogue in mutual respect with Indigenous traditions, teaching of elders, and wisdoms of ancestors'; and in light of these what constitutes sources of divine revelation.[32]

The Our Lady of Guadalupe Circle is a 'Catholic coalition of Indigenous people, bishops, clergy, lay movements and institutes of consecrated life, engaged in renewing and fostering relationships between the Catholic Church and Indigenous Peoples in Canada.'[33] It aims at deepening relationship between the Church and Indigenous spiritualities; giving public voice to the dialogue with Indigenous spiritualities; and assisting in the truth and reconciliation process.[34] Another initiative is the Listening Circles sponsored by the CCCB, where bishops, Elders, and Indigenous communities meet 'to discuss and reflect on matters of mutual importance.'[35] From February to July 2018, ten Listening Circles were held, with plans for more diocesan and regional meetings in the future. Since 2008, the CCCB has observed the National Day of Prayer in Solidarity with Indigenous Peoples. The CCCB encourages participation in Returning to Spirit, a healing and reconciliation programme for Indigenous Peoples first adopted in the diocese of Mackenzie–Fort Smith in 2006.[36]

Dialogue with Indigenous communities in Canada remains stalled with the uncovering in 2021 of unmarked graves of Indigenous children on the sites of Residential Schools operated by Roman Catholic religious

[31] Michel Andraos, 'Long-Term and Pastoral Challenges for Decolonizing the Relation with Indigenous Peoples: A Reflection from Canada,' *Christianities and Indigenous Peoples*, eds. Michael Andraos, Bernadeth Caero Bustillos, and Gerlado De Mori, *Concilium* 4 (2019): 97–106, at 100.

[32] Andraos, 'Long-Term and Pastoral Challenges for Decolonizing,' 101.

[33] Our Lady of Guadalupe Circle, 'Who We Are: Our Mission,' https://ourladyofguadalupecircle.ca/who-we-are/our-mission.

[34] Our Lady of Guadalupe Circle, 'Who We Are: Our Mission.'

[35] Our Lady of Guadalupe Circle, 'Initiatives: Listening Circles,' https://www.cccb.ca/indigenous-peoples/initiatives/listening-circles.

[36] CCCB, 'Returning to Spirit,' https://www.cccb.ca/indigenous-peoples/initiatives/returning-to-spirit.

communities. As a result, two of the TRC recommendations received renewed attention: first, the renewed call for a formal apology from the pope for the Roman Catholic Church's complicity in the Residential Schools system (which has taken place); and second, that the 48 Roman Catholic entities (certain dioceses and religious congregations) pay the $25 million CDN that was agreed upon in the Residential Schools settlement. As of September 2022, the entities had paid only around $3 million of this amount; the remainder was forgiven by the courts. Meanwhile, the CCCB announced a five-year $30 million fundraising campaign for Indigenous reconciliation.[37] The other three Christian denominations implicated in the running of Residential Schools have formally apologized and fully paid their agreed-upon amount. It will be impossible to speak of the reception of *Nostra Aetate* in terms of healing, collaboration, or dialogue in Canada with Indigenous Peoples in any meaningful way until the Roman Catholic Church commits itself in word and action to the TRC and the perspective of Indigenous Peoples.

The Subcommittee on Native American Affairs falls under the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) Committee on Cultural Diversity within the Church. This subcommittee is concerned with inculturation, social justice, and dialogue with Indigenous Catholics and not with *ad extra* dialogues with Indigenous Peoples and spiritualities as discrete dialogue partners. In 2019, the subcommittee published *Two Rivers: A Report on Native American Culture and Ministry*.[38] The document is in line with the conciliar developments on inculturation, evangelization, and social justice more than it is informed by *Nostra Aetate* and interreligious dialogue. As its title suggests, the document is about the confluence of the two rivers of Catholicism and Native American cultures that flow into the one USA Church. The fulsome report aims at strengthening Indigenous ministry and evangelization. The introduction to the document quotes Pope Francis's rejection of all forms of colonialism and his request for forgiveness 'for the offenses of the Church herself, but also for crimes committed against the native peoples during the so-called conquest of America.'[39] The report concludes with four recommendations:

[37] CCCB, 'Canada's Bishops Announce Indigenous Reconciliation Fund to Support Projects across Canada,' 28 Jan. 2022, https://www.cccb.ca/media-release/canadas-bishops-announce-indigenous-reconciliation-fund-to-support-projects-across-canada.

[38] USCCB, *Two Rivers: A Report on Catholic Native American Culture and Ministry* (2019), https://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/cultural-diversity/upload/Two-Rivers-On-Catholic-Native-American-Culture-and-Diversity.pdf.

[39] Pope Francis' message to the World Meeting of Popular Movements, quoted in USCCB, *Two Rivers*, 1.

to strengthen Catholic education on reservations; to change the laws that govern reservations to reflect Indigenous governance models; to provide public education and outreach; and to revitalize Native American evangelization.[40] None of the recommendations speak to dialogue with Indigenous spiritualities.

Meaningful dialogue with Indigenous Peoples and their spiritualities in North America includes confronting difficult histories, re-education, repentance, and reconciliation. Due to the high number of Indigenous who are Christians in North America, theological exchanges have focused on the inculturation of Indigenous rituals into Christian frameworks.[41] The challenge in an encounter between Indigenous spiritualities and Catholicism is the disentanglement of colonial tropes that would liberate Indigenous spiritualities from Christian colonization. The role of Christian interlocutors in an authentic dialogue is that such a disentanglement may in fact result in Indigenous Peoples repudiating Christianity.

A second challenge in the dialogue with Indigenous spiritualities and worldviews is that not unlike other so-called traditional religions, they do not find a place in interreligious dialogues in the way that 'world religions' such as Hinduism, Buddhist, Judaism, and Islam do.[42] Is that because Indigenous systems are less structured than some other religious traditions? Are they still considered superstitious or primal by Christians? Is there less at stake for Christians—theologically, politically, or socially—in conversations with traditional religions? A significant development is that since their participation in the 1986 Assisi Day of Prayer convoked by Pope John Paul II, practitioners of traditional religions continue to participate in national and local prayer services throughout North America alongside the so-called major world religions. However, as yet, no official dialogue with practitioners of traditional Indigenous spiritualities has been established, as has been done with Jews, Muslims, or Hindus, for example.

[40] USCCB, *Two River*s, 27.

[41] See Frederic Laugrand and Gilles Routhier, 'Réception et enracinement de Vatican II en milieu inuit,' in *Vatican II au Canada: Enracinement et reception*, ed. Gilles Routhier (Québec: Fides, 2001).

[42] Peelman, *L'Esprit est Amerindien*, 12. For a historical overview of the construction of 'world religion' in the Western academy, see Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

3. Immigration

The American Immigration Act of 1924 excluded Asian immigration from Japan, Korea, and India.[43] Chinese immigration had already been banned by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The small number of Indian immigrants, predominantly Hindu and Sikh, who settled along the west coast prior to the 1924 Act were barred from owning land in 1913; in 1923, the US Supreme Court denied them the right to citizenship as they were no longer considered 'free white persons.'[44] A small number of Buddhist Asian immigrants began organizing their small religious community like the dominant Protestant parochial models with some success in the early 20th century. However, this trajectory ended with the outbreak of World War II and the subsequent internment of Japanese Americans, 55 per cent of whom were Buddhists.[45] It was not until the 1965 Hart-Celler Act that the legal discrimination against Southern and Eastern Europeans and Asians with regard to immigration policy and quotas was removed. Instead of national and racial priorities for immigration, the Act privileged family reunification, permanent residents, professionals, skilled labour, and refugees as immigrants. It also imposed a limit on the number of immigrants from Western Europe. The Act effectively opened up immigration from Asia and Africa; Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Buddhists were among the number of newcomers.

A brief overview of immigration in Canada tells a similar story of racism and exclusion. Canadian immigration policies privileged immigrants from the 'traditional' countries of Britain, Ireland, USA, and France. The arrival of immigrants from 'non-traditional' countries in Eastern and Southern Europe caused alarm for many Canadians in the early 20th century.[46] Law enforcement officials claimed that the rapid growth of an immigrant population that 'did not share British customs and values'[47] was at the root of increased crime. Some religious leaders and medical professionals echoed the sentiments of politicians calling for a restricted immigration, fearing that 'immigrants of "inferior stock'[48] would have

[43] Gurinder Singh Mann, Paul David Numrich, and Raymond B. Williams, *Buddhists, Hindus and Sikhs in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 65.

[44] Mann, Numrich, and Williams, *Buddhists, Hindus and Sikhs in America*, 64.

[45] Mann, Numrich, and Williams, *Buddhists, Hindus and Sikhs in America*, 33, 37.

[46] Ninette Kelly and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 133.

[47] Kelly and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 118.

[48] Kelly and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 118.

serious negative economic, social, and public health and safety consequences. As Prime Minister Mackenzie King lamented in 1947, non-Anglo immigrants could alter the 'character of our population.'[49] Canadian immigration policy remained discriminatory based on race and country of origin until 1962, when criteria such as education, skills, and training were introduced.[50]

As much as the Church was on the cusp of something new on the eve of the Second Vatican Council, so was North America, due to migration from the Two-Thirds World. With the exception of the Jewish community, which had long been established in urban centres, a radical shift in demographics due to migration would eventually make encounters with the religiously other possible. In 1960, the USA counted 9.7 million immigrants, or 5.4 per cent of the total population. In 2018, the number of immigrants was 44.8 million, constituting 13.7 per cent of the USA population.[51] The top four countries of origin of immigrants to the USA in 2018 were China, India, Mexico, and the Philippines. Since 2009, more immigrants have come from Asia than Latin America; it is predicted that by 2055, Asians will be the largest immigrant group in the USA.[52] Between 1965 and 1990, the Chinese American population quadrupled.[53] Immigration from India reached 800,000 by the end of the 1990s and then 1.7 million by 2000.[54] In 2011, of Canada's 2,537,410 immigrants, 54 per cent came from Asia, 26 per cent from Europe, 15 per cent from the Americas, and 5 per cent from Africa.[55] The top five countries of birth of recent immigrants (2011–2016) were India, China, the Philippines, Pakistan, and Iran.[56] This is a radical shift from the overwhelmingly European immigration trends on the eve of the Second Vatican Council. The 1961 Canadian census lists 1 per cent of the population as Jewish, 0.66 per cent as Asian, 1.2 per cent as First Nations, and 1.3 per cent in the all-encompassing category 'Other.'[57] It was only in the 1981 Canadian

[49] Kelly and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 317, quoting a speech of Prime Minister Mackenzie King in 1947.

[50] Kelly and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 320.

[51] Abby Budiman, 'Key Findings About U.S. Immigrants,' 20 Aug. 2020, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/08/20/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants.

[52] Budiman, 'Key Findings About U.S. Immigrants.'

[53] Mann, Numrich, and Williams, *Buddhist, Hindus, and Sikhs in America*, 57.

[54] Mann, Numrich, and Williams, *Buddhist, Hindus, and Sikhs in America*, 66.

[55] Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/130508/dq130508b-eng.htm.

[56] Statistics Canada, 'Top 10 Countries of Birth of Recent Immigrants, Canada, 2016,' https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/171025/t002b-eng.htm.

[57] 'Census of Canada, 1961,' http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2017/statcan/CS92-521-1961.pdf.

census that Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs were even listed. Between 1981 and 2011, the Buddhist, Hindu, and Sikh populations each grew approximately sevenfold, while the Muslim population grew more than tenfold. From 2007 to 2014, adherents of non-Christian religions in the USA grew from 4.7 per cent to 5.9 per cent of the total population; Islam and Hinduism grew the most in that period.[58] Since 1965, 1,100 Buddhist meditation centres have been established all over the US: a growth rate of 95 per cent. As Jenny Daggers observes, 'postcolonial reverse migrations have transformed western nations into multireligious cultures.'[59]

While Christianity remains by far the largest religious denomination in North America, in the past five decades it has been declining as a percentage of the total population due to both disaffiliation and immigration. Official dialogues with Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, and Buddhism have, for the most part, been established only in the last decade, as these populations did not arrive in North America in significant numbers until well after the Second Vatican Council. Furthermore, in the face of concerns such as family reunification, overseas financial support, immigration policies, racism, Islamophobia, exclusion, religiously motivated violence, and employment, entering into dialogue with the establishment religion may not be a priority for migrant communities. Furthermore, lingering mistrust born from centuries of cultural colonization and forced religious conversions make such encounters delicate. Assessing the reception of *Nostra Aetate* in North America with regard to relations with newcomer religious communities has understandably only just begun.

4. Jewish Communities

Although a small Jewish population had existed in the USA since the 17th century, it did not grow significantly until the late 19th century. By 1920, there were approximately 3 million Jews in the USA.[60] Quotas and exclusionary immigration policies such as the American Immigration Act of 1924 that applied to Asian immigrants were also applied to Jews.

[58] Pew Forum, 'America's Changing Religious Landscape,' 12 May 2015, https://www.pewforum.org/2015/05/12/americas-changing-religious-landscape.

[59] Jenny Daggers, *Postcolonial Theology of Religions: Particularity and Pluralism in World Christianity* (London: Routledge, 2013), 1.

[60] Jewish Virtual Library, 'Total Jewish population in the United States (1654–present),' https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jewish-population-in-the-united-states-nationally.

The Jewish population in the USA has remained small but stable since the 20th century. However, according to Riv-Ellen Prell, 'American Jewish culture' experienced a 'remarkable realignment' between 1945 and 1967 in terms of 'religion, politics, social class, occupations, family and home and where they lived.'[61] In the wake of the Shoah and the displacement of European Jews, North American Jews organized in the interest of the international Jewish community. Between 1940 and 1946, 47 Jewish organizations were established in the USA. North America became the centre of Jewish life internationally[62] until the newly formed state of Israel became a 'wellspring of Jewish culture' and a focal point for identity, fundraising, and organization.[63] Between 1946 and 1948, American Jews raised $330 million USD for the resettlement of European Jews.[64] Similarly, per capita financial support for Israel was higher among Canadian Jews than any other nation except South Africa.[65]

The post-war period also saw the diversification of the Jewish community in North America. The community that had established itself in the northeast, in cities like New York and Montreal, began to move into suburbs, southward to Miami, and westward to Los Angeles and Winnipeg. Perhaps in conformity with the predominant Christian suburban middle class, this movement was accompanied by a growth in synagogue affiliation akin to parish membership. The emergence of Reform or Liberal Judaism in North America challenged Orthodox and Conservative synagogues and their rabbis in Israel. In the USA, the first female Reform rabbi, Sally Priesand, was ordained in 1972; Sandy Eisenberg Sasso was ordained in the Reconstructionist tradition one year later. Further diversification of Judaism in North America came with the migration of Sephardic Jews—often French speaking—from Africa and Asia, whereas previous generations came from Eastern and Central Europe.

Even before the structural implementation of *Nostra Aetate* in North America, Jewish–Christian relations had flourished since the end of the Second World War. The National Conference of Christian and Jews was founded in the USA in 1927; the Council of Christians and Jews was

[61] Riv-Ellen Prell, 'Triumph, Accommodation, and Resistance: American Jewish Life from the End of World War II to the Six Day War,' in *The Columbia History of Jews and Judaism in America*, ed. Marc Lee Raphael (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 114–41, at 115.

[62] Prell, 'Triumph, Accommodation, and Resistance,' 116.

[63] Gerald Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews: A People's Journey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 439.

[64] Prell, 'Triumph, Accommodation, and Resistance,' 115.

[65] Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*, 440.

established in England in 1942, in Australia in 1943, and in Canada in 1947[66]; Les Amitiés judéo-chrétiennes in France in 1948 and in Quebec in 1952; and the International Council of Christian and Jews in 1948.[67] A 1970 study by the American Jewish Committee surveyed the 'progress and problems in implementing the Conciliar Declaration [*Nostra Aetate*] in Europe, Israel, Latin America, the United States and Canada.'[68] It highlighted a study of the presentation of Jews and Judaism in Roman Catholic textbooks used throughout the USA that had resulted in almost every publisher either revising existing texts or producing new ones in the light of the teachings of *Nostra Aetate*.[69] The study also referred to the introduction of courses on Judaism and the relationship of Judaism to Christianity in USA seminaries and colleges in the area of comparative religions or Scripture.[70] The study concluded that while 'good lines of communication' had been established between representatives of Roman Catholics and Jews, 'large numbers of American Catholics still remain unaffected by the conciliar statement because of lack of implementation. Sometimes, the different positions assumed by Catholics and Jews on matters of public policy inhibits discussion and programming in other areas … the impression remains that Catholic-Jewish relations do not constitute a major priority for the Church.'[71] On the 40th anniversary of the promulgation of *Nostra Aetate*, J. A. Chanes described the first 20 years of Jewish–Catholic relations as a 'euphoric' period, but the next 10 years were marked by a 'conflict of agendas' over Israel and the Middle East.[72] A period of growing maturity marks the relationship between Roman Catholic and Jews until today. Neuralgic points for the international Jewish community were addressed by Pope John Paul II or the Vatican in the decades that followed the council. These included repudiation of the charge of deicide, a statement on the Shoah, clarification on supersessionism and mission to the Jews, and recognition of the state of Israel.[73]

[66] See Michael Attridge, 'Le Conseil canadien des chrétiens et des juifs et *Nostra Aetate*,' in *Juifs et chrétiens au Canada* (Montréal: Fides, 2017), 121–38.

[67] Gilles Routhier, 'Les amitiés judéo-chrétiennes de Québec, ou les avents de *Nostra Aetate*,' in *Juifs et chrétiens au Canada* (Montréal: Fides, 2017), 110.

[68] American Jewish Committee, *Vatican Council II's Statement on the Jews: Five Years Later* (New York: Institute for Human Relations, 1972).

[69] American Jewish Committee, *Vatican Council II's Statement on the Jews*, 7.

[70] American Jewish Committee, *Vatican Council II's Statement on the Jews*, 8.

[71] American Jewish Committee, *Vatican Council II's Statement on the Jews*, 29.

[72] J.A. Chanes, 'Impact of *Nostra Aetate* on Catholic and Jewish Life in the United States after Four Decades,' in *Nostra Aetate: Origins, Promulgation, Impact on Jewish Catholic Relations*, eds. Neville Lamdan and Alberto Melloni (Berlin: LIT, 2007), 189–98, 196.

[73] Dias, 'Fifty Years and Learning,' 352.

5. Implementation

The structural implementation of *Nostra Aetate* in North America followed the pattern and priorities set by the Vatican. The USCCB expanded the mandate of the Commission for Ecumenical Affairs to include interreligious affairs in 1966. While informal relations with Jews began in 1966, formal dialogues with the Synagogue Council of America did not start until 1977. In 1987, the Commission for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs (CEIA) had been in two dialogues with representatives of Jewish communities: the National Council of Synagogues (Reform and Conservative Judaism) and the Orthodox Union and Rabbinic Council of America (Orthodox Judaism).[74] The CEIA has produced several documents relating to Jews and Judaism: *Guidelines for Catholic Jewish Relations* (1965; rev. 1985); *Criteria for the Dramatization of the Passion* (1988); *God's Mercy Endures Forever: Guidelines on the Presentation of Jews and Judaism in Catholic Preaching* (1988); and *Catholic Teaching on the Shoah: Implementing the Holy See's 'We Remember'* (2001). These developments are clearly related to the ecclesial commitments that emerged from *Nostra Aetate* 4. The documents themselves do not emerge from national dialogues but are responses of the USA episcopal conference to the orientations and agenda of the Holy See and its appropriation of *Nostra Aetate*.

In 2015, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of *Nostra Aetate*, three regional dialogues with Muslims were placed under the auspices of the National Catholic–Muslim Dialogue.[75] These regional dialogues continue to meet. They are the Midwest Dialogue with the Islamic Society of North America (began in 1996); the Mid-Atlantic Dialogue with the Islamic Circle of North America (began in 1998); and the West Coast Dialogue with the Islamic Shura Council of Southern California, the Islamic Educational Center of Orange County (began in 1999). All three dialogues also include the participation of other local Islamic communities. The National Catholic–Muslim Dialogue has yet to issue a joint letter at the national level; however, the regional dialogues regularly issue joint statements on topics such as marriage, sacred texts, and religion in the public square.[76]

[74] USCCB, 'Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs: Committee History,' https://www.usccb.org/committees/ecumenical-interreligious-affairs/committee-history.

[75] USCCB, 'Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs: Islam,' https://www.usccb.org/committees/ecumenical-interreligious-affairs/islam.

[76] For a list of statements, releases, and resources, as well as the annual reports of the regional dialogues, see https://www.usccb.org/committees/ecumenical-interreligious-affairs/interreligious-documents-and-news-releases#tab--islam.

From 2003 until 2009, the CEIA sponsored the Zen Buddhist–Catholic dialogue; these ended due to financial constraints.[77] While not the official convenor, the CEIA participates in the Vaishnava–Christian Dialogue. There have been meetings and discussions about the possible establishment of formal dialogue with Hindus, the last being in 2017; however, to date, no national dialogue exists. Beginning in 2006, the USCCB participates in the biannual consultation and retreat with the Interfaith Committee of the World Sikh Council–America Region. Since 2014, retreats have been coordinated with the Sikh Council for Interfaith Relations.[78] The CEIA also participates in multilateral projects such as the Shoulder to Shoulder Campaign to stand against rising 'anti-Muslim rhetoric'[79] and Religions for Peace USA, along with over 50 other faith-based communities.

Through its National Commission for Christian Unity, Relations with the Jews, and Interfaith Dialogue, the CCCB works to build relationships through high-level conversations, initiatives, and statements related to the common good and 'advancement of social harmony.'[80] Through its ecumenical commitments, the CCCB participates in the Canadian Christian Jewish Consultation, established in 1977, and the National Muslim Christian Liaison Committee, established in 1984. The CCCB sponsors three interfaith initiatives: the CCCB–Canadian Rabbinic Caucus Bilateral Dialogue (2015), Catholic–Hindu Dialogue (2015), and CCCB–Canadian Council of Imams Working Group (2019). Joint documents with Muslim partners on social issues such as palliative care (2015), assisted suicide (2016), the legalization of cannabis (2018), and the place of religion in society (2017) have been published, as have public condemnations against anti-Muslim violence in New Zealand, Sri Lanka, and Quebec. The Catholic–Hindu dialogue has produced joint texts on atheism (2015) and welcoming refugees (2016). In addition to condemning religiously motivated violence, the first document of the CCCB–Rabbinic Caucus has been published: *The Psalms: A Doorway to Jewish–*

[77] For a report on the dialogue, see https://www.usccb.org/news/2004/second-annual-northern-california-chanzen-catholic-dialogue-held-burlingame-ca.

[78] USCCB, 'Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs: Sikhism,' https://www.usccb.org/committees/ecumenical-interreligious-affairs/sikhism.

[79] For a list of USCCB dialogues, see https://www.usccb.org/committees/ecumenical-interreligious-affairs/multilateral-dialogues.

[80] CCCB, 'Christian Unity, Religious Relations with the Jews, and Interfaith Dialogue: Mandate,' https://www.cccb.ca/about/commissions-committees/national-commissions/christian-unity-religious-relations-jews-interfaith-dialogue.

Catholic Dialogue (2020).[81] Given the importance of the psalms in both traditions, the document places them at the centre of Jewish-Christian dialogue.

At the diocesan level, those urban areas that are home to significant non-Christian populations—Boston, Miami, New York City, San Francisco, Seattle, Toronto, and Washington, for example—have offices for ecumenical and interreligious affairs.[82] The vibrancy of these offices, or lack thereof, varies by diocese. Their activities revolve around social justice initiatives, public celebrations and anniversaries, and common prayer services for peace. National and diocesan interreligious activities and commitments, the creation of consultations and dialogues, common statements, and social action initiatives point to a structural implementation of *Nostra Aetate*'s exhortation to 'discussion and collaboration with members of other religions' (NA 2); to 'together preserve and promote peace, liberty, social justice and moral values' (NA 3); and to decry persecution, hatred, and anti-Semitism (NA 4). Perhaps with the exception of conversations with Jewish partners, most interfaith dialogues in North America centre primarily on discussion and collaboration on social, peace, and justice issues. As the relationship between religion and society shifts in different jurisdictions in North America, Christianity, together with other religious traditions, reflects on their place in society. Although the absence of a common theological language, categories, and experiences makes theological dialogue challenging, if not impossible, a significant development is to be found in multiple examples of both multireligious and interreligious[83] prayer practices.[84]

[81] CCCB and Canadian Rabbinic Caucus, *The Psalms: A Doorway to Jewish–Catholic Dialogue* (Ottawa: CCCB and Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs, 2020), https://www.cccb.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/The-Psalms-A-Doorway-To-Jewish–Catholic-Dialogue-final.pdf.

[82] For a list of US cities by population and religious affiliation, see Pew Research Center, 'Major U.S. Metropolitan Areas Differ in Their Religious Profiles,' 29 July 2015, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/07/29/major-u-s-metropolitan-areas-differ-in-their-religious-profiles.

[83] According to Gavin D'Costa, 'Interreligious prayer is a praying together using the same words with a united heart … multireligious prayer is praying in the presence of another religious group.' See Gavin D'Costa, 'Interreligious Prayer Between Christians and Muslims,' in *Interpreting the 'Spirit of Assisi'*, eds. Maria Diemling and Thomas J. Herbst, OFM (Phoenix: Tau Publishing, 2013), 333–55, at 333.

[84] On the theological significance of interfaith prayer, see Gerald O'Collins, *The Second Vatican Council on Other Religions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 165–67.

Significant loci across North America for the reception of *Nostra Aetate* are in Catholic colleges and universities. In the immediate wake of the council, interest in the study of non-Christian religions in Catholic universities, encouraged by *Nostra Aetate*, was met concomitantly in public and secular universities in the establishment of religious studies departments where the study of religion(s) from non-Christian and non-theological perspectives was under way.[85] Since then, Catholic universities in North America have grown faculty expertise in the areas of comparative theologies and/or theologies of religions. Some graduate theological institutions have explicitly interreligious degree and diploma programs.[86] As direct responses to the invitation of *Nostra Aetate* and the Second Vatican Council, interfaith research centres have also been established at colleges.[87] However, almost across the board, the reception of *Nostra Aetate* is expressed in the commitments and priorities of those institutions with campus ministries.[88] Some campus ministries are explicitly interfaith, normally a reflection of their actual student population. Campus ministries variously include interfaith programming, initiatives, collaborations, and coalitions with other faith groups.

6. Conclusion

This chapter argues for a heterological approach to framing the narrative of reception of *Nostra Aetate* where the religiously and culturally other, their experiences and stories return from the border and are attended to and placed at the centre of critical reflection. Framing the narrative of reception in this way places the experiences and stories of Indigenous Peoples and migrants at the centre of reflection. Framing

[85] See Darren Dias, 'Shaping Curriculum: Interreligious Education at the Toronto School of Theology,' *Toronto Journal of Theology* 37 (2021): 23–42.

[86] These include, for example, Chicago Theological Union, Georgetown University (Washington, DC), Santa Clara University (California), Regis College (Toronto), Saint Paul University (Ottawa), and the University of St. Michael's College (Toronto).

[87] For example, the Center for Jewish–Christian Learning at Boston College, https://www.bc.edu/content/bc-web/centers/Center-for-Christian-Jewish-Learning/About-the-Center.html, or the Centre for Jewish, Catholic, Muslim Learning at King's College, https://www.kings.uwo.ca/academics/centres-kings/jcm-learning/about-centre

[88] For example, there are explicit interfaith considerations in the mission and ministry of the following Catholic colleges and universities: Alvernia, Barry, Bellarmine, Boston College, Canisius, College of the Holy Cross, Fordham, Loyola Marymount, Marquette, Notre Dame, Villanova, University of San Diego.

the narrative as such invites a further account of reception that would be local and regional, exploring not only parochial, diocesan, and other institutional initiatives but how the process of reception may have affected the lived reality of religiously other neighbours and how the lived reality of the religiously other informs the meaning of reception. The relatively recent establishment of dialogical encounters and conversations with Indigenous spiritualities and other non-Christian religions reveals the beginning of a long, complicated, and difficult process of building trust and good faith. An inescapable and worthy aspect in this process is the appropriation of difficult histories and the healing of memories that include the complicity of Christianity in cultural and spiritual genocide, racism, and legalized discrimination and harassment that continue to plague and shape non-Christian communities, and so the ongoing reception of *Nostra Aetate*, in North America today.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM: DEVELOPMENT AND RECEPTION OF VATICAN II'S *DIGNITATIS HUMANAE* IN THE UNITED STATES

DAVID HOLLENBACH, SJ

The influence of United States Catholicism on the Second Vatican Council's *Declaration on Religious Freedom* was arguably greater than that of any other region. A German bishop who participated in the council called *Dignitatis Humanae* the 'American contribution to the Council.'[1] This influence was not an accident. Religious freedom has been a core value in US culture throughout the country's history. Nevertheless, considerable controversy marks both the history of religious freedom in the US and the American contribution on religious freedom at the council. Significant disputes about religious freedom continue in the US today. Reflection on how the conciliar document has been received in the United States thus requires attention both to past disputes and to continuing Catholic arguments today.

This essay will first sketch past developments that have made religious freedom a core American value and the role Catholicism has played in this history. Second, it will note contributions by American Catholic thinkers, especially the theologian John Courtney Murray, to the council's declaration. Third, it will sketch key aspects of the reception of the council's declaration by US Catholicism today and make some brief suggestions for the future.

[1] Bishop Walter Kampe, quoted in 'John Courtney Murray,' *National Catholic Reporter*, 23 Aug. 1967, 10.

1. Religious Freedom in US History: Formative Catholic Experiences

Citizens of the United States place high value on religious freedom. The distinguished historian and lawyer John A. Noonan has called the free exercise of religion 'an American invention.'[2] Religious freedom has a central place in the story many Americans tell to describe their identity. The ancestors of many US citizens arrived in the country seeking freedom from religious persecution in their homelands. In the early 1600s, for example, the Puritans founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony to practise a 'purer' Christian life than they believed the Church of England was living. These Puritans rejected the limits that the Anglican Church placed on their liberty of conscience. Their commitment to freedom, however, was chiefly a commitment to the preservation of their own freedom. If others held beliefs the Puritans saw as heresy, their freedom to hold these beliefs could be suppressed—by force, if necessary.[3] Thus, before the American Revolution, the Puritans forbade Catholic priests from entering Massachusetts Bay Colony. The penalty for the first violation of this ban by a priest was exile; for a second violation, the penalty could be death. Massachusetts imposed similar limits on Quakers. Dissent from Puritan practice led Roger Williams to flee these restrictions and to establish what is now Rhode Island, where he sought to protect freedom of conscience for all, including Baptists, Catholics, even Jews and Muslims. Baptists also faced persecution by the majority Anglican colony of Virginia. In nearly all of the colonies that became the first 13 states of the United States, Catholics and Jews were barred from public office. Only Pennsylvania, founded by the Quaker William Penn, has had an uninterrupted history of protecting religious freedom for all.[4]

The Maryland colony, through the influence of its Catholic founders George and Cecil Calvert, also sought a more inclusive respect for religious freedom. The Calverts defended the right of Catholics to full religious freedom. They rejected the claim, made by Pope Boniface VIII

[2] John T. Noonan, Jr., *The Lustre of Our Country: The American Experience of Religious Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 2.

[3] Noonan, *The Lustre of Our Country*, 50.

[4] For a brief summary of some of the most severe limits on religious freedom in US history, see Steven Waldman, *Sacred Liberty: America's Long, Bloody, and Ongoing Struggle for Religious Freedom* (New York: HarperCollins, 2019), 2. Waldman's book presents a vivid picture of both the achievements and the controversies concerning religious freedom in US history.

in the early 14th century, that 'it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff.'[5] In Boniface's vision, the Church holds two swords. One sword is spiritual and is properly used to govern the Church. The other is temporal; it can be used to lead and, when necessary, to correct the temporal government. Therefore, the temporal sword could be used by the pope to depose the head of a state who had fallen into error. This claimed power of deposition led many in the American colonies to conclude that Catholics could not be counted on to support civil government. To overcome the resulting suspicion of Catholics, the Calverts argued that the pope's authority was strictly spiritual and strictly limited to the internal life of the Church itself. The pope did not have the power to depose a civil leader, even one in error. Two other Catholic Marylanders—Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who was the only Catholic to sign the Declaration of Independence, and John Carroll, who became the first Catholic bishop in the United States—supported this stance. The Carrolls also supported an active role for both clergy and laity in the governance of the Church itself. Following this line, John Carroll persuaded the Holy See to permit the first bishop of Baltimore to be elected by fellow priests; Carroll himself was elected.[6]

Through these stances, the Calverts and the Carrolls successfully persuaded other leaders in Maryland that Catholics could be counted on as loyal citizens and that the religious freedom of Catholics should be protected in Maryland. They also persuaded some of the leaders of the emerging US republic that Catholics could be good citizens and therefore that the freedom of Catholics should be respected. Regrettably, this respect for the religious freedom of Catholics in Maryland did not endure, nor did it spread to the culture of the emerging United States until much later. Nor did Catholic support for religious freedom in Maryland extend to the full range of the human rights that are affirmed in both secular and church contexts today, for many of the leaders of the Maryland Catholic community held large numbers of slaves. Nevertheless, the success of the Maryland Catholics' pursuit of religious freedom

[5] Boniface VIII, *Unam Sanctam*, bull issued in 1302, transl. in Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State 1050–1300, with Selected Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1964), 188–89.

[6] For a detailed overview of the 17th- and 18th-century developments of Catholic arguments for religious freedom in Maryland and their anticipations in England, see Michael D. Breidenbach, *Our Dear-Bought Liberty: Catholics and Religious Toleration in Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021).

of all, both Catholic and non-Catholic, foreshadowed developments that occurred several centuries later at the Second Vatican Council.

Despite the exceptional cases of Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Maryland, in the early days of the American experiment, religious freedom often meant freedom for one's own faith community rather than freedom for all. A transitional breakthrough came in the late 18th century, however, when James Madison insisted that religious freedom was a right of every person. Madison saw religious freedom for all as a theological requirement of his Christian faith.[7] One's duty to God is more basic than one's social and political duties. All people, therefore, should be immune from interference with their religious beliefs by powers lesser than God, especially by the government. This provided a religious basis for the right to the free exercise of religious belief as a universal right. Madison was also convinced by his political experience that persecution would follow if government granted financial support either to any religion or to all. Indeed, Madison opposed support not only for the Anglican churches in Virginia but for all Christian bodies.

Madison made a central contribution to drafting the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, enshrining religious freedom in the fundamental law of the new country. The Amendment declares that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.'[8] Minimally, the First Amendment set outer boundaries to action by the national government regarding religion: the US Congress may neither prescribe religion (no establishment) nor proscribe religion (free exercise) on the national level. Within these two outside boundaries, however, much was left open.[9] For example, the First Amendment left the individual states free to establish a particular faith until the 14th Amendment to the US Constitution (1868); later, Supreme Court judgments 'applied' the Bill of Rights to the states. Also, the First Amendment does not address tensions between non-establishment and free exercise. Thus, despite the genuine breakthrough of the First Amendment's guarantee of religious freedom to all citizens, it left significant issues open.

[7] See James Madison, 'Memorial and Remonstrance against Religious Assessments' (ca. 20 June 1785), no. 1, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-08-02-0163.

[8] The text of the First Amendment, along with the entire U.S. Constitution and its Bill of Rights, are available on the website of the U.S. National Archives: https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/bill-of-rights-transcript.

[9] John Witte, Jr., and Joel A. Nichols, *Religion and the American Constitutional Experiment*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 82.

Catholics experienced the effects of disputes surrounding religious freedom as US history moved ahead. From the beginning, Catholics were special targets of religious discrimination. For example, John Adams, one of the country's founders, had grave doubts about whether Catholics could be good citizens. In an 1821 letter to Thomas Jefferson, Adams declared: 'a free government and the Roman Catholick [sic] religion can never exist together in any nation or country.'[10] In 1834, 'anti-popery' reached a boiling point when an influential Protestant preacher told Bostonians that Catholics are 'working to subvert our free institutions.' This led to the burning of a convent and the school run by its sisters in the Charlestown section of Boston. Catholics, of course, vigorously resisted such violent restrictions on practising their faith.[11]

Anti-Catholicism was often tightly interwoven with anti-immigrant attitudes. Between 1820 and 1840, around 700,000 Irish came to the United States, and from 1840 to 1860, 1.7 million more Irish arrived.[12] Protestant fears that their faith would be displaced by a Catholic tide led to discriminatory action aimed at Catholics and also at Jews, as their numbers increased. This was, of course, in direct conflict with the First Amendment's commitment to the free exercise of religion as a universal right. It shows that US constitutional law has not always been effectively implemented.

There were reasons for these Protestant fears of a Catholic threat to their religious freedom. Since the French Revolution, the popes had rejected emerging modern human rights standards, including the right to freedom of religion. For example, in 1832, Pope Gregory XVI called the right to freedom of conscience a form of 'madness' (*dileramentum*).[13] In 1864, Pope Pius IX declared it was error to hold that 'Everyone is free to embrace and profess the religion which by the light of reason one judges to be true' or that 'in our age it is no longer advisable that

[10] Letter of Adams to Jefferson, 3 Feb. 1821, in *The Adams-Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams*, ed. Lester J. Cappon (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 571.

[11] For an overview of this event, see John T. McGreevy, 'Introduction: The Elliot School Rebellion, Boston, 1859,' in *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), 7–15.

[12] Peter Schrag, *Not Fit for Our Society: Nativism and Immigration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 25.

[13] Pope Gregory XVI, *Mirari Vos Arbitramur*, encyclical of 15 August 1832; excerpt in Henricus Denzinger and Adolphus Schönmetzer, eds., *Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum*, ed. XXXII (Rome: Herder, 1963), no. 2730, p. 549.

the Catholic religion be the only State religion, excluding all the other cults.'[14] These teachings led many to see Catholicism as an adversary of religious freedom.

Nevertheless, the rising Catholic population was not willing to be confined to the margins of US society. US Catholic engagement in public life was stimulated by Pope Leo XIII's breakthrough 1891 encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*. *Rerum Novarum*'s support of the rights of working people became central in US church life. Monsignor John A. Ryan led the Church's engagement with the labour movement and gave it solid intellectual grounding.[15] Commitment to the progressive labour movement helped overcome the outsider status of Catholics, to some degree.

Religious freedom, however, remained a source of division between Catholics and their fellow citizens. When the Catholic Al Smith ran for the US presidency in 1928, the Church's official position on religious freedom was a major reason for his defeat. John Ryan argued that despite Catholic teaching that the establishment of Catholicism was the ideal for a society composed of Catholics, US pluralism meant that this ideal would never become a realistic possibility. Ryan acknowledged, however, that in the unlikely event that Catholics did achieve majority status, limits on the public role of non-Catholic communities could 'become feasible and expedient.'[16] As a result, Al Smith lost the 1928 election to Protestant Herbert Hoover in a landslide, and Ryan concluded that the loss was because Smith was a Catholic.[17] The 1928 election once again made clear to Catholics that religious freedom was not equally guaranteed to persons of all faith traditions.

[14] Pope Pius IX, *Syllabus seu collectio errorum*, 1864, excerpt in Denzinger and Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, ed. XXXII, nos. 2915 and 2977, pp. 579 and 584, transl. in Jacques Dupuis, ed., *The Christian Faith: Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church* (New York: Alba House, 1998), 388.

[15] See especially John A. Ryan, *A Living Wage: Its Ethical and Economic Aspects* (New York: Macmillan, 1906), and *Distributive Justice: The Right and Wrong of Our Present Distribution of Wealth* (New York: Macmillan, 1916).

[16] See John A. Ryan and Moorhouse F.X. Millar, *The State and the Church* (New York: Macmillan, 1924), 28; and John A. Ryan, *The Catholic Church and the Citizen* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 32.

[17] See John A. Ryan, 'A Catholic View of the Election,' *Current History* (Dec. 1928): 377–81.

2. The Developing US Catholic Approach and Its Contribution to Vatican II

Continuing non-Catholic apprehensions about the compatibility of Catholicism with a commitment to religious freedom were at the root of post-World War II developments in US Catholic thought on the matter. The role of theologian John Courtney Murray in these developments and in drafting *Dignitatis Humanae* was so important that reflection on reception of the council's teaching in the US today must consider Murray's contribution.

As a young theologian in the 1940s, Murray became involved in discussions with Protestant and secular opinion makers about possible religious contributions to post-World War II international relations. Murray saw that his dialogue partners feared that the Catholic understanding of religious freedom threatened American democracy. A genuine contribution by the Church to peace and justice would therefore require a renewed Catholic approach to religious freedom.

The prevailing position that Murray sought to revise held that in ideal circumstances, often called the thesis by theologians, the Catholic Church should be the established religion of the state. However, if deep religious pluralism meant that the establishment of Catholicism would lead to serious conflict, the realistic stance, called the hypothesis, would be to grant legal toleration to diverse faith communities. In logical form, the official position on the eve of Vatican II can be expressed this way:

1. The Catholic faith is the true religion.
2. It is good for people to believe what is true.
3. Government should promote the common good.
4. Thus, government should promote true religious belief.
5. Therefore, if this can be done without disproportionate harm, the Catholic faith should be the established religion of a country. (Thesis)
6. But if, because of de facto religious pluralism, disproportionate harm would result from Catholic establishment, government may tolerate the public exercise of diverse faiths. (Hypothesis)

Murray sought to show that this argument was not an adequate expression of the implications of the deep Catholic tradition for religious freedom. Rather, Catholic tradition, properly understood, should affirm a right to the free exercise of belief for all.

Some of Murray's critics, such as the Catholic University of America's theologians Francis Connell and Joseph Fenton, believed Murray's revisions

were leading him into what Pius IX had called 'indifferentism'—a kind of relativistic abandonment of Catholic faith.[18] Though the critics acknowledged that non-Catholics should follow their consciences in private, they also held that the government of a Catholic country 'has the right, absolutely speaking, to restrict the activities of non-Catholic denominations, in order to protect the Catholic citizens from spiritual harm.'[19] Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani, head of the Holy See's office on doctrine, put the issue this way: 'It is not correct to attribute the same rights to both good and evil, to truth and error…. Only those who obey God's mandates and possess his truth have true rights.'[20] In other words, error has no rights.

Murray, of course, rejected the charge that his argument rested on a relativistic indifference to religious truth. Indeed, his engagement with religious freedom arose from his desire to help religious communities work together for post-war justice and peace precisely so they could respond more effectively to secularizing trends.[21] Nevertheless, Murray's critics prevailed for a time. In 1955, their pressure led the ranking American in the Roman headquarters of the Jesuit order, Vincent McCormick, to inform Murray that it would be a mistake for him to carry on further work on religious liberty 'under present circumstances.'[22] In effect, this silenced Murray. He replied to McCormick that the letter he had sent to Murray was 'a delicate way of saying "You're through".'[23]

[18] For an overview of the thought of these two critics of Murray who also resisted the council's *Dignitatis Humanae*, see R. Scott Appleby and John H. Haas, 'The Last Supernaturalists: Fenton, Connell, and the Threat of Catholic Indifferentism,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* 13, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 23–48.

[19] Francis J. Connell, 'Pope Leo XIII's Message to America,' *American Ecclesiastical Review* 109 (Oct. 1943): 255–56.

[20] Cited from Ottaviani's speech on 'Church and State' at the Pontifical Lateran University, as translated by Barry Hudock from a text in the archives of the Catholic University of America and quoted in Hudock, *Struggle, Condemnation, Vindication: John Courtney Murray's Journey toward Vatican II* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2015), 74–75. Hudock treats Ottaviani's speech at some length in chapter 8 of his book.

[21] See the text of Murray's 1950 memo to Cardinal Giovanni Battista Montini, who became pope during Vatican II, in Joseph Komonchak, '"The Crisis in Church-State Relationships in the U.S.A.": A Recently Discovered Text by John Courtney Murray,' *Review of Politics* 61, no. 4 (Autumn 1999): 675–714, beginning at 687.

[22] Vincent McCormick, SJ, American Assistant at the Jesuit Generalate in Rome, to Murray, 9 July 1955, Woodstock Archives, quoted in Donald E. Pelotte, *John Courtney Murray: Theologian in Conflict* (New York: Paulist Press, 1955), 52.

[23] Murray to McCormick, 15 July 1955, Woodstock Archives, quoted in Pelotte, *John Courtney Murray*, 53. For fuller treatment of Murray's silencing, see Joseph Komonchak, 'Catholic Principle and the American Experiment: The Silencing of John Courtney Murray,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* 17, no. 1 (1999): 28–44.

In fact, Murray was far from through. Just four years later, Pope John XXIII announced that he would convene the Second Vatican Council. Murray became one of the theological experts advising the council's bishops starting with the council's second session.[24] In this role, he helped the council make a dramatic shift in Church teaching when it declared that 'the human person has a right to religious freedom' and that this right should be recognized in constitutional law as a civil right.[25]

How did this development of Catholic doctrine occur? The social context, of course, played a role. The early-20th-century rise of Marxist, Nazi, and fascist regimes helped create a receptive audience for Murray's critique of the very strong role his opponents granted to the state for the promotion of religion. Murray called his opponents' view of the state 'absolutist,' suggesting that it verged on the totalitarianism that made the Soviet and Nazi regimes such threats to the freedom of the Church and to freedom more generally.

More basically, Murray's argument for religious freedom had an explicitly theological dimension, appealing to what he called the 'primacy of the spiritual.'[26] The human spirit reaches beyond all earthly realities in its quest for meaning and can be fully satisfied only by union with God. This transcendence is the source of human freedom and of the human dignity that must be respected by other persons, by all social institutions, and, indeed, by God.[27] The Christian tradition has long held that the act of faith must be free and that the state is incompetent to tell men and women how they should relate to God. Efforts by a government to enforce religion, therefore, could put a person's relation to God under the thumb of the state. Persons should be free from such control of their beliefs. The

[24] For an excerpt from a letter from Cardinal Francis Spellman, Archbishop of New York, to the Holy See's Secretary of State, Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, urging that Murray be invited to serve as a *peritus* at the council, see Hudock, *Struggle, Condemnation, Vindication*, 120; for an excerpt from Cardinal Cicognani's letter to Murray inviting him to the council's second session, see Pelotte, *John Courtney Murray*, 81.

[25] *Dignitatis Humanae* 2.

[26] See, for example, Murray's relatively early article, 'Contemporary Orientations of Catholic Thought on Church and State in the Light of History,' *Theological Studies* 10 (June 1949): 177–234. This essay uses the phrase 'primacy of the spiritual' numerous times. The phrase was likely borrowed from mid-20th-century French Catholic thinkers, including Jacques Maritain. See Maritain, *Primauté du spiritual* (Paris: Plon, 1927), translated into English as *The Things that Are Not Caesar's* by James Scanlon (New York: Scribner's, 1930).

[27] John Courtney Murray, 'The Arguments for the Human Right to Religious Freedom,' in John Courtney Murray, *Religious Liberty: Catholic Struggles with Pluralism*, ed. J. Leon Hooper (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993), 238.

Church, too, must be free from state control. Murray regularly cited Pope Gelasius's fifth-century insistence to Emperor Anastasias I that the emperor's power over the Church and its ministry were limited. In Gelasius's words, 'Two there are, august Emperor, by which the world is ruled on title of original and sovereign right—the consecrated authority of the priests and the royal power.'[28] Later thinkers, like John of Paris, Robert Bellarmine, and Pope Leo XIII, reinforced Gelasius's differentiation of ecclesial and political power.[29] This differentiation implies that efforts to make Catholicism the 'religion of the state' can conflict with key elements of Catholic theology.

These theological arguments were complemented by a political argument. In a series of mid-1950s articles on the thought of Pope Leo XIII, Murray argued that today the Church should support a constitutionally limited state.[30] He showed that Leo XIII had adopted two different concepts of government. The first view, which Murray called 'paternal,' saw government as a fatherly agent promoting the full human good. Since commitment to religious truth is a key part of this good, the state should support the true faith where this can be done without creating disproportionate negative side effects. Murray called Leo's second concept of government 'political'; we might call it democratic. Here the people

[28] Murray refers often to Pope Gelasius's insistence on the freedom of the Church in his writings. See John Courtney Murray, 'Contemporary Orientations of Catholic Thought on Church and State in the Light of History' and 'On the Structure of the Church–State Problem,' in *The Catholic Church in World Affairs*, ed. Waldemar Gurian and M.A. Fitzsimons (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1954), 11–32, at 12. For a discussion of the 'freedom of the Church' written during the council that was influential among the bishops, see Murray, *The Problem of Religious Freedom*, Woodstock Papers, 7 (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1965), 47–50.

[29] See, for example, 'St. Robert Bellarmine on the Indirect Power,' *Theological Studies* 9 (Dec. 1948): 491–535. For additional treatments of this history, see Brian Tierney, 'Religious Rights: An Historical Perspective,' in *Religious Human Rights in Global Perspective: Religious Perspectives*, eds. John Witte and Johan D. van der Vyver (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1996), 17–45, and other works by Tierney.

[30] Murray's essays on Leo XIII were 'Leo XIII on Church and State: The General Structure of the Controversy,' *Theological Studies* 14 (Mar. 1953): 1–30; 'Leo XIII: Separation of Church and State,' *Theological Studies* 14 (June 1953): 145–214; 'Leo XIII: Two Concepts of Government,' *Theological Studies* 14 (Dec. 1953): 551–67; 'Leo XIII: Two Concepts of Government: Government and the Order of Culture,' *Theological Studies* 15 (Mar. 1954): 1–33; and 'Leo XIII and Pius XII: Government and the Order of Religion,' in *Religious Liberty: Catholic Struggles with Pluralism*, ed. J. Leon Hooper, SJ (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993), 49–125 (the original publication of this final study of Leo XIII in *Theological Studies* was blocked by Murray being silenced). For Murray's statement of his political argument during Vatican II, see *The Problem of Religious Freedom*.

themselves, not the state, are the prime agents of the full common good. The people should be free to promote this good. As part of this freedom, they should be free to adhere to the faith they believe to be true and to advance the implications of this faith in their social life.

Murray argued that the paternal concept of government may have been appropriate earlier, when lack of education made the people largely incapable of self-government. Leo XIII held such a view when he referred to the people as the '*imperita multitudo*, the ignorant masses.'[31] Leo also recognized, however, that capacity for self-government was growing, leading him to hold a democratic or republican model of government. Murray urged the council to recognize the people's growing capacity for freedom and self-rule. By doing so, the council could set aside a paternal concept of government, replacing it with a political vision of a self-governing people and a constitutionally limited state. The task of such a government is the protection of the people's freedom, including their religious freedom.[32]

Finally, Murray's argument had ethical and legal or juridical dimensions. Because the state has limited juridical power, its ethical reach does not extend to the promotion of the full common good, but only to the basic requirements of social life that Murray and the council called public order.[33] Public order includes genuinely moral values, such as public peace, justice, and standards of morality commonly accepted among the people. These minimal standards are the concern of the government. Promoting the fullness of virtue and the totality of the common good, however, is the vocation of the Church, of families, and of the other educational and cultural bodies in civil society. Beyond the requirements of public order, freedom should prevail (DH 7). This moral and juridical argument provides additional grounds for religious freedom.

The Declaration on Religious Freedom also has ecumenical roots. The council's rising recognition of the importance of ecumenical relations between Catholics and other Christians led the bishops to see the importance of religious freedom. *Dignitatis Humanae* began as the fifth chapter of the first draft of the council's *Decree on Ecumenism*. Murray himself had begun his work on religious freedom due to his post-World War II discussions with Protestant and secular thinkers on the direction of world

[31] See Murray, 'Leo XIII: Two Concepts of Government,' 11.
[32] Murray, *The Problem of Religious Freedom*, 17–20, esp. 19.
[33] Murray, *The Problem of Religious Freedom*, 29–30.

politics. In a similar way, the council's work for Christian unity led it to see the deep importance of religious freedom. Bishop (later Cardinal) Jan Willebrands, who led the council's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, noted that the studies of religious freedom by the World Council of Churches had a significant influence on the drafting of *Dignitatis Humanae*. Indeed, Willebrands observed that 'in all probability, without the studies of the World Council of Churches, our *Declaration* would not have seen the light of day.'[34] The council's work on religious freedom also had positive ecumenical consequences. It reassured most non-Catholic Christians that their freedom would be respected by the Catholic community, opening up new paths to positive relations among different Christian communities.

Dignitatis Humanae brought about a remarkable development in Church doctrine and practice when it proclaimed that the right to religious freedom 'has its foundation in the very dignity of the human person as this dignity is known through the revealed word of God and by reason itself' (DH 2). This proclamation arose from the council's recognition that a key sign of the times was the growing desire for freedom. The bishops also recognized that fidelity to tradition required not only careful attention to the past but also to emergent conditions that make new discoveries possible. As *Dignitatis Humanae* was undergoing its final revisions, Murray insisted that the discussion must be 'informed by historical consciousness, by an awareness that the demands inherent in the nature of man manifest themselves and come to recognition in history, under the impact of developing human experience.'[35] In this spirit, the final text of the declaration explicitly states its intent to 'develop the doctrine of recent popes on the inviolable rights of the human person and the constitutional order of society' (DH 1). Through attention to historical experience, the Church had learned from the secular world, which saw the importance of political and religious freedom well before the Church did so. In Murray's interpretation, *Dignitatis Humanae* was therefore 'a major act of humility on the part of the teaching Church—an act of

[34] Jan Willebrands, 'Oecuménisme et Problèmes Actuels' (Paris: Cerf, 1969), 25. Cited by Catherine E. Clifford, 'The Ecumenical Context of *Dignitatis Humanae*: Forty Years after Vatican II,' *Science et Esprit* 59, nos. 2–3 (2007): 387–403, at 387. Clifford provides a valuable overview of the ecumenical roots and consequences of *Dignitatis Humanae*, and I am grateful to her for this reference.

[35] John Courtney Murray, 'Religious Freedom,' in John Courtney Murray, ed., *Freedom and Man* (New York: P.J. Kennedy, 1965), 137–38.

the humility that is always inherent in a willingness to learn.'[36] Openness to the development of doctrine concerning religious freedom did not come easily to some of the bishops at the council. For example, Cardinal Ottaviani's episcopal motto—*semper idem* [always the same]—made it particularly difficult for him. Despite the intensity of the debates, however, the declaration was overwhelmingly approved (2,308 bishops in favour, 70 opposed, and 8 votes invalid).[37]

3. Reception in the US and Continuing Challenges

The council's development of Catholic tradition on religious freedom has not come to an end. The reception of *Dignitatis Humanae* since the council has been very positive overall, both worldwide and in the United States. On the global level, the council's positive impact is evident in the Church's support for religious freedom in a number of countries where these freedoms have faced restriction or repression. Support for religious freedom has also been frequently linked with Church efforts to help advance the full range of human rights and democratic government. In the United States, both the Catholic bishops and a variety of Church agencies have been taking vigorous action in support of religious freedom. There have, however, also been some continuing disputes within the Catholic community about the practical implications of the right to religious freedom, especially in the United States. The reception of the council's contribution on religious freedom is therefore a continuing project.

On the positive front in the United States, the council's strong influence has been visible in the bishops' very active support for religious freedom. The importance the bishops have given to religious freedom in recent decades is evident from the fact that the bishops' conference's strategic plan for 2017 to 2020 set promotion and defense of freedom to

[36] John Courtney Murray, 'The Declaration on Religious Freedom,' in *Vatican II: An Interfaith Appraisal*, ed. John H. Miller (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), 566. On the place of historical consciousness in the drafting of *Dignitatis Humanae*, see John Courtney Murray, 'The Declaration on Religious Freedom,' in *War, Poverty, Freedom: The Christian Response* (New York: Paulist Press, 1966), 3–16, republished in J. Leon Hooper, ed., *Bridging the Sacred and the Secular* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1994), 187–99.

[37] See Hudock, *Struggle, Condemnation, Vindication*, 158.

worship as one of its five top priorities.[38] The priority granted to religious freedom has evolved gradually since the council, largely due to the bishops' concern that the freedom of the Church to pursue its mission has been increasingly threatened by what they see as a growing secularization of US culture and by the decline of commitment in US society to some important moral values. Thus, in 2011, the bishops established an ad hoc committee to address their growing concerns over the erosion of freedom of religion in America. This committee has since become permanent and has expanded its agenda to the promotion of religious freedom worldwide. In 2012, the committee established a two-week Fortnight for Freedom to promote religious freedom throughout the US. This kind of high-visibility Catholic commitment to religious freedom would have been impossible in the US before the council.

The support for religious freedom engendered by the council has been closely linked with the Church's growing global role as an advocate for the full range of human rights. *Dignitatis Humanae*, along with Pope John XXIII's 1963 encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, has transformed the Catholic Church into a strong voice for the protection of human rights. Indeed, the late Samuel Huntington, a noted scholar of international affairs, argued that the post-Vatican II Catholic Church has become one of the strongest worldwide forces for human rights and democracy. Huntington saw the modern rise of democracy occurring in three waves. The first wave occurred when the US and French revolutions brought democracy to those countries in the 18th century. The second wave was the democratization of the former Axis powers of Germany, Italy, and Japan following the Second World War. The third wave reached from the early 1970s through the end of the Soviet Union. This third wave included the coming of democracy to Spain and Portugal; the decline of military and authoritarian rule in Latin America, South Korea, and the Philippines; and the end of communism in the Warsaw Pact nations. Huntington concluded that 'In its first fifteen years, the third wave was overwhelmingly Catholic … roughly three-quarters of the countries that transited to democracy between 1974 and 1989 were Catholic.'[39] The reception of Vatican II's declaration on religious freedom in the global Christian

[38] United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 'Strategic Plan 2017–2020,' https://www.usccb.org/about/strategic-plan.

[39] See Samuel Huntington, 'Religion and the Third Wave,' *National Interest* 24 (Summer 1991): 29–42. The conclusion is reinforced by Monica Duffy Toft, Daniel Philpott, and Timothy Samuel Shah, *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2011), ch. 4, esp. Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4.

community contributed to rising Church support for human rights and democracy. The US bishops played a significant role in these efforts, especially by advocating that religious freedom and a broad commitment to human rights should be central in US foreign policy.[40]

Despite these positive contributions, the council's teaching on religious freedom has also generated considerable controversy, especially in the United States. The disputes have been largely due to the ways that claims to religious freedom have become interwoven with the culture wars under way in the United States, especially with the disputes concerning the ethics of reproduction and sex. Abortion has been a flashpoint in these disputes. The Catholic bishops see the religious freedom of Catholic health care institutions threatened by pressures to provide abortion and other health services that are contrary to official Church teaching. In 2010, this led the bishops to oppose President Barack Obama's Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, which greatly expanded health care insurance in the United States. The bishops took this stand despite their long-standing support for universal health insurance. The bishops believed the Act could compel Catholic institutions to provide insurance that could be used to provide both abortion and contraception. The controversial nature of the bishops' position was evident in the Catholic Health Association's positive support of the Act. The association disagreed with the bishops' conclusion that the Act would fund abortions. The US bishops continue to be deeply involved in the conflict over abortion, as was evident when, in 2019, they declared opposition to abortion to be their 'preeminent' moral concern in US political life.[41] They see

[40] See J. Bryan Hehir, 'Religious Activism for Human Rights: A Christian Case Study,' in *Religious Human Rights in Global Perspective: Religious Perspectives*, eds. Johan D. van der Vyver and John Witte, Jr. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1996), 97–119.

[41] On the bishops' approach to the relation between abortion, contraception, and religious freedom, see United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, Secretariat of Pro-Life Activities, 'Abortion Funding in the New Health Care Reform Act,' 12 Apr. 2010, https://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/human-life-and-dignity/health-care/upload/health-care-abortion-funding-law-2010-04-12.pdf; 'Twelve Things Everyone Should Know About the "Contraceptive Mandate",' 6 Jan. 2014, http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/religious-liberty/fortnight-for-freedom/upload/Twelve-Things-Everyone-Should-Know-About-the-Contraceptive-Mandate.pdf; and 'Chairmen of U.S. Bishops' Conference Commend Administration on New Regulations Protecting Rights of Conscience in Health Care,' 2 May 2019, https://www.usccb.org/news/2019/chairmen-us-bishops-conference-commend-administration-new-regulations-protecting-rights. Their document on the 2020 US presidential election, *Forming Consciences for Faithful Citizenship: A Call to Political Responsibility from the Catholic Bishops of the United States*, calls abortion their pre-eminent concern in US public life: 6, 19, 24, 32, 44: https://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/faithful-citizenship/upload/forming-consciences-for-faithful-citizenship.pdf.

support for abortion and contraception as threats to the religious freedom of Catholic institutions.

Disputes have also arisen at the intersection of religious freedom and matters of sexual orientation. The 2020 US Supreme Court case of *Bostock v. Clayton County, Georgia* interpreted the 1964 Civil Rights Act to mean that in the domain of employment, 'discrimination based on homosexuality or transgender status necessarily entails [unlawful] discrimination based on sex.' Thus, decisions not to hire persons because of their sexual orientation has become illegal in the US. Justice Neil Gorsuch's majority opinion in the case recognized that some communities would likely appeal to religious freedom to justify a refusal to hire gay or transgender persons when they see this as required by their faith. This prediction was reinforced when the president of the US bishops conference, Archbishop José Gomez, denounced the court's decision as 'an injustice that will have implications in many areas of life.'[42] Disputes at the intersection of religious freedom with matters of reproduction and sexuality, therefore, will likely continue to be intense in the United States.

In fact, some opinion leaders in the US fear that religious freedom is becoming a threat to justice: justice in providing women with what they need to protect their health, and justice in enabling homosexual persons to live in accord with their orientation. One critic asserted that 'It's time to speak out against religious freedom…. For the ardent religious believer and the organized hierarchical religious organization, "religious freedom" often refers to the right to restrict the freedoms of others, or to impose one's religion on the larger world.'[43] These disputes have also led Douglas Laycock, a leading US expert on religious freedom, to highlight the current dangers. Laycock notes that many of the disputes over religious freedom relate to cultural shifts in sexual ethics that are often called 'the sexual revolution.' He sees an analogy between the impact of the French Revolution of 1789 on the public role of religion in France and the possible impact of today's culture wars over sexual ethics on the

[42] See 'President of U.S. Bishops' Conference Issues Statement on Supreme Court Decision on Legal Definition of "Sex" in Civil Rights Law,' 15 June 2020: http://www.usccb.org/news/2020/20-93.cfm. See also the amicus curiae brief filed by the US bishops along with several other religious bodies on this case: https://www.usccb.org/about/general-counsel/amicus-briefs/upload/Bostock-8-23-19.pdf.

[43] Doug Saunders, '"Religious Freedom" Sends the Wrong Message to the Wrong People,' *Globe and Mail*, 23 Nov. 2012, cited in Douglas Laycock, 'Religious Liberty and the Culture Wars,' *University of Illinois Law Review* 2014, no. 3 (2014): 839–80, at 870.

public role of religion in the United States. In France, the church sided with the *ancien régime* against the revolution, leading many in France to conclude that religion was and still is an opponent of freedom. This, in turn, led to a privatized view of religious freedom and to tight, even hostile, regulation of the exercise of religion in French public life. In the name of *laïcité*, French law today prohibits wearing any visible sign of religious affiliation in schools, such as the hijab some Muslim girls believe their faith requires. In the United States, on the other hand, religious communities largely supported the American Revolution in 1776. Faith and freedom came to be seen as natural allies.[44] Laycock fears, however, that the way the Catholic bishops and many evangelicals are dealing with issues of sexual ethics today is leading some US citizens to see religion as an enemy of liberty in their country. The outcome could be 'to permanently turn much of the country against religious liberty—or at least to turn public opinion toward a very narrow, more French-like understanding of religious liberty.'[45] Such a privatized view of religious freedom would undercut religious influence in public affairs. Were such a development to occur, the result would be the very opposite of what Vatican II sought to encourage. It would weaken the Church's notable post-Vatican II contributions to human rights and social justice.

Indeed, these ongoing disputes about religious freedom in the United States have been echoed in some recent disagreements among Catholic scholars about how the Church should seek to influence public affairs in light of Catholic moral convictions. Some thinkers see the growing influence of commitment to the autonomous freedom of the individual in US culture as a threat to the influence of Catholic values in public life. This leads them to see 'liberalism' as a major adversary of Catholic influence in public affairs, where liberalism has the classic meaning of a philosophy that sees autonomy as the overriding value in human life. This critique of liberalism takes both conservative and progressive forms in the Church today. On the conservative side, Catholic academics such as Robert P. George and Adrian Vermeule see 'liberalism' as conducting a relentless campaign to reduce or eliminate the public influence of the Church. These traditionalist thinkers argue that freedom is achieved in pursuit of the common good and the moral values that are part of the common good. Under liberalism, however, US culture is increasingly abandoning commitment to all goods other than the autonomous freedom

[44] Laycock, 'Religious Liberty and the Culture Wars,' 865, n. 159.
[45] Laycock, 'Religious Liberty and the Culture Wars,' 869.

of the individual, especially in matters of sex and reproduction. To counter this trend, the Church should vigorously resist the cultural and political changes brought about by liberalism, especially those that affect sex and reproduction. The pursuit of the common good will also require that government take action to promote moral behaviour in these domains. Indeed, Catholics can rightly call upon the government to 'legislate morality' when the common good is at stake. The Church should not hesitate to call on the state to help implement its vision of right behaviour in these areas, even when this means resisting the idea that autonomous freedom is the overarching value.[46]

The critique of liberalism and of liberal commitment to the centrality of autonomy has also taken a progressive form in the Catholic community today. This progressive critique is most often directed at the economic effects often produced by liberalism's support for free exchange in the marketplace as the guiding norm for economic life. The tradition of Catholic social teaching from Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical *Rerum Novarum* to today has recognized that the free market will not necessarily produce social justice and may indeed lead to serious injustices. In the same vein, contemporary Catholic authors such as Michael Baxter see an uncritical defense of freedom in the marketplace as a source of poverty and injustice in the US today. Baxter argues that John Courtney Murray's defense of religious freedom regrettably led him to an indiscriminate endorsement of the broader range of US social institutions and practices, some of which lead to poverty and injustice. Thus, under Murray's lead, American Catholics too easily accept the injustices permitted by the liberal free market economy today. Support for individual liberty in the religious sphere can flow over into acceptance of negative consequences of free market capitalism if the commitment to freedom is uncritical.[47] Overcoming the

[46] For several conservative Catholic critiques of liberalism that move in this direction, see Robert P. George, 'The Tyrant State,' *First Things* (Nov. 1996): 39–42; Robert P. George, *Conscience and Its Enemies: Confronting the Dogmas of Liberal Secularism* (Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2013); Adrian Vermeule, 'A Christian Strategy: A Plan for Engaging the Liberal Empire,' *First Things* (Nov. 2017): 41–46; Vermeule, 'Beyond Originalism,' *The Atlantic*, 31 Mar. 2020, published by *The Atlantic* as part of the project 'The Battle for the Constitution,' in partnership with the National Constitution Center, https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/03/common-good-constitutionalism/609037.

[47] See Michael Baxter, 'Murray's Mistake: The Political Divisions a Theologian Failed to Foresee,' *America*, 23 Sept. 2013, 13–18, and William T. Cavanagh and Peter Manley Scott, eds., *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Political Theology* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2019), esp. the essays by Cavanaugh, 'The Church,' 431–43, and by Daniel Bell, Jr., 'State and Civil Society,' 459–72. Some progressive critics of liberalism follow the so-called

poverty and economic injustices that mar society today will require a greater sense of solidarity than liberal defenses of autonomous freedom can provide.

It appears, therefore, that the US Catholic community's reception of the council's teaching on religious liberty has not yet found a fully stable balance between the Church's freedom to practise its own religious and moral beliefs and the Church's duty to respect the freedom of those who have differing convictions. To be sure, the right to religious freedom means that Catholics must not be compelled to engage in practices they judge to be morally and religiously wrong, and Catholic teaching holds that some matters of reproduction and sexual activity are prohibited in this way. Individual Catholics and Catholic institutions should therefore be free to follow their beliefs in these areas. However, in some areas touching reproduction, gender roles, and sexual behaviour, the US bishops and some Catholic scholars sometimes seem to want all in society to follow Catholic beliefs. Religious freedom as Vatican II understood it does not justify restrictions on the freedom of others simply because one sees their beliefs as wrong. If religious freedom is appealed to in a way that wants to limit the freedom of those with whom the Church disagrees, it could easily lead to a backlash. Such an outcome would endanger religious freedom in the long run, not advance it.

To be sure, religious communities hold a number of moral convictions that are appropriate norms for the behaviour of everyone in society. Virtually all believers see the prohibition of murder as a moral requirement of their distinctive religious traditions. This does not mean, however, that only believers can be required by civil law to avoid murder. In addition, Christians did not hesitate to invoke biblical narratives such as the Exodus story in the abolitionist and civil rights movements. There are generally accepted secular warrants for universally binding prohibitions of murder, slavery, and racial discrimination; these warrants complement the religious prohibitions. Due to evolving understandings of the moral dimensions of human sexuality, however, there is no universal agreement today on the moral unacceptability of contraception, gay marriage, or even abortion. Failure to recognize the reality of this pluralism could, if carried to the extreme, lead to a kind of authoritarian politics.

radical orthodoxy approach to theology of the British Anglican John Milbank and of the US Protestant Stanley Hauerwas, both of whom urge the Church to stand in strong opposition to what they see as the unjust and violent commitments of the modern liberal state.

The council's distinction between the full common good and public order can help address these issues. All members of civil society have a responsibility to promote the full common good. Thus, all in civil society should promote high standards of morality in the areas of sexuality and reproduction. Religious believers, including Catholics, should bear witness to their convictions in these areas of life, and seek to promote them through persuasion and civil argument. The role of the state, however, is limited to securing the public order, which means promotion of public peace, justice, and norms of morality on which there is a social consensus. The state should only intervene on questions of reproduction and sex if the public order requirement of justice is at stake. Insistence by the Catholic bishops or by evangelical leaders that others should follow Catholic or evangelical moral convictions on such matters will be appropriate only if they can make a cogent case that justice requires this. However, when a significant number of citizens do not see same-sex relationships, contraception, or all abortions as violations of justice and public morality, this implies that coercive regulation by state power will be inappropriate in areas where there is disagreement.

One could argue, of course, that people who support homosexual partnerships based on mutual love, who see contraception as sometimes morally required, or who sadly conclude that abortion can sometimes be justified in tragic circumstances are simply wrong. This appears to be the stance of those who insist that a company that provides insurance to employees should not cover contraception even when the employer makes no financial contribution to the coverage and the employee sees contraception as legitimate. Those who hold positions like this seem to want what they judge to be the morally right position to be supported by the power of civil law, even when others disagree. Similar stances can also be found on the other side of the current culture wars, such as among those who argue that religious freedom does not justify conscientious objection by Catholic institutions to the provision of abortion or to adoption of children by same-sex couples. Both sides of the culture wars sometimes seem to be adopting the position that prevented the Catholic community from supporting religious freedom up until Vatican II, namely that 'error has no rights.' The urgent question, therefore, concerns the use of coercive state power when there is significant moral disagreement in society, especially when religious convictions are intertwined with moral disagreements.

Murray's reflection on an issue that arose in the mid-1960s can be of help in addressing this question. Murray recommended to Cardinal Richard Cushing of Boston that he not seek to prevent the sale of contraceptives in the state of Massachusetts. Civil law should enforce the

basic requirements of justice and *public* morality, not the full virtue of each citizen.[48] Murray acknowledged that Church teaching saw contraception as morally unacceptable. But he also concluded that the use of contraception was a matter of private rather than public morality.[49] Thus, civil law ought not to seek to govern its use. He further argued that this conclusion was reinforced by the fact that many people rejected the immorality of contraception and that some, including a number of religious leaders, saw it as morally required as a means for responsible parenthood. In Murray's words: 'It is difficult to see how the state can forbid, as contrary to public morality, a practice that numerous religious leaders approve as morally right. The stand taken by these religious groups may be lamentable from the Catholic moral point of view. But it is decisive from the point of view of law and jurisprudence, for which the norm of "generally accepted standards" is controlling.'[50] Murray's words are relevant to today's disputes about the relationship between religious freedom and moral standards that should prevail in areas such as sex and reproduction.

The council's strong affirmation of the right to religious freedom was based in part on its affirmation of the limits of the state's power to enforce religious truth. Today, we can draw on the council's stance on the limited role of the state when we address issues on which there is moral disagreement in a pluralist society. Of course, this does not mean that all moral views are equally acceptable. It does suggest, however, that believers and church leaders will need a good measure of wisdom and prudence in determining an appropriate response when others hold conscientious religious and moral convictions that differ from their own. Finding such a wise and prudent balance will be best advanced by dialogue and public debate rather than immediate appeal to the coercive power of civil law. Such dialogue on the controverted questions of religious freedom could enable each side to gain new insights into the issues that cause much controversy today. It could lead to the discovery of common ground among those on different sides of today's culture wars and toward a society that is both more peacefully united and in which people remain free to live in accord with their convictions. This would be an important contribution to the continuing reception of *Dignitatis Humanae* in today's Catholic community.

[48] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, Ia II^{ae}, q. 96, art. 3.

[49] Murray, 'Memo to Cardinal Cushing on Contraception Legislation,' in *Bridging the Sacred and the Secular: Selected Writings of John Courtney Murray, S.J.*, ed. J. Leon Hooper (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1994), 83.

[50] Murray, 'Memo to Cardinal Cushing on Contraception Legislation,' 83.

ASSESSING THE RECEPTION OF *AD GENTES* IN THE UNITED STATES

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> Perhaps it would be exact to say: there are three times, a present of things past, a present of things present, a present of things to come. In the soul there are these three aspects of time, and I do not see them anywhere else. The present considering the past is the memory, the present considering the present is immediate awareness, the present considering the future is expectation.[1]

When it comes to assessing the reception of *Ad Gentes* (AG) within the United States, it is important to begin by taking account of the countless ways in which, for the first half of the 20th century, US Catholic identity was informed and influenced by mission-mindedness. At the same time, it is also important to recognize that, since the time of the Second Vatican Council, the Roman Catholic Church in the United States has been shaped by the emergence of three distinct visions of mission, all of which are critical to any assessment of the reception of *Ad Gentes* among Catholics in the US.

In this chapter, drawing upon an insight from St. Augustine on time (*The Confessions*, XI.20.26), I propose that these three distinct visions of mission can be characterized as temporalities of reception: the Church of the past that is *inherent* in the present; the Church of the present that is *incarnate* in the present; and the Church of the future that is *incipient* in the present. Grounded in their respective foundational soteriologies, each of these visions is oriented by an operational ecclesiology that may be described as Evangelical Catholicism, Ecumenical Catholicism, and Unitive/Pluralist Catholicism.

[1] St. Augustine, *Confessions*, XI.20 (26), a new translation by Henry Chadwick (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 235.

1. 20TH-CENTURY MISSION, MISSIONARY ACTIVITY, AND THE US CATHOLIC CHURCH PRIOR TO VATICAN II (1908–62)

Taking an historical point of view from 1908, when the Holy See removed the United States from the category of mission territories, through to 1962, national interest in and support for missions and missionary activity[2] was broad-based and zealous.[3] As the United States emerged from its ecclesial status as a *missionary-receiving* country, Church leaders faced three distinct *ad intra* missionary challenges: (1) protecting European ethnic immigrant communities and, later, Latin American/Caribbean migrant communities, from Protestant proselytism and secular assimilation; (2) conserving their adherence to Catholicism and its diverse cultural manifestations; and (3) advancing the propagation of the Catholic faith among Indigenous communities, communities of African descent, and recent immigrants from Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. As for the *ad extra* missionary challenges faced by church leaders, two merit particular attention: (1) efforts to distance US missionary efforts from European approaches to mission and missionary activity; and (2) efforts to coordinate and finance US Catholic foreign missionary activity the American way. Over the span of six decades, the US Catholic Church developed into a robust *missionary-sending* Church. Not only did it rival its Protestant counterparts, but prominent members of the hierarchy also acquired newfound power, privilege, and prestige as the Vatican became increasingly dependent upon the increased flow of US resources for the so-called *overseas mission territories*, in terms of both funding and personnel.[4]

During this period, numerous national mission entities emerged—including, among others, the Mission Secretariat, the Catholic Foreign Mission Bureau, the American Board of Catholic Missions, the Catholic Medical Mission Board, the Latin American Bureau, the Catholic Students Mission Crusade, and the national and diocesan offices for the Pontifical Mission Societies, including the Holy Childhood Association. Given the realities associated with World War I, the Great Depression, World War II, and the Cold War, the religious, social, cultural, and political value placed on missionary activity 'to the ends of the earth' increased

[2] The term 'missionary activity' is used advisedly as an umbrella term that includes multiple ways of participating in the *missio Dei*, mindful of how these ways have been prioritized differently over time and undertaken in a variety of contexts.

[3] See Angelyn Dries, OSF, *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998).

[4] Dries, *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History*, 62–214.

exponentially. Geopolitically speaking, the strategic positioning of US missionaries overseas made it increasingly difficult to uncouple complex national interests and US foreign policy from missionary commitments and conflicts in the fields afar, especially in parts of Asia/Pacifica, Latin America, and the Caribbean.[5]

Throughout the country, mission-mindedness flourished by means of mission publications such as *Missionary Academia*, *Worldmission*, and magazines from various missionary institutes, such as Maryknoll, the Columban Missionaries, and the Society of the Divine Word, to name but a few. Narratives about the wide-ranging activities, experiences, and accomplishments of US missionaries included stories of conversions, persecutions, church planting, and church growth, along with the construction of churches, chapels, pastoral centres, seminaries, houses of formation for men and women religious, schools, hospitals, health clinics, orphanages, and social service centres. Missionary narratives captured the Catholic imagination with insights about peoples, nations, cultures, and customs from around the world. They bore witness to the hopes, sufferings, and sacrifices of countless men, women, and children among whom the missionaries lived and ministered. Overall, these publications were very influential and intensified a generalized sense of the urgency and necessity of missionary activity among US Catholics, many of whom were white ethnics of European descent. Such literature was designed to appeal to diverse age groups and specific audiences. This material contributed to the flourishing of mission-related articles and monetary appeals that appeared in diocesan newspapers and parish bulletins. Mission-mindedness was coupled with prayers and devotions, such as the World Mission Rosary, popularized on radio and later on television by Archbishop Fulton Sheen. Parochial, institutional, diocesan, and national events included visits from missionaries to parishes and schools, annual celebrations of World Mission Sunday inaugurated by Benedict XV in 1926,[6] and regularly scheduled diocesan, regional, and national mission congresses.

[5] See Margaret Eletta Guider, OSF, 'The Grace of Medellín and the Transformation of U.S. Missionaries,' in *The Grace of Medellín: History, Theology and Legacy—Reflections on the Significance of Medellín for the Church in the United States*, ed. Margaret Eletta Guider, Félix Palazzi, and O. Ernesto Valiente (Miami: Convivium Press, 2018), 65–68.

[6] See Pius XI, *Rerum Ecclesiae: The Encyclical on Catholic Missions*, 28 Feb. 1926.

In the aftermath of World War II, commitments to diverse forms of foreign missionary activity were stronger than ever, especially as memories of the war and knowledge of the sufferings of Christians under Communism—from the Iron Curtain to the Bamboo Curtain—increased. At the same time, a greater understanding of human rights, as promoted by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, shed light on anti-colonial, anti-racist, and anti-imperial revolutionary activity, leaving some US missionaries and US missionary-sending societies to ponder exactly what they were doing. This critical scrutiny intensified as cries for civil rights and racial justice grew stronger in the United States, as anti-American sentiment escalated in Latin America and the Caribbean, and as revolutionary activity and armed struggles for national independence and democracy increased around the globe. At the time, however, most notably in the era of McCarthyism (late 1940s through the mid-1950s), such claims often were ignored or dismissed by Church authorities and religious leaders who believed them to be spurious and nothing more than the subversive rhetoric of leftist-leaning radicals. Drawing closer to the period of Vatican II, the long-term and unanticipated consequences of these missionary awakenings gave voice to new and alternative narratives about mission, missions, and missionaries.

Still, missionary zeal remained high, as US priests, religious, and lay volunteers responded to the appeals of Pius XII and, later, John XXIII, for missionaries to Africa and Latin America respectively.[7] As the years of the council unfolded, the number of vocations to priesthood and religious life were at historic highs, as were those of lay missionaries. In 1964, the number of seminarians in the United States totalled 48,992. At the close of the council in 1965, the number of religious sisters totalled 181,421. A year later, the number of religious brothers totalled 12,539, and the number of priests was 59,892, including diocesan and religious alike. By way of one striking example, in this period, the US Jesuits numbered 8,393. These men accounted for 25 per cent of the worldwide Society of Jesus; 900 of them were serving in overseas missions.[8] This was the historical context that set the stage for the diverse receptions of *Ad Gentes* within the United States from 1965 to the present day.

[7] See Gerald M. Costello, *Mission to Latin America: The Successes and Failures of a Twentieth Century Crusade* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979).

[8] See James Hennessey, SJ, 'The Cross and the Flag,' *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 287.

2. Exploring Temporalities and the Soteriological/Ecclesiological Tenets of Reception

In offering an assessment of the ways in which *Ad Gentes* was received within the context of the United States, I suggest that since the time of the Second Vatican Council, US Catholics who acknowledged and responded to the decree did so in three distinct typologies, which I referred to above as temporalities of reception.[9] As discussed in the introduction, these so-called temporalities are representative of three soteriological/ecclesiological tenets of reception that may be described as *exclusivist evangelical tenets*, *inclusivist ecumenical tenets*, and *unitive pluralistic tenets*.[10] Another way of framing these soteriological/ecclesiological tenets of reception involves inquiring as to how these tenets take account of a religiously pluralistic world where the percentage of Christians has remained fairly constant, in the range of 32 to 33 per cent of the world's population, for the past 120 years.[11] Are these demographics an indication that Christians must do more to propagate the faith? Or that God's inscrutable salvific will as revealed fully in Jesus Christ is beyond comprehension? Or that the mystery of religious pluralism, of which Christianity is a part, transcends the limits of Christian claims to uniqueness?

2.1. *Exclusivist Evangelical Tenets*

Returning to my Augustinian reference to temporalities, I identify the *exclusivist evangelical tenets* as illustrations of the *past in the present*. While accepting *theologically* God's universal will for the salvation of humanity (*Lumen Gentium* 16, 56 and *Catechism of the Catholic Church* 830–56), when it comes to actual missionary practices, US Catholics in this category continue to be informed and influenced by attitudes and actions derived from a literal interpretation of Matthew 28:19 and an

[9] Missing from this analysis are those Catholics who either contested not only the decree but the very idea of missionary activity or those who were totally indifferent to anything having to do with mission, missionaries, or missionary activity.

[10] See Paul F. Knitter, *No Other Name? A Critical Survey of Christian Attitudes Toward the World Religions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1985), 9, 146–59.

[11] See Table on the 'Status of Global Christianity, 2022, in the Context of 1900–2050,' in Gina A. Zurlo, Todd M. Johnson, and Peter F. Crossing, 'World Christianity and Religions 2022: A Complicated Relationship,' *International Bulletin of Mission Research*, 46, no. 1 (Jan. 2022): 71–80.

ahistorical understanding of *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*.[12] According to George Weigel, they are readily identifiable by 10 distinctive characteristics.[13] Weigel aptly describes the last and most important of these characteristics in this way: 'Evangelical Catholicism awaits with eager anticipation the coming of the Lord Jesus in glory, and until that time, Evangelical Catholicism is ordered to mission—to the proclamation of the Gospel for the world's salvation.'[14] The key insight here is the unwavering *fidelity* of so-called evangelical Catholics to the ministry of evangelization explicitly understood as witness, proclamation, and conversion of the world to Christ: they are mission-driven, and success in evangelizing efforts is the measure of everything.[15] These Catholics share common concerns about certain reforms associated with Vatican II, specifically as they pertain to Roman Catholic identity, the cultural patrimony of liturgy and worship, and fidelity to the Church's magisterial teachings, specifically those that pertain to faith and morals. Resistant to the certain theological claims present in *Nostra Aetate*, they are zealous in advancing the permanent validity of missionary activity as described in *Ad Gentes* 1–18. In terms of religiosity, they tend to hold fast to the customs and devotions of more traditional forms of Catholicism and are acutely attuned to the *mysterium iniquitatis* present throughout the world.

2.2. *Inclusivist Ecumenical Tenets*

The *inclusivist ecumenical tenets* illustrate the *present in the present*. Embracing the Vatican II vision of *aggiornamento* and attentiveness to the spirit of the times, US Catholics in this category tend to be inclusive and ecumenical in orientation. They agree wholeheartedly that somehow all of humanity has access to salvation through Jesus Christ, but exactly how that is accomplished outside of baptism is known only to God (AG 7). They believe that the renewal of the Church is the work of all Christians, with whom they share one faith and one baptism in Jesus Christ, and they tend to appreciate the sacramental and liturgical reforms that occurred in the wake of Vatican II. They also tend to place a high value on the social teachings of the Church that make mutual respect and understanding, along with accommodations to changing times, possible.

[12] See Francis A. Sullivan, SJ, *Salvation Outside the Church? Tracing the History of the Catholic Response* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1992).

[13] See George Weigel, *Evangelical Catholicism: Deep Reform in the 21st-Century Church* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), 56–88.

[14] Weigel, *Evangelical Catholicism*, 85.

[15] Weigel, *Evangelical Catholicism*, 86.

Guided by the four constitutions of Vatican II—*Sacrosanctum Concilium*, *Lumen Gentium*, *Dei Verbum*, and *Gaudium et Spes*—they embrace the teachings of Vatican II, mindful of the fact that they are *living* documents and not documents frozen in time. In terms of religiosity, they are influenced by a variety of spiritual charisms, and they value cultural and contextual ways of being Church.

2.3. *The Unitive Pluralist Tenets*

The *unitive pluralist tenets* illustrate the future in the present. US Catholics in this category may be fewer in number and, at times, may appear to have a foot in the inclusivist ecumenical world as well. The distinguishing factor is that they often are immersed in religiously pluralistic contexts and are experientially attuned to the salvific potential of non-Christian religions, either as part of one economy of salvation[16] or the possibility of more than one.[17] They are more focused on the mysteries of the Transcendent, the welfare of all humanity, the integrity of creation, the wonders of the galaxies, and the paradoxes of *all* religious belonging—at least to some degree. Attentiveness to these foci leads them to call into question the exclusivist *as well as* the inclusivist claims of Christianity. Emboldened in their convictions by the Vatican II decrees *Nostra Aetate* and *Dignitatis Humanae*, they resonate with the experience-based identity of being religiously interreligious.[18] In terms of religiosity, they are engaged by the sacred wisdom of other religious traditions in what they experience as added value to their Christian experience, a revelation of the Divine that does not alter their self-understanding as Christians but goes beyond the confines of Church teachings and practices and into the realm of religious experience, mysticism, planetary consciousness, and integral ecology. Not surprisingly, among the proponents of this approach are US Catholics, including missionaries, whose deeply held convictions have been and continue be born of long-standing experiences in non-Christian or religiously pluralist contexts, along with profound and enduring relationships with adherents of diverse religious traditions. Attuned to the inspiration and power of the Holy Spirit, their sense of Christian identity has been transformed through encounter and dialogue.

[16] See Jacques Dupuis, *Towards a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1997).

[17] See Roger Haight, *Jesus, Symbol of God* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000), 395–423.

[18] See Peter Phan, *Being Religious Interreligiously: Asian Perspectives on Interfaith Dialogue* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2004).

2.4. *The Merits and Limit of Typologies*

As with all typologies, these three illustrations have their merits and their limitations. Viewed comparatively, it is evident that these categorical boundaries are somewhat permeable. It also is important to note that these typologies are not without precedent. Historically speaking, they have evolved from pre-existing conditions present not only in the US Church but also in the world Church. Without a doubt, the evolving political, social, cultural, and religious realities of the 1960s—and beyond—contributed to the ecclesial conditions in which these three ways of receiving and responding to *Ad Gentes* evolved amid ever-changing contexts.

3. Making Meaning of Reception through Memory, Attentiveness, and Expectation

Conscious of the distinctive tenets of each of the typologies described above, this assessment of reception now moves from a soteriological/ecclesiological understanding of the three temporalities to what Augustine referred to as realities of the mind. These provide us with opportunities for interpreting these diverse experiences of reception in terms of actual practices and practical applications. In differentiated ways, exclusivist evangelical Catholics, inclusivist ecumenical Catholics, and unitive pluralist Catholics are representative of the ways in which US Catholics have made meaning of the often complex and paradoxical dynamics of reception when it comes to contemporary understandings of mission, missions, and missionaries. Conscious of this fact, *Ad Gentes* must be understood not as a decree fixed in time but as a living document, the significance of which has evolved over time with regard to its relevance for the local Church.

3.1. *Regarding Memory: What does this local Church of the United States remember about missionary activity?*

Seen in the light of *Ad Gentes*, when we think of the exemplars who have stirred the missiological imagination of the faithful, the arrows point in multiple directions. Certainly, numerous missionary figures from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century served as sources of inspiration and zeal. Through their lives and legacies, it becomes possible to see the ways in

which *biography as missiology* informed the Catholic imagination and how these narratives shaped and influenced each typology and its tenets. Leading up to the council and its aftermath, visionary figures of missionary leadership emerged from within local churches to serve as exemplars. From the time of the council on, with a new emphasis placed on religious and missionary charisms, memories include not only individual US missioners but also memories of the missionary initiatives and legacies of US religious institutes and provinces in various regions of the world. Building on the memories of missionary accomplishments and quantitative measures of success, inspiration gleaned from such narratives—uncritical, racist, and paternalistic as they may have been—resulted in missionary vocations and the material support of US missionary endeavours. Keeping alive the tragic memories of imprisonment, torture, and martyrdom of US Catholic missionaries in China, those killed during World War II and the Korean War, and growing awareness of the precarious situation of post-Vatican II US missionaries, especially in Latin America, guaranteed that giving one's life for the sake of mission remained a common theme. And the money kept rolling in, stirred in part by stories from behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains.

Subsequent to the council, memories of mission that gave added value to *Ad Gentes* proved to be a mixed bag of hopes realized, dreams deferred, and nightmares often undisclosed. Media promotion of the glory days of US 'missionary sending' persisted through the 1960s. The weekly television broadcasts of Bishop Fulton Sheen continued to stir enthusiasm, generosity, and commitment.[19] US cardinals, along with archbishops and bishops, encouraged and supported missionary activity with an 'all in' commitment. In addition to supporting traditional missionary institutes, they took seriously the calls of Pius XII, John XXIII, and Paul VI in making available for overseas missionary activity missionaries from their own archdioceses and dioceses, including diocesan priests, religious women and men, and lay volunteers. Missionary zeal extended from diocese to diocese and, in some cases, became exceedingly competitive. US bishops initiated episcopal partnerships and mission projects in various regions of the world and sponsored diocesan mission teams; although they continued to support the Pontifical Mission Societies, tensions emerged as they invested increasing financial resources in the missionary

[19] The Eternal Word Television Network (EWTN) as well as Ignatian Press have brought back Fulton Sheen and his video programs to appeal to a new generation of evangelical Catholics, clear evidence of the past continuing to play out in the present.

efforts of their own dioceses. Enthusiasm for mission prevailed, though admittedly driven by diverse motives: a continuing exclusivist understanding of conversion and saving souls, US anti-communist sentiment, a social and moral commitment to human development, and a desire for the Church to offer possibilities for foreign and domestic service that paralleled what was occurring in the national sphere through VISTA and the Peace Corps.

Unanticipated in many ecclesial circles was the rapid ideological and theological sea change that was occurring with regard to US foreign policy, the war in Vietnam, multinational corporations, the stirrings of liberating theologies, and challenges to the apparent inability or lack of will on the part of Church authorities to implement the essential elements of *Ad Gentes*. Nowhere was this more evident than in the lack of formation, training, and preparedness of numerous missionaries who were not members of traditional missionary-sending societies. While some coming from urban environments may have had training in the methods of Saul Alinsky, and others may have been formed in the see, judge, act methodology of the Young Christian Workers, US missionaries often experienced deficiencies in language training, a lack of preparedness for cross-cultural ministry, and limited self-awareness of the offensiveness of their exercise of power as US citizens and unearned racial privilege. Ivan Illich became the foremost critic of this reality as first, second, and third waves of US missionaries poured into Latin America and the Caribbean.[20] Characterized by Illich as US missionary miscarriages, US missionaries began recognizing their own need for radical conversion. An ecclesial drama began to unfold within the US Church that would definitively change its understanding of mission and missionary activity, as both short-term and long-term missioners—priests, religious, and laity—were returning to the United States in significant numbers with radically different conceptions of what it meant to be Church and, moreover, what it meant to be the Church of the Poor.[21] A decade later, the assassinations of Archbishop Oscar Romero and four US Church women—Maura Clarke, Ita Ford, Dorothy Kazel, and Jean Donovan—along with the convergence of the presidency of Ronald Reagan and the papacy of Pope John Paul II, would put a finer point on the meaning of missionary discipleship for exclusivists, inclusivists, and pluralists. By 1996, as more knowledge of

[20] See Ivan Illich, *The Church, Change and Development* (Chicago: Urban Training Center Press, 1970).

[21] See Guider, 'The Grace of Medellín,' 61–78.

US foreign military interventions and covert intelligence operations increased, the security, safety, and integrity of US missionaries in certain regions of the world came under greater scrutiny by the US Senate.[22] All this is to say that mission, missionary activity, and missionaries were all undergoing a process of redefinition and purification.

3.2. *Regarding Attentiveness: To what does this local Church pay attention when it comes to activities related to mission?*

One year after the closing of the Second Vatican Council, Pope Paul VI, in his 1966 Apostolic Letter, *Ecclesiae Sanctae*, exhorted the world Church to be attentive to its missionary obligations.[23] In subsequent years, his successors would make similar appeals for attentiveness and action.[24] The multivalent term 'evangelization' emerged, and its usage became increasingly popularized and, at the same time, decidedly more complex in nature. As an umbrella term, the historical clarity of an exclusivist

[22] See Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate, One Hundredth Fourth Congress, Second Session, 'CIA's Use of Journalists and Clergy in Intelligence Operations,' 17 July 1996 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1996), 31–38; James C. Wallace, 'Blowback of the Gods: The U.S. Government's Covert Use of Religion as a Tool of Foreign Policy in the Cold War' (PhD diss., Boston University, 2018); and Jonathan P. Herzog, *The Spiritual Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle against Communism in the Early Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[23] 'Since the Decree *Ad Gentes Divinitus* (On the Missionary Activity of the Church) of the Holy Second Vatican Council must be in force for the universal Church and be faithfully observed by everyone so that the whole Church may become truly missionary and the entire People of God become aware of its missionary obligation, local Ordinaries should see to it that the Decree comes to the knowledge of all the faithful. Discourses on the Decree should be given to the clergy and sermons preached to the people in which everyone's responsibility in conscience with regard to missionary activity is pointed out and inculcated.' Paul VI, *Ecclesiae Sanctae*, III (6 Aug. 1966). In 1967, Pope Paul VI, in reorganizing the Curia, changed the name of the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* to the *Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples*, signalling a definitive shift from the vision of missions held by Pope Gregory XV in 1622 to a new and enlarged vision for a 'pilgrim Church [that] is missionary by her very nature' (AG 2). See also Paul VI, *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (8 Dec. 1975).

[24] See John Paul II, *Redemptoris Missio: On the permanent validity of the Church's missionary mandate* (7 Dec. 1990), 1–3; Pope Benedict XVI's establishment of the Pontifical Council for Promoting the New Evangelization in 2010 and his declaration of a Year of Faith (2012–13) at the opening of the Synod of Bishops on "The New Evangelization for the Transmission of the Christian Faith", calling attention to the 50th anniversary of Vatican II; and, finally, the Apostolic Exhortation of Pope Francis *Evangelii Gaudium* (29 June 2013), calling attention to the need for missionary conversion, missionary communion, and missionary discipleship throughout the entire Church (see 30–31, 40).

approach to mission—understood as witness, proclamation, and conversion primarily directed to those who do not know Christ—lost its contours and, for some, its very significance. In many ways, the umbrella term of 'evangelization' was best suited for inclusivist approaches spanning a broad horizon that included everything from faith formation, to inculturation, to human development, to social justice, to ecumenical and interreligious engagement in service to the reign of God—locally and globally, nationally and internationally. This understanding of evangelization emphasized participation in God's mission, ever mindful of the content of faith-in-action *and* in context.

In this post-Vatican II era, conflicts and confusion ensued with regard to the nature of missionary activity and the ecclesial priorities of local dioceses, parishes, schools, and other Church-affiliated institutions. In a world of limited goods, does one donate to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith on World Mission Sunday or reallocate that donation to the Campaign for Human Development a few weeks later? During Lent, should schoolchildren be placing their dimes and quarters in hand-sized globe banks provided by the Holy Childhood Association or the self-assembled mite boxes of Operation Rice Bowl provided by Catholic Relief Services? Should parishes be twinning with faith communities in Guatemala or helping Catholic Charities in interfaith resettlement efforts of newly arrived Central American refugees? Should a campus ministry group focus on advocacy for growing numbers of persecuted Christians throughout the world or educate for eco-justice in the Amazon and elsewhere? Should hospitals promote time off for personnel to offer pro bono services on week-long overseas medical missions or support time off for offering pro bono services in impoverished neighbouring communities? When it comes to educating young people for missionary discipleship, should the focus be on global pro-life initiatives or local anti-racism training? The dynamics of either/or choices was driven as much by theology and ideology as by the reality of limited resources. It was difficult to hold together both/and approaches.

As these questions illustrate, attentiveness and responsiveness to the demands of the Gospel—at home and abroad—were multifaceted. These needs could not be reduced to either-or choices at the local level or at the global level. Ideally, attentiveness to the activities of mission, broadly conceived, needed to be a both/and endeavour. Nevertheless, the ability to compete for space in the ecclesial arena of consciousness proved to be a missiological challenge at many levels. The politicization of what constituted *real* and *legitimate* activities related to mission resulted in

disagreements, disappointments, and divisions in dioceses, parishes, missionary societies, religious communities, sponsored institutions, and faith-based organizations, a fact that continues to play out today.[25]

In 1986, mindful of the recent 20th anniversary of *Ad Gentes* and the 10th anniversary of *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, the Catholic bishops of the United States promulgated a pastoral statement on world mission entitled *To the Ends of the Earth*.[26] Conciliatory in tone, broad in scope, theologically engaging, and pastorally formative, the document went largely unreceived by the faithful. This was not for lack of trying on the part of diocesan mission offices throughout the country but, simply put, was caused by an inability to compete effectively with the perceived urgencies and exigencies of two USCCB pastoral letters: *The Challenge of Peace*[27] and *Economic Justice for All*.[28] This pattern of competition for occupying space at the centre of the ecclesial arena of consciousness can be traced from the time of the council forward. Functioning at both national and diocesan levels, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the other Pontifical Mission Societies were no longer the only game in town. Offices of peace and justice, pro-life offices, offices of evangelization, and so on began occupying space with issues and agendas every bit as compelling as those of the mission offices. Though mission offices were not losing the interest of exclusivists, they simply were unable to maintain the zealous momentum of the past as inclusivists and pluralists opted for alternative activities related to mission and the mission of the Church. This unintended consequence of Vatican II was significant: not only for dioceses but also for missionary-sending societies, religious institutes, and lay movements.

Crossing the threshold of a new millennium, historians of US Catholic missionary activity, such as Angelyn Dries, OSF, among others, chronicled aspects of the evolution of the 20th-century US Roman Catholic missionary movement. For three decades, Roman Catholic theologians

[25] 'Head of US Bishops calls social justice movements "pseudo-religions",' *CathNews New Zealand*, 8 Nov. 2021, https://cathnews.co.nz/2021/11/08/gomez-social-justice-movements-pseudo-religion.

[26] United States Catholic Bishops, *To the Ends of the Earth: A Pastoral Statement on World Mission* (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1986).

[27] United States Catholic Bishops, *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response—A Pastoral Letter on War & Peace* (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1983).

[28] United States Catholic Bishops, *Economic Justice for All: Pastoral Letter on Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy* (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1986).

and intellectuals from the United States, as well as the professional theological and missiological societies in which they were active, made significant contributions to a growing body of research and reflection on mission. Though representative of various approaches to mission, when they are viewed collectively, one can see the horizon of insights and opinions with regard to the reception of *Ad Gentes*. Recognizably Catholic publishers such as Orbis Books, Paulist Press, Ignatius Press, Loyola Press, Ave Maria Press, Liguori Publications, and Liturgical Press, in the company of other scholarly and popular presses, both ecumenical and secular, contributed to the marketing, promotion, and reception of diverse understandings of Church teachings, their interpretation, missiological investigations, along with practices and spiritualities of mission. Annual assemblies and special assemblies sponsored by the United States Catholic Mission Association, often in conjunction with the US Conference of Catholic Bishops and other national and international mission entities, also contributed to ongoing reflection on trends in mission. However, the extent to which such endeavours touched grassroots Catholics in a significant way varied dramatically from diocese to diocese. In locations with robust, engaged, and collaborative mission offices, such as Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, there was significant receptivity and support for the permanent validity of mission and missionary activity that was both formative and informative. However, in other dioceses, directors of the Pontifical Mission Societies primarily advertised for World Mission Sunday, promoted the annual collection, and arranged for the scheduling of weekend mission appeals given by active and returned missionaries in local parishes during the summer. Parallel to these diocesan efforts, missionary societies, religious and lay institutes, and mission agencies invested in their own mission education programming, recruitment, and development through various forms of outreach to targeted and general audiences.

Tragic events such as the US missionary martyrdoms, incidences of Christian persecution, specifically involving US missionaries, and numerous ecclesial events such as the CELAM conferences of Medellín (1968), Puebla (1979), Santo Domingo (1992), and Aparecida (2007), the promulgation of the Pope John Paul II's mission encyclical *Redemptoris Missio* (RM),[29] and the Synod of Bishops Special Assembly for America (1997)[30] gave rise to prophetic voices. Missionary circles were

[29] See John Paul II, *Redemptoris Missio*.

[30] See John Paul II, *Ecclesia in America* (22 Jan. 1999); see also the *Lineamenta* (1 Aug. 1996) and *Instrumentum Laboris* (1 Sept. 1997); Avery Dulles, SJ, *Evangelization for the Third Millennium* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2009).

unsettled by accusations and provocations. These exchanges further contributed to differences and divisions among active, returned, and aspiring missionaries, as reflected in their theologies, spiritualities, and ethical reflections on mission. The emergence of COMLA [Congresso Missionario Latin Americano] in the late 1970s and CAM [Congresso Americano Missionario] in the late 1990s elicited in some segments of the churches of Latin America and North America an urgency and enthusiasm to become or continue being missionary-sending churches. However, this zeal for participating in the evangelizing mission of Jesus Christ inculcated a transformed understanding of 'going out to the frontiers' that was more than geographic—new frontiers in mission were both local and global, and they represented a new and more evangelical spirit consistent with Pope John Paul's millennium vision for a new 'springtime of Mission' (RM 2).

Paralleling this impulse, other impulses were taking hold and moving inclusivists and pluralists alike to alternative ways of being in mission. The 100th anniversary of the Parliament of World Religions, held in Chicago in 1993, brought visibility and voice to the reality of living in a religiously pluralistic world at both the macro level and the micro level. The events surrounding 9/11 and US military involvement in the Middle East gave a new urgency to the demands of mission as they related to climate action, Indigenous Peoples, peace and justice, refugees, immigration, the next generation, the global ethic, women's dignity, and United Nations initiatives for interfaith harmony and mutual understanding.

The sobering observations made by Stephen Bevans in 1995 identified the significant change that occurred in theological education between 1978 and 1995, where the sort of evangelistic or, better said, evangelizing spirit eroded—or perhaps evolved, in terms of curriculum, as the curricula in seminaries and schools of theology and ministry began moving in multiple directions. All of this had something to do with participation in the *missio Dei*, yet somehow losing an explicit evangelizing focus and sensibility.[31] Though the US Conference of Catholic Bishops made appeals to this end[32] and continued to generate documents on mission and mission education, specifically *Called to Global Solidarity: International*

[31] Stephen B. Bevans, 'What Catholics Can Learn from Evangelical Mission Theology,' *Missiology* 23, no. 2 (Apr. 1995): 155–64.

[32] 'We appeal to all educators to help give Catholics a better understanding of the task and demands of mission today. Theological studies should include a strong missionary emphasis … Authors of catechetical texts should highlight the missionary responsibility of every Christian so that young people may be educated from an early age in this essential aspect of the Church's life' (United States Catholic Bishops, *To the Ends of the Earth*, no. 70).

Challenges for U.S. Parishes (1997), *Teaching the Spirit of Mission Ad Gentes: Continuing Pentecost Today* (2005), and *Disciples Called to Witness: The New Evangelization* (2012), these documents tended to be limited in their promulgation and reception.[33]

3.3. *Regarding Expectation: For what does the local Church in the United States hope as it looks to the future of missionary activity?*

Returning to the exclusivist, inclusivist, and pluralist visions, the answers to the question of expectation for the future depends largely on exactly who is doing the hoping. As previously discussed, the reception of *Ad Gentes* and its legacy is a very mixed bag. In looking to the future, each of the three typologies of reception will, more likely than not, hold fast to their respective tenets when it comes to participating in God's mission. However, when it comes to expectations, it may be more beneficial for the purposes of an ongoing assessment of the reception of *Ad Gentes* to focus less on the expectations of those us who were alive in 1965 and more on those who will be alive in 2065: namely, a new generation of US Catholics who are the future in the present.

3.4. *A New Generation of Exclusive Evangelical Catholics*

Among the evangelizing, and often charismatic, young people who are representative of a more exclusivist evangelical vision of mission, we can identify those who have been formed and influenced by movements such as LifeTeen, Exodus 90, FOCUS (Fellowship of Catholic University Students), Regnum Christi, Steubenville, and others, which have a dynamic thrust in many parishes, high schools, colleges and universities, and other faith-based networks of encounter. These young people have captured a single-hearted missionary zeal reminiscent of a pre-Vatican II period. At the same time, it is important to recognize that their energy and commitment parallels that of their Evangelical and Pentecostal peers in other Christian movements for youth and young adults. A common thread

[33] USCCB, *Called to Global Solidarity International Challenges for U.S. Parishes* (1997), https://www.usccb.org/resources/called-global-solidarity-international-challenges-us-parishes; USCCB, *Teaching the Spirit of Mission Ad Gentes: Continuing Pentecost Today* (2005), https://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/what-we-believe/teaching-the-spirit-of-mission-ad-gentes-continuing-pentecost-today; USCCB, *Disciples Called to Witness: The New Evangelization* (2012), https://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/how-we-teach/new-evangelization/disciples-called-to-witness.

present in all of these movements is a commitment to both domestic as well as foreign missionary activity, guided by a firm belief in the baptismal call to be visible witnesses for Christ. Their concerns are directed at the pervasive culture of death, the loss of the rich cultural patrimony of the Catholic tradition, religious persecution, as well as the theological and moral relativism that has contributed to apathy, indifference, and antagonism toward the missionary mandate. Their commitment is rooted in community, fidelity, and determination to renew the Church and make the word of God known.

3.5. *A New Generation of Inclusive Ecumenical Catholics*

Turning now to young Catholics who are more representative of an inclusive ecumenical vision of mission, we find equally enthusiastic 'hearts on fire' who are passionate about a faith that does justice. Often moved by short-term mission experiences, domestic and international, they are inspired, encouraged, and committed to devoting a few years of their lives to the Jesuit Volunteer Corp, Maryknoll Lay Missioners, Franciscan Mission Service, CapCorp, Dominican Volunteers, Vincentian Lay Missionaries, Cabrini Volunteer Network, and a variety of other mission services connected to historical religious orders and institutes advancing partnerships in mission through volunteers, associates, third orders, oblates, associations of the faithful, and so on.[34] In addition to these groups, a number of dioceses continue the legacy of the diocesan partnerships in mission that sponsor priests, religious, and lay volunteers in domestic and international mission service[35] and collaborative mission ventures between dioceses in the United States and dioceses or parishes in other parts of the world. Catholic Medical Mission initiatives, some of recent origin and some with long-standing historical roots, also carry forward the healing mission of the Church. A few examples include Mercy Ships,[36] Medical Mission Immersion opportunities through the Catholic Health Association,[37] and the Catholic Medical Mission Board.[38]

[34] Catholic Volunteer Network website, https://catholicvolunteernetwork.org.

[35] The dioceses of Cincinnati and Milwaukee are two such examples: https://resources.catholicaoc.org/offices/mission-and-pontificial-mission-societies/mission-opportunities; https://www.archmil.org/offices/world-mission/parish-twinning.htm.

[36] Mercy Ships website, https://www.mercyships.org.

[37] Catholic Health Association of the United States website, 'Medical – Mission – Immersion Trips,' https://www.chausa.org/global-health/medical-mission-immersion-trips.

[38] CMMB website, https://cmmb.org.

The concerns of these young people are directed at the disparities and injustices that exist among the rich and the poor, the powerful and the powerless, the dangerous memories of the coupling of missionary activity and US foreign policy, the failure or inability of the institutional Church to become the Church of the Poor and, moreover, a truly world Church that is attentive to and appreciative of all peoples, races, and cultures. Their commitment is rooted in an embrace of the vision of Pope Francis; a belief in the transformative power of Christian solidarity to bring about social justice, peace, and the integrity of creation; along with the promises and possibilities of synodality.

3.6. *A New Generation of Unitive Pluralist Catholics*

Finally, recognizing the young people who are representative of a more unitive pluralist vision of mission, it is evident that they bring the local Church in the United States face to face with the haunting questions of Christian mission, some of which were raised and addressed in *Nostra Aetate* and others that to this day remain a source of tension, anxiety, and ambiguity in Roman Catholic missionary circles nationally and internationally. They also bring to the Church's attention the wisdom, beauty, insight, and spiritual depth of living faiths and philosophies of life. As a new generation, they are deeply influenced not only by the insights of theology but also by the wisdom of spiritual traditions other than those arising from within the Christian tradition. In the company of those who have come before them, they share with intentionality, and often with discretion, the transformative power of religious experiences and relationships with adherents of diverse religious traditions of the world, including traditional indigenous religions. Recognizing the importance and urgency for Christians to be religiously interreligious within the context of a religiously pluralistic world, they hold fast to a theological vision where participation in God's mission inevitably involves interreligious encounters, sustained efforts at mutual understanding, and, for some, the necessity of multiple belonging. The concern of these young people is directed at Christian supersessionism, fear-mongering, compulsory belonging and religious intolerance, the ignorance and lack of sensitivity of Christians when it comes to recognizing the sacredness of traditions and rituals that speak of the encounter between the divine and the human, and the manipulation of religion as a tool of power and violence used to divide, destroy, and dehumanize persons, who have been created in the image and likeness God. Their commitment is rooted in

the belief that there are many mansions (John 14:2), that we cannot fully comprehend the mind of God (Is. 55:8-9), and that, ultimately, our call is 'to act justly, to love tenderly and to walk humbly' (Micah 6:8).

In summary, when it comes to assessing the reception of *Ad Gentes* and what we expect with regard to the future of its legacy, we find across generations those who will follow the way of the Great Commission (Matt. 28:16-20), those who will follow the way of the Great Commandment (Matt. 22:36-40), and those who will follow the way of the Great Commitment (Micah 6:8).

4. Conclusion: Mission as Convergence

In conclusion, when it comes to evaluating the reception of *Ad Gentes* in the United States over the course of the past six decades, the most accurate and honest assessment is that every point of view is a view from a point. Yet, given the demographics of today's missionaries and mission-related activities, at home and abroad, it is evident that while there is a general consensus that mission is rooted in Trinitarian activity and revelation, there prevails a diversity of opinion regarding exactly what constitutes participation in God's mission. Still, zeal for the *missio Dei*, however it is understood, remains a constant for the Church in the United States. Despite the competing theological, ecclesiological, missiological, and ideological claims that persist, the fact remains that all are dynamically interrelated. Though representative of distinct typologies, each with its own tenets, it may be argued that all of these tenets have somehow sprouted and grown from the seeds sown by *Ad Gentes*. Rising up and far from withering, they have survived and thrived, shaped by memories of the past, attentive to the dynamics of the present, and full of expectation as they envision an unfolding future. When it comes to God's mission, perhaps it is true that 'Everything that rises must converge.'[39]

[39] 'Everything that Rises Must Converge' is the title of a 1963 short story by Flannery O'Connor.

PRIESTHOOD AND FORMATION FOR MINISTRY IN THE UNITED STATES: THE SITUATION SHORTLY BEFORE AND AFTER VATICAN II AND URGENT NEEDS IN THE PRESENT CONTEXT

KATARINA SCHUTH, OSF

Priesthood and formation for ministry are expansive topics. Several volumes would be required to describe fully the state of affairs during the designated time periods of this project: the situation on the eve of Vatican II, the reception of the council's teaching in the wake of the council, and the urgent needs for deeper reception still crucial in the present context. Concerning the topic, it is notable that before and for a few years after Vatican II, formation for ministry pertained mainly to preparation for priestly ordination. However, by the 1970s and later, it also involved the quality of programs provided for lay ecclesial ministers who sought professional formation for ministry.

This article begins with a brief historical context from the beginning through the aftermath of the Council of Trent, followed by a description of the situation of priesthood and formation for ministry shortly before Vatican II. The time frames under consideration for this project are particularly compelling for seminaries because the Church issued no official universal documents involving their operation between the Council of Trent and the promulgation of *Optatam Totius* (OT), the Vatican II document on priestly training. For the second time frame, I will explain the contents of *Optatam Totius* and describe the response of mainly the North American Church and seminary leaders from when the council ended in 1965 until now. Finally, I will specify some needed changes to encourage deeper reception and further implementation of conciliar teachings.

1. BRIEF BACKGROUND ON PRIESTLY FORMATION

For decades, many Church leaders commented on and authors examined the history of formation for priesthood. In recent years, research by

Maryanne Confoy, John O'Malley, and Joseph White is among the principal sources for understanding various aspects of its long history, including the impact of ecclesial and societal trends and distinctions between diocesan and religious formation for priesthood.[1] In this chapter, the main historical reference points highlight the principles deemed important in preparing priests for ministry over nearly two millennia and inform the reasons for the revisions of priestly formation during Vatican II.[2] They draw attention to essential points about preparation for priesthood that remain relevant:

1. Formation must be comprehensive, including human and spiritual, intellectual and pastoral formation.
2. Priestly training must produce priests who know Sacred Scripture, can preach, and understand church laws.
3. Those who teach seminarians must be educated theologians, those who form them must be experienced spiritual guides, and all of them must be upright in their personal behaviour.
4. Residential life must be demanding so as to overcome the lack of solid intellectual and moral foundations in prior formation efforts.

The 20th-century challenges parallel in many ways the 16th-century crisis in seminary formation that the Council of Trent (1545–63) addressed.[3] In an early session (1546), the council fathers decided that the most effective way to overcome the problems of inadequate formation for priesthood was to establish colleges solely for priestly training in every diocese (Canon 16; final version Canon 18). O'Malley notes, 'It is difficult to exaggerate the canon's long-range influence.'[4] The approach of these schools exemplified a monastic model that 'sought to isolate and protect priestly candidates from the dangers of the world, to educate and form priests who would serve the Church and keep their parishioners

[1] These sources are Maryanne Confoy, *Religious Life and Priesthood: Perfectae Caritatis, Optatam Totius, Presbyterorum Ordinis*, Rediscovering Vatican II (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2008); John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008) and *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013); Joseph White, *The Diocesan Seminary in the United States: A History from the 1780s to the Present* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989).

[2] For key historical moments in the history of seminaries, see Katarina Schuth, *Seminary Formation: Recent History, Current Circumstances, New Directions* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2016), 10–13.

[3] Two major differences between the 16th and 20th centuries are evident: the cultural and ecclesial situations in which seminaries exist and the more comprehensive nature of formation that now includes development of human and pastoral dimensions.

[4] O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council,* 212.

away from the aberrations of the era.'[5] In the 23rd session of the council, in 1563, the *Decree on Seminaries* was issued, representing 'a major change in seminary training in terms of its reform of the diverse and inconsistent types of formation for ordination that had prevailed globally over the centuries.'[6]

2. Priesthood and Formation for Ministry Shortly Before Vatican II Until Now

The Council of Trent's guiding document for seminary formation provided the structure, content, and methods of the seminary system as it was known at the time of Vatican II. Official statements from the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, as well as the *Code of Canon Law* of 1917,[7] took for granted that most seminaries were isolated from the local church and secular activities. They presumed that seminaries had limited contact with Catholic and civic educational organizations. In the 1917 *Code*, Canon 259.1 states that 'the diocesan bishop or, for an interdiocesan seminary, the bishops involved are competent to decide those things which pertain to the above mentioned governance and administration of the seminary.' Consultation and broader input on the operation of seminaries were perceived as unnecessary, so the involvement of rectors and faculty inside the institutions, and pastors and parishioners outside them, was not sought.

Nonetheless, in the United States from the 1920s on, small numbers of seminary educators began to discuss ways to establish academic standards and to cooperate more broadly with other entities.[8] By the 1950s, other factors, such as the need for accreditation, contributed to wider participation of seminary leaders in the National Catholic Educational Association. Prominent educators noted that 'striking and extraordinary' changes had

[5] Confoy, *Religious Life and Priesthood*, 79. See also Christopher M. Bellitto, 'Priestly Training before Trent: Rethinking Some Evidence from the Long Middle Ages,' in *Medieval Education,* eds. Ronald B. Begley and Joseph W. Koterski (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005), 35–49.

[6] Confoy, *Religious Life and Priesthood*, 78–79. Response to the Decree was rapid as seminaries strengthened intellectual and spiritual requirements and stiffened regulations governing residential life.

[7] The 1917 Code of Canon Law was the first official comprehensive codification of Latin canon law and was in force until the 1983 Code of Canon Law took effect.

[8] White*, The Diocesan Seminary in the United States*, 388–89.

taken place over a period of 25 years before Vatican II began.[9] The groundwork for official changes advanced by the council was informally under way years earlier.

Other forward-looking leaders, such as Mathijs Lamberigts, identified shortcomings in seminary programs and recorded complaints about seminaries before the council. He noted that their monastic nature resulted in candidates for priesthood having too little contact with the lived experience of people in parishes. Both philosophy and theology courses were deemed to be out of touch with real life, even as faculty continued to favour a neo-classical apologetics approach while neglecting awareness of existentialism and 'nouvelle théologie.'[10] It became clear that thorough renewal of seminaries was needed if the Church was 'to be in service to the world with which it had entered into dialogue' and thus contribute to the council's comprehensive goal of *aggiornamento*.

Since it was over 400 years since the changes of Trent, familiar patterns of operation were deeply entrenched, and so the development of *Optatam Totius* involved some of the most contentious discussions during the council. Opposing views about seminary formation were strongly held by the council fathers: some wanted to retain the present system by adhering to tradition, while others had a clear understanding that formation needed to adapt to changing circumstances to become integral to the pastoral life of the Church.

The first draft of *Optatam Totius* represented the thinking of the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities and insisted on retaining the discipline and studies of the past. Many bishops expressed their dissatisfaction with that system and called for new provisions to reduce the isolation of seminaries and make seminarians more aware of how to deal with modern problems. They believed that seminarians should develop personal responsibility through improved spiritual and academic formation and greater involvement with local churches.

Since the document's Latin title means 'desired renewal of the whole [Church],' those who sought change envisioned adaptations that would be intimately connected to the overall thinking of the council. Cardinal Suenens summarized the position: 'Vatican Council II must create a new

[9] White, *The Diocesan Seminary in the United States*, 404.

[10] Mathijs Lamberigts, '*Optatam Totius* – The Decree on Priestly Formation: A Short Survey of Its History at the Second Vatican Council,' in *Sacerdos in Aeternum: Reflections on Priesthood Today*, ed. Denis Robinson, *Louvain Studies* 30, nos. 1–2 (Spring–Summer 2005), 28–33.

kind of seminary in line with the needs of today.'[11] Cardinal Albert Meyer, Archbishop of Chicago, contributed significantly to the development of *Optatam Totius* by supporting greater integration of all aspects of formation.[12] The bishops compromised only after lengthy debates and because of the insistence of Pope Paul VI that they reach a required level of consensus. Even though the council fathers first adopted *Optatam Totius* with a vote of 2,074 for and 41 opposed, and after extended debate passed it on 28 October 1965 by a landslide of 2,318 to 3, the contradictory viewpoints were not fully resolved and are still reflected in struggles in seminaries and in the Church as a whole.[13]

3. The Content of *Optatam Totius* and Its Reception in the US

The level of disagreement between the traditional and the progressive council fathers about the direction of *Optatam Totius* was evident from the beginning. After acknowledging the 'extreme importance of priestly training,' the decree attempted to assure the more traditional bishops that it would strengthen long-standing regulations that were shown to be sound. It also promised those who saw the need for a different kind of seminary that it would add new elements to 'correspond to the constitutions and decrees of this sacred council and to the changed conditions of our times' (OT, Introduction).[14]

The seven sections of the document are identified and briefly explained below, along with a description of the extent to which each was received. Importantly, the reception of these major teachings is not uniform over time; that is, at some points the seminaries, representing the thinking of their bishops and superiors, were at first open but uncertain about exactly

[11] Confoy, *Religious Life and Priesthood*, 97.

[12] In a tribute to Meyer on 9 April 2015, the 50th anniversary of his death, Steven Avella noted that Meyer also influenced other important council documents and had international respectability that stood out as the de facto voice of the American hierarchy. Avella based this view on research for his book *This Confident Church: Catholic Leadership and Life in Chicago, 1940–1965* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992).

[13] The 1983 revision of the Code of Canon Law clarified some contentious points and standardized some practices, such as those related to governance and the authority of rectors.

[14] In the US, Catholic university leaders at the 1967 Land O'Lakes Conference adopted analogous thinking that emphasized the necessity of dialogue between the university and modern culture. By extension, future priests should be educated to perform similar service for the Church: https://cushwa.nd.edu/assets/245340/landolakesstatement.pdf.

how to proceed with implementation, then they exhibited great enthusiasm, and more recently have somewhat lessened their commitment to the direction of *Optatam Totius*.

3.1. *Section I*

Section I directs each episcopal conference to adapt its Program of Priestly Formation to local circumstances.

Episcopal conferences were to publish guidelines for priestly formation that responded to the conditions and pastoral needs of their region. This decentralization displeased some in the Curia who desired a worldwide uniform program for formation of priests over which they had control, but the call for inculturation and respect for local Churches was embedded in the thinking of other commissions, so curial opposition did not prevail. This mandate appealed to most bishops and was consistent with the council's concern to adjust to the circumstances of local Churches.[15]

Shortly after the council, many episcopal conferences issued 'programs of priestly formation' and, although not every conference had the resources or desire to prepare them, many did so. In the US, six editions have been published: in 1971, 1976, 1981, 1992, 2005, and 2022. The first three editions show a high level of commitment to implementing the teachings of Vatican II. In later editions, references were reduced by nearly half. By 1992, Pope John Paul II's *Pastores Dabo Vobis* (PDV) became the primary resource for seminary programs, due to his introduction of human formation. In 2005, the fifth edition responded to the extensive revelations about clergy sexual abuse. Another possible reason for the decline in emphasis on Vatican II was that bishops responsible for the fifth edition were too young to be directly involved in Vatican II deliberations and may not have felt its impact as much as their predecessors did.

Overall, these findings signify a relatively high level of reception of Vatican II teachings in seminaries until 1992. From then on, enthusiasm for Vatican II wavered with the shift to *Pastores Dabo Vobis*. Moreover, most current seminary faculty and administrators were not yet born or were very young at the beginning of the council and seem less invested in its implementation. The diminished strength of its impact in recent

[15] Although this was the first time such a directive was given, the issuance of the *Ratio Fundamentalis Institutionis Sacerdotalis* by the Sacred Congregation for Education in 1970 contributed to a more common approach throughout the world. It was revised in 1985, and a new edition was published in 2016 as *The Gift of the Priestly Vocation*.

years—and in some cases its rejection—is based on the claim that the spirit of the council was misinterpreted. During the 50th anniversary years of its beginning and conclusion, from 2012 to 2015, renewal of interest in some seminaries has resurfaced.

3.2. *Section II*

Section II makes note of 'The Urgent Fostering of Priestly Vocations': This section resulted in a high level of agreement due to the 'crisis of vocations' in many parts of the world, especially in Europe.

The problem was attributed to 'the de-Christianization of the world (especially the Western world), the smaller size of Catholic families, and the failure of church leaders to encourage vocations.' For the most part, the erroneous tendency to blame Vatican II for the decline in the number of vocations did not hold for Europe since vocations had been decreasing there long before the council began.[16] Given the ongoing decline in priestly vocations, the mandate to encourage them was then and is now even more widely accepted.

3.3. *Section III*

Section III makes reference to 'the heart of the decree' as the ministry of the word, of worship, and of the parish and affirms that *all forms of training* 'are to be ordered with concerted effort towards this pastoral end' (OT 4).[17]

This section, on 'The Setting up of Major Seminaries,' expresses the position that the decree needs to be systematically tied to *Presbyterorum Ordinis* and the document that would become *Lumen Gentium*. Representing the commission that was preparing *Optatam Totius*, Giuseppe Carraro, Bishop of Verona, named 'the five characteristics of the schema: its pastoral dimension, adaptation to the present day, adaptation to the needs of different localities and peoples, balanced synthesis, and appropriate renewal. Pastoral concern, he said, informed all the propositions

[16] Since most bishops agreed with this assessment, Bishop Kieran Conry in Ireland 'was astounded to discover that one group of Catholics ascribed the loss of priestly vocations and all the ills of the church, "including, inexplicably, the horror of clerical child abuse," to the Second Vatican Council.' Kieran Conry, 'Suddenly everyone a priest,' *Priest & People* (August 2003).

[17] In the document, Arabic numerals designate paragraphs, and Roman numerals designate sections.

and he hoped they would promote an "organic and vital synthesis" in the education of priests.'[18] Priests were to be prepared for the ministry of the word, of worship and sanctification, and of the parish, that they might know how to make Christ present as they give their lives in service to all to win over all. The document affirms the 'servant model' of priesthood, which emphasizes oneness with the people and service to all in need, a view that conflicts unmistakably with the 'cultic model' of recent years, where the priest is regarded as separate from and above the faithful, limiting his service mainly to the celebration of the sacraments and liturgy.

At first, these teachings were received enthusiastically by most seminary rectors and faculty, who appreciated the emphasis on servant leadership. Teaching for the first time in the vernacular, they prepared seminarians in Sacred Scripture, liturgy, and theological disciplines for use in pastoral settings. Several factors inhibited implementation of the directives: 1) some bishops hesitated to accept the new methods and courses; 2) some faculty did not favour the pastoral orientation, which they believed took too much time from deeper intellectual pursuits; and 3) the concept of the 'servant model' was not popular with all priests already in parishes. Even so, the teachings enjoyed widespread support for many years. In recent years, the curriculum remains more or less intact, but now the content is often approached with skepticism about the importance of Vatican II.

3.4. *Section IV*

Section IV focuses on spiritual training that 'should be closely connected with the doctrinal and the pastoral.'

Seminaries readily received the primary emphasis on 'The Careful Development of the Spiritual Training' and reinforced the concept of integration of all aspects of formation. Spiritual guides were to inspire seminarians to seek Christ, meditate on Christ, and imitate Christ, 'especially [in] the holy Eucharist and the Divine Office. Let them seek him too in the person of the bishop who sends them and in the people to whom they are sent, especially the poor, the little ones, the sick, sinners and unbelievers' (OT 8). While practices of piety were commended, this caveat was noted: 'care must be taken that spiritual formation not be reduced to pious exercises alone nor merely develop religious sentiment' (OT 8).

[18] Norman Tanner, 'The Church in the World,' in *The History of Vatican II*, vol. 4, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2003), 357.

Integral to spiritual formation, the servant model was to be supported and seminarians were to be fully aware of the burdens they were undertaking. They were encouraged to give their lives with a generous heart and to 'realize that they are not destined for a life of power and honors, but are destined to be totally dedicated to the service of God and pastoral ministry' (OT 9). Though the word 'clericalism' is not used in *Optatam Totius*, the conduct of the lives and ministry of future priests was to be directed against such attitudes and behaviours. Celibacy was not treated in detail, but seminarians were to see it as 'a gift to which, inspired by the holy Spirit and helped by divine grace, they must freely and generously respond' (OT 10).

This spiritual path was, for the most part, wholeheartedly endorsed right after the council and continues to be regarded appreciatively. A rich spiritual life is considered indispensable for anyone who expects to minister fruitfully to the people of God. Yet, reception of some directives has lessened as many newer priests favour the cultic model, where the priest keeps a distance from everyday encounters with the faithful. Many seminarians now prefer the cultic model over the servant model, which emphasizes engagement with the people and service to all. This mindset conflicts with the message of Pope Francis, who stresses 'above all the poor and the sick, those who are usually despised and overlooked, "those who cannot repay you"' (Luke 14:14).[19]

3.5. *Section V*

Section V centres on philosophical and theological disciplines as essential elements of priestly formation and develops the theme of making 'connection between philosophy and the true problems of life.'

'The Revision of Ecclesiastical Studies' proclaimed philosophical and theological disciplines as essential and viewed them as secondary only to spiritual formation. Philosophy was explained in terms of its relationship to understanding the current culture and circumstances of those who are served by the Church's ministers. In contradiction to the teaching of Pope Leo XIII in *Aeterni Patris*,[20] it advised seminary formation to

[19] Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium* (2013), no. 48.

[20] See Pope Leo XIII, *Aeterni Patris* (On the Restoration of Christian Philosophy) (Aug. 1879), no. 31. 'We exhort you, venerable brethren, in all earnestness to restore the golden wisdom of St. Thomas, and to spread it far and wide for the defense and beauty of the Catholic faith, for the good of society, and for the advantage of all the sciences…. Let carefully selected teachers endeavor to implant the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas in the minds of students, and set forth clearly his solidity and excellence over others.'

'take account of modern philosophical developments.' It insisted that the pedagogy should assure that students 'are first of all gradually led to a solid and coherent knowledge of human nature, the world and God, guided by the philosophical tradition of lasting value … so that with a proper understanding of the present age, they will be equipped for dialogue with people of their time.' Further, 'Careful attention should be paid to the close connection between philosophy and the real problems of life' (OT 15).

This text underscores the crucial role of the study of the Bible for inspiration and nourishment. Referring to *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, it says, 'Liturgy, which is to be regarded as the first and ever necessary source of true Christian spirit, should be taught in the spirit of articles 15 and 16 of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy' (OT 16). Encouragement to revise teaching methods and improve the quality of faculty concluded the section, with the directive to avoid multiplication of courses and ensure that those who teach are well trained and suitable in 'character, virtue and talent' (OT 17, 18).

Reception of some curriculum changes is supported, and adaptations correspond to the situation of the Church in the US. Changes include increases in the number of courses required, especially in philosophy, the Bible, and pastoral areas. Yet, the caution to avoid the multiplication of courses is almost totally ignored. Further, attention to the 'connection between philosophy and the real problems of life' is neglected by many faculty who have reverted to a more internally focused approach. Ecumenical and interfaith studies and practices are almost totally absent, even though cited in *Optatam Totius* 15 and prescribed in the US Program for Priestly Formation, Section V. The reception of this section is most accurately described as mixed, with some areas unattended and others implemented.

3.6. *Section VI*

Section VI insists that pastoral training is to permeate the formation of seminarians so they can serve the needs of all in all circumstances.

'The Promotion of Strictly Pastoral Training' stipulated that ministerial practice permeate the entire program of formation so that seminarians are prepared for catechesis and preaching, administration of the sacraments, works of charity, and other pastoral functions. Formators were to promote certain qualities, 'such as the ability to listen to others and to open their hearts in a spirit of charity to the various kinds of human need' (OT 19).

It has taken many years to develop programs that advance the capabilities of current seminarians and lay students in pastoral competence. While the concept was not rejected, its reception was not notably apparent before 1992, when *Pastores Dabo Vobis* was published. Since then, most seminaries have created extensive programs in human growth and affective maturity to support pastoral expertise. Human formation is a critical component, made mandatory since the clergy sexual abuse crisis. While more diversity is needed in pastoral experiences, from racial and ethnic perspectives to the range of ideological differences in the Catholic population, increasing reception is evident. However, the failure to address clericalism until recently reveals insufficient effort to receive and respond fully to the directive.

3.7. *Section VII*

Section VII focuses on ongoing formation for younger clergy to introduce them gradually to priestly life and apostolic activity.

Through ongoing formation, younger priests were to participate in programs so they 'can be gradually introduced to priestly life and apostolic activity from the spiritual, intellectual and pastoral point of view, and thus renew and develop this life and activity' (OT 22). Most dioceses have in place at least some ongoing formation for newer clergy, but it is limited in scope and duration. Of concern is the virtual absence of sabbaticals and updating for longer-serving clergy, due to the shortage of priests to replace them temporarily.

In concluding *Optatam Totius*, the council fathers returned to the earlier concerns of some bishops who feared that Vatican II would supersede and ignore the Council of Trent. To ameliorate their fear, it reinforced the notion that this document would honour the course set by the Council of Trent while improving and updating some areas. Summing up the importance of the role of seminary faculty and administrators, it reinforced their responsibility to care for 'the hope of the Church and the salvation of souls committed to them' (OT, Conclusion).

4. Urgent Needs in the Present Context of Church and Ministry for a Deeper Reception of the Conciliar Teaching

Many areas of Church life and ministry have been greatly affected by diligent efforts worldwide to accept and receive gladly the results of Vatican II. As illustrated above, teachings and practices regarding priest-

hood and formation for ministry are much improved from what they were before the council. At the same time, resistant forces within the Church overlooked or even weakened the impact of some related teachings. Both internal and external dimensions of formation are in urgent need of adaptation and greater reception. The internal elements include the following:

1) careful monitoring of admissions with attention paid to the suitability of students for ministry,
2) prudent selection of administrators and faculty and ongoing education for them in light of requirements of their expanded role, and
3) adaptation of the curriculum, taking into consideration the modern world.
4) The bridging element of pastoral orientation calls for changes in approaches to ministry that meet the needs of Catholics today.

The external elements include:

5) knowledge of secular culture and its powerful influence on society,
6) cognizance of the conditions of Church life in the 21st century, and
7) the need for collaboration among all who minister in the Church today.

4.1. *Admission of Students*

Especially since the beginning of this millennium, two factors notably influence admissions requirements. First, since the number of priests dropped by more than 20,000 since 1965 in the US, and the number of Catholics grew by 24 million, vocation directors are urged to recruit more seminarians, sometimes without paying adequate attention to maintaining admissions standards. Seminarians changed considerably in recent years in their religious and educational backgrounds, as well as in their places of origin. Unlike the majority of Catholics for whom they are preparing to minister, they desire theological knowledge that is clear and certain, indisputable and unquestionable. The urgent need, then, is to educate faculty who are capable of preparing seminarians who are open to new ideas, aware of contemporary concerns of the Church and society, and able to discern and respond to the needs of people who are far different from them.

Second, policies about admission of lay ecclesial students have vacillated, resulting in uncertainty as to their place in a seminary. Already by the early 1970s, lay students were welcome to enroll in some seminaries;

by the 1990s, nearly every seminary accepted lay students. That situation prevailed until the 2008 report of the Apostolic Visitation of U.S. Seminaries,[21] which stated that lay students are to be entirely separated from seminarians while studying in seminaries. Regardless of the directives on the position and reception of lay students preparing for ministry, they continue to be integrated with seminarians in some circumstances, where seminary leaders see the need for intentional interaction with those with whom they will later be ministering.

4.2. *Administrators and Faculty*

The leadership of seminaries, including administrators and faculty, has changed greatly in the past several decades. The rectors/presidents, for example, are less likely to be educated in theology, with many more having a degree in canon law and past experience in chanceries rather than in parishes and theological schools. The perspectives of their organizational backgrounds often shape their vision. Generally, their terms of service are much shorter than in the past, and many are appointed as bishops after serving in seminaries. Faculty composition has changed, too, with the proportion of priests at 50 per cent, a decline of over 20 per cent, and 5 per cent fewer women religious, as well as an increase of lay women by 10 per cent and lay men by 15 per cent. Retirement of longtime priest faculty reached a high point in the past decade.[22]

While the many new voices add both new expertise and new challenges, an urgent need is for administrators and faculty to be educated in areas that have not been part of their specialized ministerial experiences or academic backgrounds. All would benefit from orientation and ongoing education in the other areas of formation, and faculty should consider adjustments to their teaching in light of changes in the Church.

4.3. *Curriculum Changes*

According to Section V of *Optatam Totius*, the orientation of philosophical and theological disciplines is designed to make the 'connection between philosophy and the true problems of life.' In order for seminarians to relate with people from differing backgrounds, cultures, and

[21] See a full report of the findings: https://www.usccb.org/resources/apostolic-visitation-seminaries-report-2008.

[22] Schuth, *Seminary Formation*, 49–57 and 60–71.

religious preferences, new approaches and new reasoning are needed to be credible witnesses to the faith. In an era where business incentives and scientific influences direct the lives of Christians, creative approaches to proclaiming the gospel would encourage greater openness to it.

To achieve the goals of Vatican II, faculty must connect the content of their courses with contemporary life, which will require changes in the substance and method of teaching. Seminarians must learn how to dialogue with the world of cultures and sciences and integrate these topics in their ministry. They must engage in the process of social analysis in their dioceses, parishes, religious orders, and missions so that the richness of Church teachings is conveyed and received by people who live in a changing world.

One of the premises of *Pastores Dabo Vobis* expresses the goal: Pastoral formation must flow from and move toward an appreciation of the multifaceted reality of the Church (PDV 59). Greater commitment to providing adequate pastoral courses and pastoral field placements is by no means a universal value. The urgent need is for faculty to periodically review the prescribed curricula of college, pre-theology, and theology programmes and identify pastoral implications in every course. The design of field education experiences should correct for the separation during formation caused by seminarians being too confined to the seminary.

4.4. *Knowledge of Secular Culture*

A thorough understanding of the secular culture is required of those who expect to minister successfully these days. Regularly updated information about the effects of multiculturalism and the impact of globalization and immigration means that future ministers must be prepared for dialogue with people of other religious traditions: Christian and non-Christian.[23] The pervasive effects of technology and media are exacerbating the division among Catholics and raising consciousness of the forceful role of politics on issues of poverty, racism, climate change, and other weighty issues affecting Church and society. Greater media literacy and knowledge of society can contribute to reconciling pastoral situations in communities divided by the extreme views of those who refuse to accept the teachings of Vatican II and insist on following those who resist the authentic magisterium.

[23] On the topic of globalization, T. Howland Sanks's article 'Fully Formed' reaffirms the necessity of 'preparing our priestly candidates for the globalized world' (*America,* 26 Sept. 2016).

Given this situation, faculty must understand more fully the impact of critical concerns people face so they can convey to students how these realities affect ministry. The goal is to enable seminarians to listen, accompany, and discern the role of faith with those they serve. Faculty need to help seminarians form an adult faith of their own, understand the role of conscience, and deal with the complexity of being a leader in the Church. These factors affect the commitment and continuing affiliation of Catholics.

4.5. *Knowledge of US Catholics Today*

Along with the radical shifts in the secular culture, future ordained and lay ministers must be prepared to serve in a Church that has changed drastically since Vatican II. Even more, seminarians must realize that it is impossible and imprudent to attempt a return to the Church of pre-Vatican II. To meet the spiritual needs of today's Catholics, Church teachings need to be translated into a language that is intelligible and relevant to their lives. Pastoral understanding is required in widely varying circumstances, with parishes being places where many new immigrants, language barriers, poverty, and low education levels are found alongside established members who have benefited from the wealth and opportunities of this society.

The urgent need now is to expose seminarians to the many cultures, languages, and ideological differences that represent those who identify as Catholic. What is necessary is a genuine appreciation of the diversity that not only typifies this society generally but marks the Catholic Church in the US and the whole world. All who have authority to change seminary programs need to reflect on how well course materials and other aspects of formation fit current religious and secular circumstances. Faculty need to help future ministers understand that today's Catholics who feel discouragement and disagreement about the Church's role want to be heard.

4.6. *Collaboration among All Who Minister*

Almost every section of *Optatam Totius,* and many other Vatican II documents, directly insists on or implies that cooperation and collaboration are necessary to minister effectively in the Church and the world. Formation programmes need to address relationships among older priests, younger priests, deacons, and lay ecclesial ministers. To provide ministry that addresses the many needs of Catholics, appreciation of the direction

of Vatican II needs fuller expression by all who minister. Issues often arise between senior pastors/priests and young/newly ordained priests, whose differences in perception and implementation of Vatican II can painfully divide parishes. Since the separation of lay ecclesial students from seminarians in the learning environment, other disparities in age, experience, and views of ministry have become more apparent and troublesome in ministry.[24]

To increase collaboration, faculty need to determine how to convey the knowledge, skills, and attitudes essential for authentic partnership. Tensions can be reduced by following the guidelines and directives represented in the bishops' document *Co-Workers in the Vineyard of the Lord*. It states, 'An ecclesiology of communion looks upon different gifts and functions not as adversarial but as enriching and complementary. It appreciates the Church's unity as an expression of the mutual and reciprocal gifts brought into harmony by the Holy Spirit. An ecclesiology of communion recognizes diversity in unity and acknowledges the Spirit as the source of all the gifts that build up Christ's Body (1 Cor 12:4-12, 28-30).'[25] Church leaders at all levels will need to make concerted efforts to change attitudes and patterns of separation and competition in formation and adapt ministerial structures that enable the integration of diverse ministries.

5. Conclusion

No one should underestimate the challenge posed for those charged with preparing the Church's future ministers. Grounding students in the intellectual, liturgical, and spiritual traditions of the Church is required, along with encouraging human development that equips them to contribute toward the transformative end of spreading the gospel. This exercise will require the whole Church to examine current practices, without being self-justifying or self-protective, to recognize what has driven an estimated 35 per cent of Catholics from the faith of their birth, especially those of the millennial generation. Is it the qualities of ministry or of those who minister? What can we learn from other religious groups about how to retain members?

[24] Eighty-five per cent of seminarians were under 40 years of age, compared to 33 per cent of lay students.

[25] USCCB, *Co-Workers in the Vineyard of the Lord: A Resource for Guiding the Development of Lay Ecclesial Ministry* (Washington, DC: USCCB, 2005), 20.

Toward a better understanding of what the true needs for greater reception of Vatican II really are, the question for this chapter is this: How important was *Optatam Totius* and, overall, how well has it been received? Many commentators believe it represented an almost total overhaul of the entire system of priestly formation; others saw it as mainly adjusting what had lasted since the Council of Trent. The former view seems more accurate in light of some changes that were adopted in seminaries since Vatican II, but the latter view may well be present more compellingly than is generally recognized. As for how well it has been received overall in formation for ministry and priesthood, it is evident that enormous shifts have fostered the life and ministry of priests and lay ecclesial ministers, but in some areas advances have been halted as leaders revert to previous practices of separation. The style or model of ministry usually corresponds to the preferences of individual congregations, if not controlled by local bishops. We will know success if ministerial practices meet the needs of people, especially those on the periphery. There is reason for hope, but more effort toward reception of Vatican II is still required.

CATHOLIC EDUCATION: CRISIS AND CREATIVITY

Evaluating *Gravissimum Educationis* in Contemporary North America

KEVIN AHERN

In an address to the third session of the Second Vatican Council, Cardinal Joseph Ritter of St. Louis summarized the central message of the draft Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis*: 'The importance of the subject, Christian education,' he urged, 'can scarcely be exaggerated since it involves the command of Christ to go forth and teach all nations.'[1] Six decades later, serious questions are being raised as to the identity, mission, and sustainability of Catholic education in the face of seismic change: from the rise of lay leadership to increasing diversity of religious, ethnic, and gender identities of students, particularly at the tertiary level.

At the same time, the post-conciliar culture battles are having their own impact on Catholic education, as is illustrated by the 2019 decision of the Archdiocese of Indianapolis to remove ecclesial recognition and support for Brebeuf Jesuit Preparatory School when it failed to dismiss a teacher in a same-sex marriage.[2] The political polarizations emerging with the COVID-19 pandemic further exacerbated some of these tensions, with some Catholic schools positioning themselves as mask- and vaccine-free spaces.[3] In the face of these changing dynamics, what, if anything, might *Gravissimum Educationis* have to offer?

[1] 'Text of Cardinal Ritter on Education Draft,' *Catholic News Service: Vatican II: 50 Years Ago Today*, 19 November 2014, https://vaticaniiat50.wordpress.com/2014/11/18/text-of-cardinal-ritter-on-education-draft.

[2] Leah Asmelash, 'The Vatican for Now Won't Penalize a Jesuit School for Refusing to Fire a Married Gay Teacher,' CNN, 24 September 2019, https://www.cnn.com/2019/09/24/us/brebeuf-jesuit-preparatory-school-catholic-church-trnd/index.html.

[3] See Brendan Pierson, 'Michigan Catholic School Seeks Broad Exception from Mask Mandate,' Reuters, 22 July 2021, https://www.reuters.com/legal/government/michigan-catholic-school-seeks-broad-exception-mask-mandate-2021-07-22.

This chapter explores *Gravissimum Educationis*'s relationship to the educational scene of North America, a region with one of the largest Catholic educational systems in the world. The chapter begins with a brief summary of the evolving contours of this system. After several key points from the declaration are identified in the second part, the third part will consider the reception of *Gravissimum Educationis*, even if indirectly, in the creativity and crisis of contemporary Catholic education in North America.

1. Education in North America at the Eve of the Council

Catholic education in North America predates the creation of the United States and Canada by two centuries. Bishop Alonso Manso of San Juan, Puerto Rico, created the Escuela de Gramática in 1513.[4] Spanish missions across the southern and western regions of the continent included education as part of their often brutal efforts to 'Christianize' Indigenous populations.[5]

Meanwhile, French missionary efforts established their own educational institutions starting in Quebec City in the 1620s and 1630s, including the Monastère des Ursulines de Québec in 1639, the first educational effort for girls in the continent.[6] In 1727, French Ursulines in New Orleans opened what is now the oldest Catholic school in the United States.[7] In 1789, Bishop John Carroll founded the first boys' school in the new republic; it would later become Georgetown University. Within a few years, the Visitation sisters established a school for girls nearby, now known as Georgetown Visitation Preparatory School. In recent years, scholars and activists have drawn attention to deep moral problems in a number of these early efforts. The communities of both Georgetown University and Georgetown Visitation owned and sold hundreds of human beings.[8] Meanwhile, mission and residential schools

[4] Harold A. Buetow, *Of Singular Benefit: The Story of Catholic Education in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 5.

[5] Buetow, *Of Singular Benefit*, 3.

[6] Ursulines de Québec, *Prospectus du Monastère des Ursulines de Québec* (Québec, 1999), http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/mtq?doc=52519&language=fr.

[7] 'Ursuline Heritage,' Ursuline Academy, https://www.uanola.org/about/ursuline-heritage; Jane Frances Heaney, *A Century of Pioneering: A History of the Ursuline Nuns in New Orleans, 1727–1827* (Ursuline Sisters of New Orleans, 1993).

[8] 'Georgetown Slavery Archive,' Georgetown University, https://slaveryarchive.georgetown.edu; Rachel L. Swarns, 'The Nuns Who Bought and Sold Human Beings,'

across the continent also operated with deep moral failings, including systems of forced labour, racism, and abuse.

The 19th and early 20th centuries saw explosive growth in Catholic education. While missionaries maintained educational projects on the 'frontiers,' the focus of Catholic education shifted increasingly to the industrial urban centres. The influx of German, Irish, and southern European immigrants during this period presented new challenges and opportunities in a cultural context that remained largely hostile to Roman Catholics. In response, dozens of apostolic religious congregations of women and men emerged with a core mission of Catholic education. Harold Buetow enumerates a list of 44 non-diocesan teaching congregations of sisters and 11 of brothers established in the United States between 1829 and 1884.[9]

Congregations of religious women and men established orphanages, staffed diocesan schools, created their own academies, and made inroads into tertiary education. The Jesuits created nine colleges and universities between 1818 and 1855. In the 1840s and 1850s, more than a dozen new colleges sprang up in the United States and Canada, including the University of Notre Dame (1842), Villanova University (1842), Manhattan College (1853), Saint Paul University in Ottawa (1848), St. Michael's College in Toronto (1852), and St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia (1853). In the 1890s, the School Sisters of Notre Dame opened the College of Notre Dame of Maryland, the first American Catholic college for women.[10]

From the 1850s, the establishment of a comprehensive educational system was a priority for the US Church, as is evident in the texts of the three plenary councils of Baltimore (1852, 1866, and 1884). Legislative texts of the Third Council established the Catholic University of America and mandated each parish to set up a parochial school 'within two years.' All Catholic parents were obligated to send their children to these schools unless 'of a good reason approved by the bishop.'[11]

New York Times, 2 Aug. 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/02/opinion/sunday/nuns-slavery.html.

[9] Buetow, *Of Singular Benefit*, 115–17. See also chapter 3 of Margaret M. McGuinness, *Called to Serve: A History of Nuns in America* (New York: NYU Press, 2013).

[10] Kathleen A. Mahoney, 'American Catholic Colleges for Women: Historical Origins,' in *Catholic Women's Colleges in America*, eds. Tracy Schier and Cynthia Russett (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 25–26.

[11] Buetow, *Of Singular Benefit*, 152.

Following the Second World War, Catholic higher education grew rapidly, with new funding for veteran students and new government regulations. In 1950, New York State introduced requirements that all teachers would need to have at least three years of higher education, leading to a new wave of colleges. Meanwhile, in Canada, following the 1867 Constitution Act, the publicly funded denominational school system offered linguistic and cultural accommodations for Catholics in largely Protestant areas.[12]

By the time of the council, American Catholic education was a source of pride for many in North America. From Notre Dame football to shining new suburban parish schools overflowing with children, the Church's educational institutions were communicating that Catholics had made it. Such structures, as Gerald Cattaro notes, reinforced a vision where 'father blessed, sister or brother taught, parents paid, and students obeyed.'[13] By the mid-1960s, the project of Catholic education had reached its height. In 1880, there were 2,246 Catholic schools in the United States. By 1920, this number grew to 5,852.[14] By the time of the council, there were over 10,000 elementary and secondary schools and a 'population of over 4,431,000 students.'[15] At the tertiary level, Catholics in the United States had established more than 270 institutions of higher education serving 400,000 students.[16]

Beneath the surface of this robust structure, changes were taking place that would shake the foundations of Catholic education. These included declining vocations to religious life, population shifts away from urban centres, pressures from state agencies, and concerns regarding academic freedom following restrictions placed on John Courtney Murray and others.[17] At the same time, critics raised questions about the quality of

[12] Janet Epp Buckingham, 'Ruling Restricts Government Funding for Religious Schools,' *Oxford Journal of Law and Religion* 6, no. 3 (2017): 600–603; Richard Rymarz, 'Religious Education in Canadian Catholic Schools,' in *Global Perspectives on Catholic Religious Education in Schools* (Singapore: Springer, 2015), 257–68.

[13] Gerald M. Cattaro, 'Catholic Schools: Purpose, Presence, and Prophecy,' in *Gravissimum Educationis: Golden Opportunities in American Catholic Education 50 Years After Vatican II*, ed. Gerald M. Cattaro and Charles J. Russo (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 7.

[14] Buetow, *Of Singular Benefit*, 179.

[15] Cattaro, 'Catholic Schools,' 7.

[16] The Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA), 'Frequently Requested Church Statistics,' http://cara.georgetown.edu/frequently-requested-church-statistics.

[17] Philip Gleason, *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 282.

Catholic education and the need to move, in the words of Andrew Greeley, 'from the backwater to the mainstream.'[18] Notable among these was Msgr John Tracy Ellis, who criticized Catholic higher education for mediocrity and the duplication of efforts through the creation of 'numerous and competing' programmes without a national strategy.[19]

Given these challenges, would the council have anything to offer?

2. A Weak Text?

The Declaration on Christian Education is one of three declarations issued by the Second Vatican Council, along with *Dignitatis Humanae* and *Nostra Aetate*. Unlike the other two, however, *Gravissimum Educationis*, as Sean Whittle points out, 'received very little attention.'[20] Even texts detailing the history of Catholic education offer little to no direct treatment of the conciliar document on this precise topic. Joseph Ratzinger appears to sum up the opinion of many when he described the declaration as 'a rather weak document.'[21] Is this assessment correct? Is *Gravissimum Educationis* a weak link in the conciliar chain?

The final draft was approved in the fourth and final session of Vatican II with a vote of 2,290 to 35. With a little over 27,000 words in the official Latin, it is one of the shorter conciliar documents and covers 12 points.

The declaration was the fruit of the Conciliar Commission for Seminaries, Studies and Catholic Schools. From the beginning, prelates from North America played a leading role in the commission. Archbishop Patrick O'Boyle of Washington, DC, Archbishop John P. Cody of New Orleans (later Chicago), and Bishop Marius Paré of Chicoutimi, Quebec, were elected in the first session. They were later joined by Bishop John C. Cody of London, Ontario, and Bishop Loras T. Lane of Rockford, Illinois.

[18] Andrew M. Greeley, *From Backwater to Mainstream: A Profile of Catholic Higher Education* (Hightstown, NJ: McGraw-Hill, 1969).

[19] John Tracy Ellis, 'American Catholics and the Intellectual Life,' *Thought: Fordham University Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (1955): 351–88.

[20] Sean Whittle, 'Speaking Up for Gravissimum Educationis,' in *Vatican II and New Thinking about Catholic Education: The Impact and Legacy of Gravissimum Educationis*, ed. Sean Whittle (New York: Routledge, 2016), 23.

[21] Joseph Ratzinger, *Theological Highlights of Vatican II* (New York: Paulist Press, 1966), 254.

Over the course of the council, the scope of this schema evolved considerably in what Mauro Velati describes as 'a difficult and tortuous history.'[22] In 1962, the Council Secretariat asked the commission to develop two separate texts: *De sacrorum alumnis formandis*, on seminary formation, and *De studiis academicis et de scholis catholicis*, on Catholic schools and universities. Given the distinct realities facing higher education, the commission proposed dividing the second text into two separate documents: one on universities and one for other schools. Later, however, it was decided to propose only one document on Catholic schools, from the primary to tertiary levels. Eventually, the scope was broadened even more by including the challenge of forming Catholic children who do not attend Church schools. This move is reflected in the new title, 'Christian education,' an important change from the earlier focus on the Catholic school.

By the third session, with time and energy running low and in the midst of the so-called Black Week of the council, the draft of the schema confronted 'a vast array of criticisms' which reflected both the importance placed on the task of education by many bishops and the vast difference of local experiences, expectations, and, significantly, relationships to government funding.[23] Velati summarizes the debates and criticisms on the schema from various ideological camps and cultures, with some calling for 'a radical revision.'[24]

The bishops from the United States, including Spellman, Ritter, and Cody, supported having a short text that avoided potentially contentious debates. A short text, they argued, could give the directions for post-conciliar work by local bishops' conferences and a dicastery.[25] Not all participants agreed; Cardinal Paul Léger of Montreal, for example, called for a complete revision to make 'a veritable charter for Christian education and higher studies in the years to come.'[26] Eventually, those looking for a more modest approach won the day.

[22] Mauro Velati, 'Completing the Conciliar Agenda,' in *History of Vatican II*, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, vol. V (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1995), 199. See also Johannes Pohlschneider, 'Declaration on Christian Education,' in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Herbert Vorgrimler (London: Burns & Oates, 1969), 1–48.

[23] Velati, 'Completing the Conciliar Agenda,' 206.

[24] Velati, 'Completing the Conciliar Agenda,' 200.

[25] 'Text of Cardinal Spellman on Education Draft,' *Vatican II: 50 Years Ago Today* (blog), 19 Nov. 2014, https://vaticaniiat50.wordpress.com/2014/11/18/text-of-cardinal-spellman-on-education-draft.

[26] 'Canadian Cardinal Seeks "Modern Charter of Christian Education,"' *Vatican II: 50 Years Ago Today* (blog), 20 Nov. 2014, https://vaticaniiat50.wordpress.com/2014/11/19/canadian-cardinal-seeks-modern-charter-of-christian-education.

As a result of this broad, holistic framework, the short declaration is unable to go beyond principles and affirmations. Those seeking specific instructions on how to organize a Catholic school, university, or catechetical programme for adults will not find much direction here.

Despite these limitations, the text offers some helpful directions. The first half of *Gravissimum Educationis* (1–6) is grounded in a rights-based approach to education. This foundation reflects many of the developments in the decades leading up to Vatican II. Notable among these was the growing awareness of the universal right to education, which had only recently been affirmed in article 26 of the United Nations' (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and subsequently affirmed by the Declaration on the Rights of the Child of 1959 and the 1963 encyclical of John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*. (The two UN texts are cited in footnotes 3 and 5 of *Gravissimum Educationis*.)

Paragraph 1 begins with a clear affirmation that all people 'have an inalienable right to education' (GE 1). Approaching the topic of education by beginning with the rights of children is an important departure from Pius XI's teaching in *Divini Illius Magistri*.[27] Though *Gravissimum Educationis* echoes the earlier text in affirming the rights and obligations of parents and the Church (GE 3, 6), it begins with the rights of children to receive an education, a point that is missing from the 1929 encyclical.

Paragraph 2 extends the right to education to 'a right to Christian education.' Parents, the state, and the Church all have a role to play in ensuring this right is met (GE 2, 3). For the bishops from the United States, a particular concern here was state funding of Catholic schools. Without losing their autonomy, the US Catholic Church leaders had long sought taxpayer support for the education they provided, which they saw as offering a public service. This had been the basis of a number of court cases covering both direct and indirect (e.g., transportation) support of faith-based schools.[28]

In addressing the draft text on 17 November 1964, both Cardinal Spellman of New York and Cardinal Ritter emphasized the benefits offered by Catholic schools to their societies. These institutions, according to Ritter, do not exist 'to protect the selfish interests of the Church …

[27] Pius XI, *Divini Illius Magistri*, On Christian Education (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1929), http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_31121929_divini-illius-magistri.html

[28] Charles J. Russo, 'A Legal History of American Roman Catholic Schools,' in *Gravissimum Educationis: Golden Opportunities in American Catholic Education 50 Years after Vatican II*, eds. Gerald M. Cattaro and Charles J. Russo (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 29–44.

Rather they stand as an expression of free choice and liberal sacrifice … for God and country as well as for families and the Church itself.'[29] For Spellman, parents 'should not in consequence of their choice be subject to unjust economic burdens which would infringe upon this freedom of choice.'[30]

The second half of *Gravissimum Educationis* (GE 7–12) addresses specifically Catholic education, from primary schools to universities. The declaration offers a more engaging and optimistic tone than *Divini Illius Magistri*. Catholic education, we read, is *in* the world, not apart from it. This section offers several points that are particularly relevant to the North American context.

First, the text acknowledges that the Church must find ways to support the 'great numbers' of Catholics who are not enrolled in Catholic schools or universities and urges the creation of associations and programmes to serve them (GE 7, 10). In the United States and Canada, where increasing numbers of Catholics attended non-Catholic colleges, this meant finding ways to support Catholic student clubs, such as Newman Clubs, and what would later be described as campus ministry. This was a shift for the American Church, which was previously reluctant to support Catholic clubs or chaplains, as this might take away from Church-sponsored institutions.[31]

Second, *Gravissimum Educationis* affirms the value of different types of Catholic schools operating with different models according to 'local circumstances' (GE 9). Some of these, the declaration points out, will serve large numbers of non-Catholics. Catholic education, we can clearly read, is not limited to serving Catholics or educating in faith. There is attention, in particular, to serving the poor, even if they are not Catholic.

Third, the text affirms academic freedom in Catholic universities. Research in specific areas 'should be prepared according to their own principles, method, and liberty of scientific inquiry, in such a way that an ever deeper understanding in these fields may be obtained' (GE 10). The development of this point was not without debate and controversy, especially by those who sought to frame Thomism as the main guiding philosophy for Catholic higher education. Here, voices from North America helped to affirm academic freedom. In an important intervention in the third session, Cardinal Léger called for a 'shift of suspicion

[29] 'Text of Cardinal Ritter on Education Draft.'
[30] 'Text of Cardinal Spellman on Education Draft.'
[31] Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 24.

of theologians to encouragement and trust.'[32] 'Our schools and their professors and students,' Ritter urged, 'must pursue the truth boldly and freely without fear … Catholic schools and universities must not only be free from unjust external coaction and coercion but must be models of Christian freedom within their own walls.'[33]

Fourth, the text affirms the social responsibility of Catholic schools. The Church's educational institutions have a mission to promote the common good, to assist students in becoming 'a saving leaven in the human community,' to foster 'the dialogue between the Church and humanity,' and to care 'for the needs of those who are poor in the goods of this world or who are deprived of the assistance and affection of a family or who are strangers to the gift of faith' (GE 8–9). This social aspect takes on a special dimension in the Church's tertiary institutions. Catholic colleges and universities ought to be 'readily available to students of real promise, even though they may be of slender means' (GE 10).

Finally, the declaration concludes with a call for greater collaboration across institutions at the local, national, and international level: 'every means should be employed to foster suitable cooperation between Catholic schools, and between these and other schools that collaboration should be developed which the good of all mankind requires' (GE 12). This collaboration should also include universities working together in research and even an 'exchange of professors' (GE 12).

Taken as a whole, *Gravissimum Educationis* presents both an optimistic and holistic view of education and the Church's role in this field of growing importance. The concise declaration, as Cattaro points out, was 'not meant to define concepts, explain critical elements of the teaching, or prove points. Rather, its goal was to move hearts.'[34] The authors envisioned that these tasks would be taken up by post-conciliar bodies.

A decade following *Gravissimum Educationis*, the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education issued *The Catholic School* (1977), which some see as reflecting the 'the full flowering of Vatican II *aggiornamento*' on education.[35] Citing the conciliar declaration in 10 of its

[32] Velati, 'Completing the Conciliar Agenda,' 202. See Léger's address in *Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani II* (Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1973), III/8, 398–422.

[33] 'Text of Cardinal Ritter on Education Draft.'

[34] Michael Garanzini, 'American Catholic Higher Education: A Qualified Success,' in *Gravissimum Educationis: Golden Opportunities in American Catholic Education 50 Years after Vatican II*, eds. Gerald M. Cattaro and Charles J. Russo (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 95.

[35] Whittle, 'Speaking Up for Gravissimum Educationis,' 18.

48 footnotes, *The Catholic School* offers a more detailed look at educational institutions organized by the Church. The declaration is also referenced in subsequent texts, including *Lay Catholics in Schools: Witnesses to Faith* (1982).

But what does this text mean for Catholic education in a local context like the United States and Canada, where the Church's educational work, once a major source of identity, is undergoing change?

3. Crisis and Creativity

At a 1991 conference at Fordham University, Cardinal Joseph Bernardin spoke to the identity crisis facing Catholic institutional ministries in the post-conciliar era. Such institutions, by their nature, 'live with one foot firmly planted in the Catholic Church and the other in our pluralistic society. It should come as no surprise, then, when the competing vision and value systems of the "tectonic" plates on which they stand are in tension … shifts in the plates cause tremors.'[36] Over the past five decades, Catholic institutions have struggled to maintain this delicate balance in the face of four seismic shifts.

First, Catholic education, from primary schools to universities, has been confronted with a decline in religious vocations over the past five decades. This well-documented shift represents a major challenge to an educational system that was established and sustained by religious women and men for decades. While the Catholic population in the United States has grown over the past 50 years, the number of religious sisters has decreased: from 160,931 just after the council in 1970 to 39,452 in 2021. Vowed brothers have seen a more drastic drop: from 11,623 to only 3,832 in the same time period.[37] At the same time, as Alice Gallin pointed out, many religious women (and men) in the post-conciliar period moved away from ministries in institutional settings, such as schools, to other forms of ministry.[38]

The consequences of this shift for education are considerable. Religious congregations have relinquished sponsorship or closed long-established schools, often with painful periods of transition. Countless schools have

[36] Joseph Bernardin, 'Catholic Institutions and Their Identity,' *Origins* 21, no. 2 (1991): 33–36.

[37] CARA, 'Frequently Requested Church Statistics.'

[38] Gallin, *Negotiating Identity*, 95.

transitioned from religious to lay leadership in a relatively short period of time, presenting challenges in both formation and financing. Remarkably, children may now attend Catholic schools and universities for their entire life and never encounter a vowed religious, something that would have been unimaginable at the time of the council.

A second, seismic shift facing Catholic educational institutions relates to growing organizational complexities with the creation of independent boards. Beginning before the council, universities were pressured by outside agencies to transfer control away from centralized religious leadership. Centralized models were perceived as being in conflict with the principles of academic freedom and faculty governance. The College of New Rochelle was one of the first to make this shift, transferring control to an independent corporation in 1958. In the two decades following the council, nearly every Catholic college in the United States would make this move to independence. This, as Alice Gallin argues, was a result of both practical and philosophical moves.

The philosophical arguments for lay boards were expressed at the oft-cited Land O' Lakes meeting in 1967 (all men, mostly all clerics, and with no representation of women's colleges). There, participants echoed some of the earlier concerns by John Tracy Ellis on academic excellence. For them, this necessitated 'true autonomy and academic freedom in the face of authority of whatever kind, lay or clerical, external to the academic community itself.'[39]

At a more practical level, outside accreditation agencies and governmental authorities put pressure on colleges to become independent. This was particularly the case in New York, where the state in 1967 created a new source of funding for students at private colleges and universities, a promising lifeboat to many of the institutions in the face of rising enrollments, costs, and expectations. To be eligible for this 'Bundy money,' however, colleges needed to prove they were in compliance with the Blaine amendment of the state constitution, which barred funding to religiously controlled colleges.[40] As a result, nearly all the Catholic colleges in New York State separately incorporated within a few years. Colleges across the country transferred ownership to lay boards

[39] Alice Gallin, ed., 'Land O' Lakes Statement: The Nature of the Contemporary Catholic University (1967),' in *American Catholic Higher Education: Essential Documents, 1967–1990* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 7–12.

[40] Alice Gallin, *Negotiating Identity: Catholic Higher Education since 1960* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), 52.

of trustees in the following years, in what might be seen as the largest voluntary transfer of Church property.[41] Though largely positive, this transfer of power and property raises the question of how an institution with a lay board, whose members may not necessarily be Catholic or trained in the mission, would maintain identity, ecclesial recognition, and links to the founding congregation.

Third, institutions must contend with frictions within the Catholic community. From the 'Curran affair' at the Catholic University of America in the late 1960s to the awarding of honorary degrees to political figures with a pro-abortion position, Catholic institutions are often at the centre of debates on the correct interpretation of the Second Vatican Council.[42] This became a major point of concern in the 1990s as bishops, professors, and university presidents entered into a long debate over the application of *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* to the United States context.[43]

In some cases, self-appointed watchdog groups, such as the Cardinal Newman Society in the United States, have been created to determine which universities and schools are 'faithfully Catholic.'[44] Only 17 of the more than 220 Catholic colleges in the United States make the Newman list, and many of these often reflect what has been described as the 'Benedict option,' emphasizing thick identity boundaries between themselves and the secular world.[45] Some have exercised this option with new movements for Catholic home schooling.

A fourth and no less important shift in recent decades comes from the growing realities of pluralism. As *Gravissimum Educationis* acknowledges, Catholic schools are not just for Catholics. As many white Catholics moved out of the cities and into the middle class, urban Catholic schools served a growing number of non-Catholics. For many colleges and universities, growing numbers of young adults who identify themselves as 'nones' (not affiliated with any religion) are applying both for admissions as students and for faculty and staff positions. A recent survey

[41] Gleason, *Contending with Modernity*, 314.

[42] Mark S. Massa, 'The Charles Curran Affair,' in *The American Catholic Revolution: How the Sixties Changed the Church Forever* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[43] USCCB, 'The Application for Ex Corde Ecclesiae for the United States,' 1 June 2000, http://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/how-we-teach/catholic-education/higher-education/the-application-for-ex-corde-ecclesiae-for-the-united-states.cfm.

[44] Dan Morris-Young, 'Cardinal Newman Society Takes on Watchdog Role for Catholic Identity,' *National Catholic Reporter*, 21 Nov. 2012, https://www.ncronline.org/news/parish/cardinal-newman-society-takes-watchdog-role-catholic-identity.

[45] Rod Dreher, *The Benedict Option: A Strategy for Christians in a Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Penguin, 2017).

of college freshmen found that only 46.7 per cent of students at Catholic colleges identify as Catholic, with 18.3 percent identifying as atheist, agnostic, or none.[46]

For schools and universities with a founding or sponsoring religious congregation, one response to the growing reality of pluralism and decreasing number of vowed religious has been to emphasize congregational charism.[47] Sharing the charism becomes a way to involve non-vowed members in the work, with a vocabulary that may be more attractive to both non-Catholic faculty and outside agencies. An unintended side effect that needs more attention is when faculty identify themselves with labels associated with the charism but not with 'Catholic.' David O'Brien wrote about this in a 1994 *America* article entitled 'Jesuit Si, Catholic … Not So Sure.'[48] Given the sexual abuse crisis, it is not surprising that terms like 'Dominican,' 'Vincentian,' 'Jesuit,' or 'Lasallian' carry less baggage than 'Catholic.'

For some observers, these seismic shifts in the post-conciliar period reflect a deep crisis in the formal structures of Catholic education. From a purely numbers perspective, this seems to be the case. The number of Catholic elementary schools in the United States has dropped from 9,366 in 1970 to a little over 4,853 in 2021: a 48.18 per cent decrease. More alarming, perhaps, is the change in students enrolled: from 3.4 million to 1.3 million, a 67.65 per cent decline. But these numbers tell only part of the story.[49]

In the midst of this perceived crisis, there are several hopeful elements in the form of creative initiatives, many of which echo some of the key points raised by *Gravissimum Educationis* and enumerated above. Several of these are worth highlighting.

Leadership development programmes: At the heart of the Declaration on Christian Education is a message for the Church to take education seriously. In this regard, a number of initiatives aimed at professional

[46] Ellen Bara Stolzenberg et al., *The American Freshman: National Norms Fall 2019* (Los Angeles: University of California Higher Education Research Institute Graduate School of Education & Information Studies, 2020), 37, https://www.heri.ucla.edu/monographs/TheAmericanFreshman2019.pdf.

[47] Susan M. Sanders, 'Charisms, Congregational Sponsors, and Catholic Higher Education,' *Journal of Catholic Higher Education* 29, no. 1 (2010): 3–18.

[48] David O'Brien, '"Jesuit Si, Catholic Not So Sure" Revisited,' *Conversations on Jesuit Higher Education* 46, no. 1 (2014): 9.

[49] CARA, 'Frequently Requested Church Statistics.'

and curricular development, as suggested in the post-conciliar texts, have been created. Lay people in particular now have access to advanced degree programmes in ministry and religious education that were not available before the council. These have also helped to bring forth new approaches and models to catechetical education, such as the Catechesis of the Good Shepherd, which nurtures the religious potential of children.[50]

Campus ministry leadership: The declaration's attention to the importance of providing spiritual resources to students in non-Catholic schools can be seen in the development of many campus ministry programmes. The Canadian Catholic Campus Ministry and the Catholic Campus Ministry Association aim to network and support many of these efforts. Unfortunately, this is an area that still needs attention. One notable recent effort is the ESTEEM (Engaging Students to Enliven the Ecclesial Mission) programme, a joint effort by the St. Thomas More Catholic Chapel and Center at Yale University and the Leadership Roundtable. ESTEEM is working at eight major campuses in the United States, with the aim of forming lay leadership among college students to serve the Church now and in the future.[51]

Charism-based networks: In the final paragraph of *Gravissimum Educationis*, the council calls for the creation of more partnerships across educational institutions. Over the past decade, a number of horizontal networks have been created to link institutions based in a shared charism. In the past, the links between Catholic institutions were largely facilitated through vertical links from a priest or a vowed religious in a specific institution to the leadership of the diocese or sponsoring congregation. Over the past five decades, an increasing number of horizontal networks have been created to connect leaders and other parts of institutions both nationally and globally. This has enormous potential for strengthening identity. Now it is possible, for example, for a lay faculty member at a Jesuit University in California to directly engage her counterparts at a Jesuit institution in Australia without involving a vowed Jesuit. These networks also provide important spaces for formation across different levels of education. The Buttimer Institute of Lasallian Studies, for example, is

[50] See the Catechesis of the Good Shepherd website, https://www.cgsusa.org.

[51] Robert Beloin, 'From Small Church Communities to Vibrant Catholic Life at Yale University,' in *God's Quad: Small Faith Communities on Campus and Beyond*, eds. Kevin Ahern and Christopher Derige Malano (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2018), 157–64.

an intensive three-year 'education and formation program that studies the life, work and spirituality of Saint John Baptist de La Salle and the origins of the Lasallian educational mission.'[52]

Partnership networks across levels: The declaration's call to build partnerships can also be seen in the innovative partnerships by universities to support Catholic primary and secondary schools. In 1993, the University of Notre Dame launched the Alliance for Catholic Education; among other programmes, it offers two-year teaching fellowships to support underresourced Catholic schools across the United States. With similar concerns, Boston College launched the Roche Center for Catholic Education to 'accompany educators and leaders to reinvigorate, revitalize, and breathe new life into Catholic schools and communities through a commitment to educating students as whole persons and building a socially just and equitable world.'[53]

Creative models for the common good: While it was not as strong as some may have wanted, *Gravissimum Educationis* did emphasize the social responsibility of the Catholic school, especially to the poor, a mission often hampered in the United States by the difficulty in funding Catholic education. In response to this mission, a number of new models have emerged with creative funding models, including the following:

- Since the 1970s, the Jesuits and Lasallian Brothers have developed the Nativity and San Miguel School model to an intensive middle school education for low-income students. Today, there are close to 50 schools using this model in the United States and Canada.[54]
- In 1996, the Jesuits launched Christo Rey high school as a creative approach to secondary education for low-income students, with private-sector donors funding the schools with a corporate work-study programme. This model has been adopted by 37 schools linked in a national network that serves over 13,000 students with limited economic resources.[55]

[52] 'Buttimer,' Lasallian Region of North America, https://lasallian.info/programs-events/buttimer.

[53] 'About,' Roche Center for Catholic Education, Boston College website, https://www.bc.edu/bc-web/schools/lynch-school/sites/roche/About.html.

[54] 'What We Do,' NativityMiguel Coalition website, https://www.nativitymiguel.org/what-we-do.

[55] Megan Sweas, *Putting Education to Work: How Cristo Rey High Schools Are Transforming Urban Education* (New York: Harper Collins, 2014); Cristo Rey Network website, 'Mission and History,' https://www.cristoreynetwork.org/about/mission-history.

- Building on the Christo Rey model, Jesuits at Loyola University Chicago in 2015 launched Arrupe College to provide a two-year associate's degree to students who would otherwise not be able to afford higher education. This model, which creatively receives government funds, has been replicated in the growing Come to Believe Network.[56]
- In 2013, a new creative initiative to partner Catholic education with charter schooling emerged when Seton Education Partners launched Brilla College Prep, a network of five publicly funded charter schools in New York and Texas. These schools, housed in former parish schools, are then paired with privately funded, optional Catholic after-school programmes.[57]

Unfortunately, these creative models for the common good initiatives growing out of the social and ethical mission of Catholic education have been diminished by instances where schools do not appear to live up to the values they profess. This has been particularly visible in high-profile cases where Catholic schools and universities prevent faculty and staff from unionizing, in the firing of LGBTQ faculty, in the failure to address legacies of racial discrimination and abuse, and in the failure of schools to embody the Church's social teaching in their financial decisions and investments.[58] The failure of Catholic schools and universities to embody ethics and social justice lead many to question how seriously they take the principles of Catholic education.

4. Conclusion

While it is often overlooked and is regarded by many as one of the weaker texts of Vatican II, *Gravissimum Educationis* offers an integral vision of education that remains relevant today as Catholic education in North America faces overlapping questions of identity, mission, and sustainability. Ultimately, the modest path taken by the council was

[56] Stephen Katsouros, *Come to Believe: How the Jesuits Are Reinventing Education (Again)* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2017). Come to Believe Network website, 'About, https://www.ctbnetwork.org.

[57] Seton Education Partners website, 'Our Charter Schools,' https://www.setonpartners.org/what-we-do/schools/charter-schools.

[58] See Gerald J. Beyer, *Just Universities: Catholic Social Teaching Confronts Corporatized Higher Education* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2021).

providential. Had the document offered a more systematic and detailed treatment of the nature and meaning of Catholic education, as some wanted, it is very likely that such a text may not have withstood the seismic shifts in Catholic education over the past five decades. Instead, the modest declaration, with a holistic and positive tone, lays out a number of broad principles that continue to serve as directional signs posts for the future. Many of these—from the declaration's affirmation of Christian education outside of explicitly Catholic institutions to its support for greater cooperation and partnership across schools and universities—can be seen in the new creative models that have emerged in the region.

These new models, which embody many elements of the conciliar renewal, offer counterwitness to those narratives that focus only on the demise of Catholic education and to those seeking to reduce the Church's educational mission only to a protected enclave. As Catholic education in the region continues to evolve with creative responses in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, *Gravissimum Educationis* remains a useful, albeit modest, resource that should not be forgotten.

GRAVISSIMUM EDUCATIONIS AND CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA

PETA GOLDBURG

The Declaration on Christian Education (*Gravissimum Educationis*), promulgated in the waning days of the Second Vatican Council on 24 October 1965, was passed with 2,290 votes in favour and 35 against. One of only three declarations, this short text, described as 'one of the lesser fruits'[1] of the council, highlighted the important place education held within the life of the Church during the 1960s, when increased access to knowledge enabled greater social mobility in many countries. Consisting of only 16 paragraphs, approximately 5,500 words, *Gravissimum Educationis* did not arouse much interest at the time of its publication; nevertheless, ideas generated in the document have had a significant influence on the documents issued by the Congregation for Catholic Education in the post-conciliar period and also on Catholic education in Australia.

The Australian bishops made two interventions related to *Gravissimum Educationis* during the third session of the council in 1964. The first, from Cardinal Gilroy, supported the right of parents as a matter of justice[2] to send their children to schools 'independent of the State.'[3] The second intervention, from the Australian Bishops' Conference, raised the concern that the definition of the 'truly Catholic school' was 'too rigid' and did 'not pertain to Australia.' They suggested that the definition be recrafted so that it was 'closer to reality.'[4] The suggestion of the Australian Bishops' Conference was that 'the purpose of the truly Catholic school should be stated explicitly … because [Catholic schools] … are absolutely necessary

[1] Sean Whittle, 'Speaking up for Gravissimum Educationis,' in *Vatican II and New Thinking about Catholic Education: The Impact and Legacy of Gravissimum Educationis*, ed. Sean Whittle (London: Routledge, 2016), 23–36.

[2] *Acta Synodalia Sacrosauch Concili Oecumenici Vaticani II*, III/8: 489. Translation in Jeffrey J. Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II: 1959-65' (PhD diss., Griffith University, 2001), 459.

[3] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 459.

[4] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 461.

today for the Catholic faith to be strengthened in the world.'[5] The bishops argued that Catholic schools offer an education which is distinct from government schools by instilling 'Christian spirit' and 'apostolic spirit.'[6] The bishops also addressed the specific needs of Catholic schools in Australia, arguing that Catholic schools should accept 'subsidies from government funds (cf. decree 10 in the schema *On Catholic Schools*)'[7] if they were to survive into the future. The bishops offered three reasons for requiring government funding: 'to offer the appropriate means to all Catholic students in Catholic schools; to provide truly skilled teachers in all Catholic schools; and to provide and maintain the best level of education in all Catholic schools.'[8] They argued that the subsidies should be available to 'all truly Catholic schools, both lower and upper, without exception.'[9]

The Australian bishops' intervention arose out of the experience of Catholic education in Australia and the struggle to provide suitable education for children across the country. While Catholic schools had existed in Australian since the early 1800s, and in some instances state governments provided small financial grants for the purchase of land, buildings, and salaries, the relationship between the government and the Church was not always amicable. In 1872, the Victorian State Parliament was the first in the British colony to pass the Secular Education Act, which stated that education should be 'free, public and secular.' The Australian interpretation of secular was (and continues to be) quite narrow, with the authorities insisting that all curriculum content should be free of religious content.

In New South Wales, the 1880 Public Instruction Act stated that all teaching in government schools should be 'secular instruction' but also indicated that 'general religious' teaching could take place as long as it was free from dogmatic or polemical theology. The Act decreed that

> In every Public School four hours during each school-day shall be devoted to secular instruction exclusively and a portion of each day not more than one hour shall be set apart when the children of any one religious persuasion may be instructed by the clergyman or other religious teacher of such persuasion but in all cases the pupils receiving such religious instruction shall be separated from the other pupils of the school.[10]

[5] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 461.
[6] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 461.
[7] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 461.
[8] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 461.
[9] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 461.
[10] New South Wales, An Act to make more adequate provision for Public Education, 17, 16 Apr. 1880, http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/nsw/num_act/piao1880n9275.pdf.

It is interesting that the Act provided opportunity for students to study religion but the Catholic Church objected to education being controlled by secular authorities and so continued to establish separate schools where the teaching of religion was carried out according to Church teaching. Archbishop Vaughan of Sydney, to deter Catholic parents from sending their children to public schools, condemned the 'principle of secularist education,' saying that public schools were 'seedplots of future immorality, infidelity and lawlessness.'[11] Not only did the Act perpetuate the separation of government and Church schools, but also it radically weakened the general teaching of religion in public schools. Other states soon followed suit with their own education acts; after a protracted debate, government schools continued to be funded while independent schools, especially Catholic ones, were left to fend for themselves.

By the 1950s, the number of Catholic schools had increased, and the cost of operating these schools by the Catholic population was significant. Catholic communities across the country began a campaign of political action urging the government to provide some funding for Catholic schools. Despite the fact that funding for Catholic schools was a major concern, the Bishops of Oceania made no reference to funding for Catholic schools in their *vota* in response to the letter dated 18 June 1959 from the Secretary of State, Cardinal Tardini, inviting bishops of the world to propose any suggestions for the agenda of the forthcoming council.[12]

By the 1960s, the funding situation for Catholic schools was desperate: school buildings needed repair, classrooms were severely overcrowded, and there were not enough teachers. After a series of unsuccessful requests, Church authorities in the Canberra-Goulburn diocese closed all Catholic schools on 16 July 1962 and told Catholic parents to enrol their children at the local government school. Two thousand children sought enrolment at Goulburn's six government schools, which could take only 640 children. With less than a third of these children able to be accommodated in government schools, the government found the projected cost of providing for all the Catholic children prohibitive. Consequently, the government decided to offer some funding so the Canberra-Goulburn Catholic Schools Strike, as it came to be known, lasted for one week of its planned six weeks before Catholic schools reopened.

[11] Ronald Fogarty, *Catholic Education in Australia 1906–1950: Catholic Schools and the Denominational System* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1959), 250.

[12] Translations of the Oceania bishops' *vota* can be found in Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 322–96.

This strike is considered the catalyst for federal funding to all Catholic schools throughout Australia. Under significant pressure from parents and wide publicity in the media, the attitude of the government toward funding to non-government schools shifted, and by 1964, funding for science blocks and libraries in independent and religious schools began. Today, the combined funding of federal and state governments for Catholic schools is approximately 70 to 75 per cent.[13] The fight for government funding for Catholic schools in Australia came to a head as the Second Vatican Council began and was not addressed in any significant way until 1964.

1. *Gravissimum Educationis*

For the first six drafts, this document had the title *The Catholic School*, but when the bishops realized there was not enough time to deal with university education separately, the text was broadened to encompass all Christian education. The new Latin title, *Gravissimum Educationis* ('the importance of education'), moved to encompass a broader meaning, including general upbringing, formal schooling, and tertiary education.

The declaration comments on the role education plays within the Church and the influence it has on the 'formation of the human person' (GE 1) and on how Christian education should be informed by the latest advances in 'psychology and the arts, and the science of teaching' (GE 1). The document differentiates education in general from Christian formation, proposing a holistic approach to education founded on Christian humanism (GE 2). The Church has a duty to education because 'she has the responsibility of announcing the way of salvation to all people, of communicating the life of Christ to those who believe, and, in her unfailing solicitude, of assisting humankind to be able to come to the fullness of this life' (GE 3).

Echoing the language of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the document speaks of the rights of children to have access to adequate education and to avoid a monopoly on the type of school provided (GE 6). This idea is reflective of Cardinal Gilroy's support of Cardinal Spellman's (USA) intervention that the civil state should support 'parents who send their children to schools independent of the State.'[14]

[13] National Catholic Education Commission, 'School Funding,' https://www.ncec.catholic.edu.au.

[14] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 459.

Consistent with papal writings since Pope Leo XIII, *Gravissimum Educationis* highlights the serious obligation parents have as the 'primary and principal educators' of their children (GE 3). Consonant with the pastoral tone of the Council's Constitutions, and in line with the principle of subsidiarity, it requires the state to protect the 'duties and rights of parents,' emphasizing that education falls within the intersection of Church–state relations (GE 3). It notes the civic ends of education as a social force and the right of parents to choose how to educate their children, which should be supported by the granting of public subsidies.

The argument for public subsidies to Catholic schools was presented by Archbishop Beck of Liverpool and signed by 35 English-speaking bishops, including Australians Gilroy, McCabe, Toohey, Thomas, Launcelot Goody, Jobst, Stewart, Beovich, and Cahill. Beck's intervention states:

> There is another argument for paying a subsidy to Catholic schools … from public accounts. The argument is not in fact proposed from strict justice, but from the grateful mind of those who control the state. Similarly, when civil governors foster denominational schools they likewise in practice show that they are fosterers of the principle of religious freedom and tolerance (even towards minorities).[15]

Gravissimum Educationis identifies different types of Catholic schools, such as 'professional and technical schools, centers for educating adults and promoting social welfare, or for the retarded [sic] in need of special care, and also schools for preparing teachers for religious instruction and other types of education' (GE 9). These schools should be open and receptive to children who are not Catholic, especially 'those who are poor' (GE 9). Where Catholic schools are not available, the document notes that civic authorities are encouraged to respect religious freedom and ensure that the education provided is consonant with the moral religious principles of families.

The Australian bishops' intervention during the third session of the council focused on school education, particularly primary education. This reflects the history of the Catholic Church in Australia, where clergy believed that lifelong commitment to Catholicism was assured if young people engaged in a 'comprehensive system of Catholic education,' and if they were 'instructed with care, the greatest part of the students remain good Catholics.'[16] While the bishops made passing reference to secondary

[15] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 440.
[16] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 462.

education in the statement 'up to their 18th year,'[17] primary education was considered a necessity but secondary education was a luxury. It was mainly female religious orders such as the Sisters of Mercy and the Dominican Sisters who established secondary schools; more often than not, these were built on convent rather than parish land. In many instances, these same female religious orders established teachers' colleges[18] so that their own women, and eventually lay people, could be educated as teachers for religious institute schools and parish primary schools.

The comment of the Australian bishops that 'if a young person is not well trained in the Catholic faith up to his 18th year, no Catholic university whatsoever will train him afterwards'[19] is indicative of the emphasis placed on primary school education and the lack of a Catholic university in Australia at the time. The bishops continued their critique of establishing Catholic universities throughout the world, recommending 'sobriety' and stating that establishing universities is 'wrongly placed, especially since a relatively small part of young people in fact go to universities, either Catholic or public ones.'[20] These statements highlight the demographic and working-class lineage of Catholics in Australia at the time.

It was to be another 30 years before the first Catholic University in Australia was established in 1991, when the government moved to close Colleges of Advanced Education or to transfer existing courses to universities. Catholic teachers' colleges spread across the capital cities of the eastern seaboard amalgamated to form Australian Catholic University.

For all the criticism *Gravissimum Educationis* received, the full significance of the document is not found in the text itself but rather in the charter it established for future documents published by the Congregation for Catholic Education.

[17] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 462.

[18] When Pupil Teacher education programs closed, teachers' colleges were established by the Sisters of Mercy: Melbourne (Mercy College) in 1909, East Ballarat (Aquinas College) in 1909, and Brisbane (McAuley College) in 1955; and by the Dominican Sisters: Maitland in 1926 and Canberra in 1955 (Signadou Teachers College).

[19] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 462.

[20] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 462.

2. Congregation for Catholic Education

Building on the charter established in *Gravissimum Educationis*, documents from the Congregation for Catholic Education highlight five themes emerging from the Council: anthropology, dialogue, the role of teachers, religious education, and the identity of Catholic schools. These themes pose challenges for contemporary Catholic education in Australia.

2.1. *Anthropology*

Pope Francis, in his 2015 encyclical *Laudato Si'*, is adamant that no amount of education will succeed unless we establish a new way of thinking about human beings (LS 214). Recent documents from the Congregation of Catholic Education, such as *Educating Today and Tomorrow: A Renewing Passion* (2014), recognize that anthropology is in crisis.[21] The document states:

> First of all, we must express the anthropology underpinning our educational vision for the 21st century in different terms: it is a philosophical anthropology that must also be an anthropology of truth, i.e. a social anthropology whereby man [sic] is seen in his relations and way of being; an anthropology of recollection and promise; an anthropology that refers to the cosmos and cares about sustainable development; and, even more, an anthropology that refers to God. (section III)

Educating to Fraternal Humanism (2017) reminds us that social questions are also anthropological questions and therefore one needs to 'humanize education, that is, putting the person at the centre of education, in a framework of relationships that make up a living community, which is interdependent and bound to a common destiny' (8).

Anthropology and education are closely linked. Levinson reminds us that 'now more than ever our schools overwhelmingly seek to create the economically competent or adaptable worker, not the democratic or intercultural citizen.'[22] Lane recommends that Catholic educators need to 'overcome the gap between the natural world and the human world that

[21] Dermot Lane, 'Anthropology in the Service of Hope,' *The Furrow* (Jan. 2018): 8–16.

[22] Bradley Levison, 'Citizenship, Identity, Democracy: Engaging the Political in the Anthropology of Education,' *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (2005): 329.

has been allowed to develop since the enlightenment.'[23] If Catholic education is to reconstruct and rehabilitate anthropology, it needs to engage with a 'plurality of anthropologies and not just one model of what it means to be human because we live in and out of a plurality of identities.'[24] Pedagogically, the challenge is for students and teachers to apply critical pedagogy by examining positions and counter-positions, investigating and critiquing so that nothing is taken for granted.

2.2. *Dialogue*

The theme of dialogue evident in *Nostra Aetate* (Decree on Relations with non-Christian Religions) and *Unitatis Redintegratio* (Decree on Ecumenism) is also evident in *Gravissimum Educationis*, when the Catholic school is challenged to foster dialogue between 'the Church and mankind [sic] to the benefit of both' (GE 8). This idea of dialogue has become prominent in the more recent documents issued by the Congregation for Catholic Education.

In *Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living in Harmony for a Civilization of Love* [EIDCS] (2013), the Congregation says that schools bear a great responsibility to develop intercultural dialogue in their pedagogical vision (Introduction). Remaining faithful to the task entrusted to them at the council, schools are also encouraged to move along the path to intercultural dialogue. The Congregation reminds us that religion makes a distinct contribution to intercultural dialogue when 'God has a place in the public realm' (EIDCS 11). In such circumstances, the need for dialogue is important. Dialogue, it says, 'is not just talking, but includes all beneficial and constructive interreligious relationships, with both individuals and communities of other beliefs, thus arriving at mutual understanding' (EIDCS 13). Consequently, intercultural education should not be divorced from one's own religious identity. Catholic schools are called to teach and to 'practise the "'grammar of dialogue"' (EIDCS 57). For most teachers, implementing dialogic pedagogies requires not only a change in their discourse but also a shift in

[23] Dermot Lane, 'Catholic Education in the Light of Vatican II: Anthropology and Catholic Education,' in *Vatican II and New Thinking About Catholic Education: The Impact and Legacy of Gravissimum Educationis*, ed. Sean Whittle (London: Routledge, 2017), 123–35, at 131.

[24] Dermot Lane, *Catholic Education in the Light of Vatican II and Laudato Si'* (Dublin: Veritas, 2015), 61–62.

their knowledge and beliefs about teaching, the role of dialogue in learning, and its potential benefit for students.

The theme of dialogue is again addressed as one of the challenges for Catholic schools in the Congregation's 2014 document *Educating Today and Tomorrow*: 'Catholic schools should … through dialogue … present [young people] with a view regarding the Other and others that is open, peaceful and enticing' (Challenges (c)). In *Education to Fraternal Humanism*, the Congregation says that 'true dialogue takes place within an ethical framework of requirements and attitudes for formation … to find answers to the challenges of our time' (12). Catholic education is challenged to engage with a variety of dialogical frameworks because, as Lane warns, 'Without attention to dialogue and inculturation we run the risk of handing on the content of the faith without faith.'[25] Educationally, dialogical processes must give emphasis to the agency of students and develop skills of analysis, critique, and praxis and should be grounded in, and reflective of, education epistemologies rather than only theological epistemologies.

2.3. *The Role of Teachers*

According to *Gravissimum Educationis*, teachers should be professionally qualified and witness to Christ the Teacher (GE 8). In Australia, up until the mid-20th century, the identity and mission of Catholic schools was largely dependent on the leadership and presence of religious sisters and brothers. With the decline in religious vocations and with religious orders prioritizing their mission in ministries other than education, the Congregation for Catholic Education responded to the signs of the times by addressing a document specifically to laity. *Lay Catholics in Schools: Witnesses to Faith* reminded teachers: 'The Lay Catholic educator is a person who exercises a specific mission within the Church by living, in faith, a secular vocation in the communitarian structure of the school … giving spiritual inspiration to the educational community of which he or she is a member, as well as to all the different persons related to the educational community' (24).

[25] Lane, *Catholic Education in the Light of Vatican II and Laudato Si'*, 66.

Later, in 2013, the Congregation focused specific attention on lay leaders in schools by highlighting the importance of formation and vocation:

> For those who occupy positions of leadership, there can be a strong temptation to consider the school like a company or business. School leaders are more than just managers of an organization. School leaders have the particular duty of providing what support is necessary for spreading the culture of dialogue, encounter and mutual recognition between different cultures. Both inside and outside the school, they promote all possible forms of collaboration that help to realize intercultural harmony. (EIDCS 85)

While *Lay Catholics in Schools* reminded us that it was lay educators who would 'substantially determine whether or not a school realises its aims and accomplishes its objectives' (1), *Education to Fraternal Humanism* cautions teachers to work to 'overcome the pitfalls of cultural standardization processes, which produce the harmful effects of homogenization, and, at the same time, consumer manipulation' (27). Both documents stress the importance of the relationship between faith and culture and faith and life and the significant role teachers fulfill in Catholic education now and into the future.

2.4. *Religious Education*

One of the significant impacts of the council was the change in approaches to teaching religious education in Catholic schools in Australia. The kerygmatic renewal begun in the 1930s eventually contributed to the shift from a 'teaching that' and 'learning that' model[26] to a proclamation model. Josef Jungmann's kerygmatic catechesis model formed the foundation for a new approach for teaching religion in Australian schools during the 1960s.

Johannes Hofinger, Jungmann's student, popularized Jungmann's insights and was influential in promoting the kerygmatic approach of teaching religion, especially in the Asia Pacific. Hofinger, director of the East Asian Pastoral Institute in Manila from 1957 to 1965, initiated a series of International Catechetical Study Week programs which many Australian teachers and leaders attended.[27]

[26] Gerard Rummery, *Catechesis and Religious Education in a Pluralist Society* (Sydney: E.J. Dwyer, 1975).

[27] International Catechetical Study Week programs were held in Nijmegen (1959), Dichstatt (1960), Bangkok (1962), Katigondo (1964), Manila (1967), and Medellín (1968).

In Australia, the kerygmatic method was most clearly evidenced in the publication of a series of textbooks, *My Way to God*, which the Australian Catholic Bishops' Committee for Education prescribed for use in all Catholic primary schools. The student books contained songs and colourful graphics as well as biblical references. The accompanying teachers' texts encouraged the use of imagination and a variety of teaching strategies. Opportunities were provided for teachers to engage with the new approach by offering them conferences and workshops, but these short programs were not adequate to prepare teachers for the level of knowledge in Scripture, theology, and Church history necessary to make the kerygmatic approach vital.

The council's focus on anthropology led to further developments in the teaching of religion in schools during the 1970s. The anthropological or life-centred approach to religious education took real situations of people as its starting point and was the next attempt to enliven the teaching of religion in schools. This phase in religious education was also influenced by the growing popularity of psychology and the social sciences as well as the widening gap between rich and poor in the world. Experiential learning was the focus, rather than instructional learning, and teachers often worked with groups of students outside the formal classroom at camps or weekend retreats. The life-centred movement did not replace the insights of the kerygmatic phase but complemented it with an emphasis on the here and now. By the late 1970s, many people were disillusioned with the anthropological or life-centred approach. Its strength was also its weakness: while it began with human experience, it relied too heavily on discussion and failed to move forward; in fact, in most cases, it lacked academic rigour. While maintaining the basic goal and purpose of catechesis, both approaches reinforced the perception of the Catholic school as central to the success and continuation of the Catholic Church in Australia.

Lovat[28] notes that life-centred religious education focused on only one religious tradition; there was no investigation of the growing multi-faith nature of Australia. Eventually, educators addressed the issue of separating catechesis from classroom religious education. Scholars such as Gabriel Moran recommended that a new approach was required, where theology supplied the content and education supplied the method.[29]

[28] Terence Lovat, *What Is This Thing Called Religious Education? Summary, Critique and New Proposal* (Wentworth Falls: Social Science Press, 1989).

[29] Gabriel Moran, *Design for Religion: Toward Ecumenical Education* (London: Search Press, 1970).

He also challenged teachers to expand their notion of religion teaching beyond Catholic Christianity to include teaching about other religions, as well as teaching Christianity in a totally new way. This approach to teaching religion was influenced by two documents from the council: the Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio* (1964), and the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, *Nostra Aetate* (1965). In particular, *Nostra Aetate* provided a platform from which the teaching of world religions became part of religious education programs in secondary schools. It called for a shift in teaching about Jews and Judaism, which ultimately has had implications for how all teachers teach about Jesus. *Nostra Aetate*, along with two implementing documents—*Guidelines for Nostra Aetate* (1974) and *Notes on the Correct Way to Present the Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis* (1985)—proposed a significant shift in religious education teaching and learning.

While the intent of the *Guidelines* was to provide ideas on how to start a dialogue with Judaism at the local level, one of its four sections deals specifically with education and introduces themes that are further developed in the 1985 statement. The *Guidelines,* the first official Catholic document to view Judaism as a rich and vital religious movement, also calls on Catholics to study Judaism in all of its aspects and strongly encourages Catholic universities and colleges to establish chairs in Jewish studies (interestingly, neither of the two Catholic universities in Australia has such a chair).

In *Notes on the Correct Way to Present the Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis*, the Holy See mandates the development of Shoah (Holocaust) curricula in religious education programming. Over the past 10 years, some Catholic religious educators have begun to address teaching about the Shoah within religious education rather than in modern history classes. A more focused teaching about Judaism and the Jewishness of Jesus is evident in religious education curricula of both primary and secondary Catholic schools in Australia. In addition, senior secondary school religious education programs now include units on Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism.

Teaching about Australian Aboriginal spiritualities and Torres Strait Islander religion became evident in some diocesan religious education curricula only in the late 1980s. Three events contributed to the inclusion of Aboriginal spirituality in Catholic school religious education programs. The first occurred in 1962, when Indigenous people secured the right to the vote; the second was the 1967 Referendum, which amended two

sections of the Australian Constitution to include Indigenous people as citizens; and the third was the bi-centenary in 1988, which marked 200 years of white settlement/invasion. Today, Catholic education authorities employ Indigenous education officers who oversee the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives across the whole of the general curriculum; some dioceses, in conjunction with the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Catholic Council, have established Indigenous Cultural Studies Centres to promote reconciliation and develop cultural understanding and respect for Australian Indigenous people.[30]

A significant shift in how religious education was taught in schools occurred as a result of the publication of the *General Directory for Catechesis* in 1997. In the section directed to religious education in schools (GDC 73–76), the distinction is made between religious education and catechesis:

> The relationship between religious instruction in schools and catechesis is one of distinction and complementarity: 'there is an absolute necessity to distinguish clearly between religious instruction and catechesis (220)' … It is necessary, therefore, that religious instruction in schools appear as a scholastic discipline with the same systematic demands and the same rigor as other disciplines. It must present the Christian message and the Christian event with the same seriousness and the same depth with which other disciplines present their knowledge. (73)

Building on ideas formed in *Gravissimum Educationis*, the directory also reminds teachers that religious education should 'not be an accessory alongside these disciplines, but rather it should engage in a necessary inter-disciplinary dialogue … Through inter-disciplinary dialogue religious instruction in schools underpins, activates, develops and completes the educational activity of the school' (GDC 73).

The teaching of religious education in Catholic schools in Australia has seen many changes since the council. Having teachers with appropriate qualifications in religious education and competence to teach the subject continues to challenge Catholic education systems across the country. With only two Catholic universities in Australia, it is common for teachers in Catholic schools to be graduates of secular universities, where religious education is not studied as part of undergraduate teacher education. To meet the minimum requirements for accreditation to teach religious education in a Catholic school, teachers may complete

[30] Ngutana-Lui Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Studies Centre, https://www.bne.catholic.edu.au/aboutus/pages/ngutana-lui.aspx.

a Graduate Certificate in Religious Education of four units while teaching full-time. Diocesan education authorities subsidize the fees of such courses, and some provide professional learning sessions for teachers. Measured against the depth of knowledge required to teach religious education, regrettably, many teachers possess only a superficial knowledge of content related to the discipline. The challenge is exacerbated when levels of Catholic identity are diminishing.

2.5. *The Identity of Catholic Schools*

In the mid-20th century, many commentators predicted the end of religion, but contrary to these predictions, religion has not disappeared; rather, religion exists in plural forms, and its expression is visible in multiple ways in many societies. While some people describe themselves as 'spiritual but not religious,' Boeve prefers the term 'de-traditionalised.'[31] Detraditionalization is the process by which traditions, including religious traditions, no longer transfer from one generation to the next. A consequence of detraditionalization is individualization, where identity is constructed rather than assigned and where pluralization of truth claims of various religious traditions and secular philosophies are given equal and mutual recognition. Regardless of how it is described, there is a distinct shift in the ways in which people identify with religion, and the subsequent continuing development of religious identity for institutions such as schools is now an urgent priority.

At the time of Vatican II, Catholic schools in Australia were schools for Catholics mainly populated by Catholics, and the majority of teaching staff belonged to religious orders. Today, Catholic schools continue to be popular, educating one in five Australian students[32] ; 61 per cent of Australians identify with a religion, and Christianity is the dominant religion, with two in five Christians identifying as Catholic, the largest denomination.[33] Since the mid-1960s, Catholic schools have received partial funding from the government (up to 75 per cent of running costs) and, following an agreement between the Catholic Church and the federal government in the 1970s, the schools have been uniquely independent

[31] Lieven Boeve, 'Belgium: New Thinking on Catholic Education Fifty Years After Vatican II,' in *Vatican II and New Thinking About Catholic Education: The Impact and Legacy of Gravissimum Educationis*, ed. Sean Whittle (London: Routledge, 2017), 55–71.

[32] National Catholic Education Commission website, https://www.ncec.catholic.edu.au.

[33] Australian Bureau of Statistics, '2016 Census: Religion,' 27 June 2017, https://www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/abs@.nsf/dd0ca10eed681f12ca2570ce0082655d/7e65a144540551d7ca258148000e2b85!OpenDocument.

and autonomous. The Australian bishops, in their intervention at the third session of the council, reiterated that Catholic schools in Australia follow government-mandated curriculum with the addition of religious education. As they noted: 'it is necessary that in secular disciplines students should pursue the "rationale of studies" (i.e. the curriculum of studies) stipulated by the State.'[34]

Where once it could have been assumed that most Catholic families would send their children to Catholic schools, this is no longer the case. Catholic schools have become the 'school of choice' for many middle-class non-Catholics, who constitute up to 40 per cent of Catholic secondary school students. This suggests that parents are more influenced by the quality of general education than by a desire for a Catholic education.

The religious identity of Catholic schools has become a significant issue for Catholic education. Across the world, various agreements brokered between nation-states and the Catholic Church regarding the public funding of Catholic schools has resulted in some Catholic education systems embracing secular curricula in an assimilationist manner. In the late 1990s, Davis warned that the 'price Catholic schools have had to pay for their accreditation as appropriate centres for the delivery of the modern curriculum is a restriction of their Catholicity to those features of school life where secular society is prepared to permit the manifestation of Catholic ideas – mainly worship, ethos and Religious Education.'[35] Schools have blurred the distinctiveness of Catholic identity to project an image of Catholic schools as caring, academically respectable, and, intentionally or not, wedded to the secular goals of material progress.

To address these concerns, identity development in contemporary Catholic schools is focused on the whole curriculum. The Congregation for Catholic Education recognizes the challenge faced by schools and has provided specific advice related to curricula. 'The curriculum is how the school community makes explicit its goals and objectives … In the curriculum, the school's cultural and pedagogical identity are made manifest' (EIDCS 64). The document continues setting out the educational challenge for schools: 'Catholic schools think out their curricula to place centre-stage both individuals and their search for meaning … From this perspective, what is taught is not neutral, and neither is the way of teaching it' (EIDCS 65).

[34] Murphy, 'The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,' 461.

[35] Robert Davis, 'Can There Be a Catholic Curriculum?' in *Catholic Education Inside Out/Outside In*, ed. James Conroy (Dublin: Lindisfarne Books, 1999), 222.

It even provides a suggestion for how the challenge can be met:

> Catholic schools are encouraged to promote a wisdom-based society, to go beyond knowledge and educate people to think, evaluating facts in the light of values … The curriculum must help the students reflect on the great problems of our time, including … humanity's living conditions. These would include the unequal distribution of resources, poverty, injustice and human rights denied. (EIDCS 66)

The Congregation recognizes that modern education is characterized by an undue emphasis on the relationship between education and economic growth. It has commented that there is a noticeable tendency to reduce education to its purely technical and practical aspects.

Action is now being taken within some Catholic education systems to address serious deficiencies evident in presenting a neo-liberal curriculum in Catholic schools. One approach developed to enhance Catholic identity in the general curriculum is to apply the principles of Catholic Social Teaching to the teaching and learning process of prescribed secular curricula. Catholic Social Teaching provides a set of key principles and guidelines for action which can be used to evaluate situations, policies, and approaches used in contemporary society and offers valuable insights regarding the intersection between faith, society, and politics. This approach has proven to be popular with teachers, who are able to make Catholic identity more explicit within the general curriculum.[36]

In the more than 55 years since Vatican II, Australian education has been impacted by political and social changes. The current emphasis on measurable outputs, employment-related skills and competences, and increased state control of curriculum content and assessment is a form of anthropological reductionism which neglects the holistic development of students and poses significant challenges for Catholic education.

3. Conclusion

Gravissimum Educationis and the documents from the Congregation for Catholic Education which follow state in clear terms that religious faith is not an add-on to the rest of life but something that has an influence on the whole of life. The council also clearly articulated the pivotal role that anthropology plays in the Catholic Christian narrative.

[36] Jim Gleeson and Peta Goldburg, eds., *Faith-Based Identity and Curriculum in Catholic Schools* (London: Routledge, 2020).

Gravissimum Educationis alludes to all the major themes of the council, including the significance of dialogue both within and outside the Church. The declaration is grounded in the understanding that education contributes not only to the formation of the individual but also to the common good of society. The distinction made between education in general and Christian education in particular is significant.

In many ways, the Australian Church has responded to the call of *Gravissimum Educationis* not only to nourish faith but also to provide motivation for apostolic activity (GE 4). Catholic education in Australia has expanded significantly since the council and now has two Catholic universities and over 1,750 schools, including schools for students with disabilities. After state schools, Catholic schools are the second-largest provider of school education in the country. They provide education for Catholic children, children of other faith traditions, and those of no faith tradition, fulfilling the challenge set by *Gravissimum Educationis* to 'develop with special care the intellectual faculties but also to form the ability to judge rightly, to hand on the cultural legacy of previous generations, to foster a sense of values, to prepare for professional life' for the benefit of all (GE 5). In responding to the challenges of the post-conciliar period, Catholic schools in Australia are also working toward developing a culture of dialogue within an ethical framework which respects the dignity of all and providing a humanized education where all can experience solidarity, sharing, and communion (*Educating to Fraternal Humanism* 10).

THE RECEPTION OF *INTER MIRIFICA* IN THE UNITED STATES CONTEXT

DANIELLA ZSUPAN-JEROME

Inter Mirifica, the Decree on the Means of Social Communication, was one of the first two documents promulgated by the Second Vatican Council.[1] This short, self-aware document by and large brought the topic of social communication to the table for theological consideration and pastoral reflection. However, in 24 paragraphs, *Inter Mirifica* could not possibly deliver all there was to say on social communication and the Church. Rather than offering an exhaustive treatment of the topic, it set up a legacy through which this topic was to be continually examined in the decades to come. Significant parts of this legacy include the 1971 pastoral instruction *Communio et Progressio* and subsequent social communication documents, the annual commemoration of World Communications Day since 1967, an annual papal message for World Communications Day, the establishment of the Pontifical Council for Social Communication (since 2015 subsumed into the Dicastery for Communication), and a call for the establishment of national offices for social communication. One can assess the reception of *Inter Mirifica* based on these various elements that still exist today. At the same time, *Inter Mirifica* and subsequent social communication documents continued to call for formation, catechesis, or other religious education, especially focusing on media training and literacy.[2] To this day, the reception of this initiative has been spotty.

In a digital age, when the means of social communication have come to saturate our daily lives, making an impact on a cultural level, the Church's approach to this topic through its social communication tradition

[1] For a more detailed description of *Inter Mirifica* as it was received in the teaching tradition of the Church, see Daniella Zsupan-Jerome, 'Inter Mirifica,' in *The Reception of Vatican II*, eds. Matthew L. Lamb and Matthew Levering (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 347–63.

[2] For an overview of the social communication documents vis-à-vis ministry formation, see Daniella Zsupan-Jerome, *Connected Toward Communion: The Church and Social Communication in a Digital Age* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2014).

since *Inter Mirifica* continues to matter. Especially in light of the COVID-19 pandemic, during which most communities of faith had to turn to means of social communication to remain present for their members and to offer any public witness, this topic has gained even more relevance.

This chapter examines the reception of *Inter Mirifica*, especially in the context of the United States, from the eve of Vatican II during the golden age of television to the present-day opportunities and challenges of our digital culture. After exposing some of the history of the reception of *Inter Mirifica* in the American context, the essay will concentrate on bringing the conciliar teaching of *Inter Mirifica* into conversation with digital culture, especially regarding ministry formation.

1. Ecclesial Reception

While *Inter Mirifica* itself was brief, it was aware of the tremendous cultural shift wrought by mass communication and the necessity for a broader conversation about social communication in light of this. *Communio et Progressio*, the 1971 Pastoral Instruction on the Means of Social Communication, was the result of this perceived need. The call for *Communio et Progressio* was established by the Second Vatican Council, specifically in *Inter Mirifica*, which noted: 'So that the general principles and norms of this sacred Synod with respect to the media of social communications may be put into effect, by the express will of the Council, the office of the Holy See mentioned in Number 19 should undertake, with the assistance of experts from various countries, to issue a pastoral instruction' (IM 23).

Within the next seven years, *Communio et Progressio* was composed using a thorough process reminiscent of the conciliar documents themselves. The final document was the result of five drafts and reflected the work of 40 international consultants. It is a benchmark document for social communication that reflects the overall work of the Second Vatican Council, and in this it is a strong example of the reception of the council itself.[3] While *Inter Mirifica* gave a brief overview of the doctrinal and practical questions around social communication, mainly from a moral theological foundation, *Communio et Progressio* is the document that first explores a theology of communication, highlighting communication not only as a social phenomenon that the Church is called to respond to but as

[3] For a more detailed overview of *Communio et Progressio*, including its brief history and theology, see Zsupan-Jerome, *Connected Toward Communion*, 39–65.

an inherently theological act from which the Church's pastoral action can draw a proactive stance. The document's discussion of Christ the Perfect Communicator and the concepts of communication as loving self-gift and an expression of communion are some of the fundamental elements in *Communio et Progressio* that make up this theology of communication.[4]

Inter Mirifica and its further development in *Communio et Progressio* also set the precedent for the ongoing conversation on the topic of social communication through the teaching documents of the Church. The Pastoral Instruction *Aetatis Novae* commemorated *Communio et Progressio* in 1992. In the same lineage, the twin documents *Ethics in Internet* and *Church and Internet* took up the topic of internet-mediated communication in 2002. In addition to these, John Paul II, in his commitment to the topic of evangelization, took up the question of social communication with frequency, notably in *Redemptoris Missio* (1990), and especially in one of his final documents, *The Rapid Development*, an apostolic letter published months before his death in 2005.[5] In 2023 the Dicastery for Communication published *Towards Full Presence: A Pastoral Reflection in Engagement with Social Media*, as a long anticipated update in the succession of these documents, focusing on digital culture.[6]

Alongside these periodic teaching documents, the ecclesial reception of *Inter Mirifica* is most evident in the annual World Communications Day commemorations and messages. Like the genesis of *Communio et Progressio*, the World Communications Day tradition was also envisioned by *Inter Mirifica*, which calls for an annual day to be celebrated along these lines:

> Moreover, that the varied apostolates of the Church with respect to the media of social communication may be strengthened effectively, each year in every diocese of the world, by determination of the Bishops, there should be celebrated a day on which the faithful are instructed in their responsibilities in this regard. They should be invited to pray and contribute funds to this cause. Such funds are to be expended exclusively on the promotion, maintenance and development of institutes and undertakings of the Church in this area, according to the needs of the whole Catholic world. (IM 18)

[4] *Communio et Progressio*, nos. 11–12.

[5] John Paul II, Apostolic Letter *The Rapid Development*, to those responsible for communications, 24 Jan. 2005, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_letters/2005/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_20050124_il-rapido-sviluppo.html.

[6] Dicastery for Communication, *Towards Full Presence: A Pastoral Reflection on Engagement with Social Media*, 28 May 2023. https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/dpc/documents/20230528_dpc-verso-piena-presenza_en.html.

From this directive we inherit the annual commemoration of World Communications Day, a tradition launched in 1967 with the publication of the first World Communications Day Message.[7] Since 1967, annual commemoration falls on the Sunday before Pentecost, and each year the pope presents a brief instruction on some relevant aspect of social communication. The topics of these World Communications Day Messages have been wide ranging, but since 2009 they have generally addressed some aspect of digital culture and communication. Albeit brief, these annual messages have been the most consistent way the Church has responded to the questions of social communication as set out by *Inter Mirifica*.

2. Social Communication in the US Leading up to Vatican II

Inter Mirifica was not the first Church document to engage the topic of social communication. Pope Pius XI's encyclical on motion pictures, *Vigilanti Cura* (1936), was the first document of the 20th century to deal with social communication, more specifically with film. It was a document specifically directed to the United States bishops, urging them that the Church's vigilance and witness for moral standards vis-à-vis the film industry was part of their pastoral responsibility.

Vigilanti Cura directly notes the American organization the Legion of Decency as instrumental in combatting immorality in film. The Legion of Decency was founded in 1933 by Catholic Archbishop John McNicholas of Cincinnati in response to perceived indecency and immorality in the film industry and film content. It became an influential interreligious movement with Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish members that had a pledge and a rating system for film indicating morally objectionable content. By the 1960s, the Legion became exclusively Catholic, renamed the National Catholic Office for Motion Pictures, and was eventually subsumed into the national body of bishops (today's US Conference of Catholic Bishops) as the Office of Film and Broadcasting of the broader Communication Department. The rating system and the OFB continued until 2010, when Catholic News Service took over film and movie reviews.

[7] See Paul VI, 'Message of the Holy Father for the First World Communications Day,' 7 May 1967, https://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/messages/communications/documents/hf_p-vi_mes_19670507_i-com-day.html.

The film industry continued to prompt conversation from the Church about the means of social communication. Pope Pius XII was especially prolific when it came to social communication-themed documents: he produced 134 texts of various degrees of importance treating film, theatre, the press, and publishing, often addressing these to social communication professionals. Among his work, two of his major documents were about film: *On the Ideal Film* (1955) and *Miranda Prorsus* (1957), though the latter also treated radio and television. Both of these present a more positive approach than *Vigilanti Cura* did, welcoming new communication developments, all while maintaining a watchfulness for moral standards inherited from *Vigilanti Cura*. The watchfulness for moral standards was also eventually echoed in *Inter Mirifica*.

As the Church engaged in conversation with social communication developments through the 1950s, television was gaining momentum and becoming the most significant medium of the decade. The 1950s was the golden era of television, prompting print, film, and radio to not only consider television as competition but to have to adapt to a new media landscape altogether. Television was booming on the eve of Vatican II. In the mid-1950s, about half of all American households had a television set; by the early 1960s, it was close to 90 per cent.[8] Three major networks—CBS, ABC, and NBC—dominated 90 per cent of broadcast content, which mainly included news, live entertainment programs, sitcoms, westerns, and public interest programming. In addition to these, advertising became a significant element of programming, even influencing programming through sponsorships.

Religious broadcasting during this era largely took place through the three major networks. In previous decades since the 1920s, there had been a steady presence of Christian radio ministries in the United States, broadcasting preaching, worship services, and music. The Communications Act of 1934 shifted the location of religious broadcasts under the category of public service and proposed what was called 'sustaining time' allocated on the major networks.[9] In other words, the networks broadcast public interest programming, including religious programming

[8] See the exponential rise in the number of American households with television sets between 1950 and 1978: William G. Mayer, 'The Polls – Trends: Trends in Media Usage,' *Public Opinion Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (1993): 593–611, doi:10.1086/269398.

[9] Steward M. Hoover and Douglas K. Wagner, 'History and Policy in American Broadcast Treatment of Religion,' *Media, Culture and Society* 19, no. 1 (Jan. 1997): 7–27, https://www.religion-online.org/article/history-and-policy-in-american-broadcast-treatment-of-religion.

within a set allocated time as part of their overall programming. Sunday mornings were one popular sustaining time slot for religious programming, understandably with a lot of competition to fill the slot. Religious entities could purchase additional commercial time from networks beyond that. Still working within the sustaining time structure, television ministries began to develop in the 1950s, such as those of Rex Humbard, Oral Roberts, Billy Graham, and Fulton Sheen. The first independent religious networks began to emerge at the end of the decade, with Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) and The Catholic Television Center of the Archdiocese of Boston, today's CatholicTV, among the first. Others followed, such as Trinity Broadcasting in the early 1970s and Mother Angelica's Eternal Word Television Network in the early 1980s.

On the eve of Vatican II, television was booming and making a cultural impact well beyond providing news and entertainment. Television emerged as a gathering point: physically, in people's homes, it took the shape of a new kind of hearth that brought families and neighbours together to view programming at set times. Culturally, it became the locus of shared experiences, stories, and historical moments. All in all, it was making a tremendous impact on life overall, not unlike the advent of digital technologies since the early 1990s to our day. The composition of *Inter Mirifica* brought to the conciliar level a necessary consideration by the Church of life in the electronic age and the impact of the mass media.

3. The Reception of *Inter Mirifica* and Development in Social Communication in the US Context

Inter Mirifica sets out its plan to engage the topic of social communication in two broad movements, encouraging the Church to 'use the media to proclaim the good news of salvation' and to 'teach people how to use them properly' (IM 3). These two movements, one about evangelization and one about formation, offer a way to examine the reception of this document. This section considers how in the US context after Vatican II, the Church turned to various means of social communication for evangelization efforts as well as to what extent systematic media literacy training has become part of religious education and formation efforts.

3.1. *Social Communication for Evangelization*

Summarizing all the ways the US church has used media for evangelization is well beyond the scope of this chapter. One reason is that intentional

engagement with mass media by the US Church precedes Vatican II by decades. An ancestor to today's USCCB, the National Catholic Welfare Council—established in 1919 and renamed the National Catholic Welfare Conference in 1922—already had a Department of Press, Publicity and Literature as part of its administrative structure.

On the local and more grassroots level, Catholic journals and newspapers appeared in the early 1800s. Ethnic organizations of Catholic immigrants began producing journals as part of new immigrant communities. Culturally, at least, these can be considered among the first Catholic publications in the United States. Alongside these, private individuals pioneered unofficial Catholic papers, such as Father Gabriel Richard's *Michigan Essay and Impartial Observer*, started in 1809, or Father Don Felix Varela's *El Habanero* out of Philadelphia, launched in 1824.[10] The first Catholic diocesan paper was the *Catholic Miscellany* of Charleston, South Carolina, started by Bishop John England in 1822, who sought to have a platform beyond what the secular papers offered, especially for didactic or evangelization purposes. Other dioceses followed suit, such as the Boston *Pilot* (1829) and the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph* (1831). The Catholic Press Association, ancestor of today's Catholic Media Association, formed in 1911.

These various examples begin to illustrate that Catholic media had a well-established presence in the United States well before Vatican II's *Inter Mirifica*. One enduring question about Catholic media, and one that remains relevant in a digital culture, is to what extent a media outlet has to be 'official' to be Catholic. Should the institutional Church be producing any media we call Catholic, or can lay-led efforts, apostolates, and ministries rightfully carry that designation as well? Put another way, should the Church itself produce religious media, and on what level, or should this be instead the work of independent media professionals in some degree of collaboration with the Church? The story of a US-wide Catholic telecommunications network illustrates the complexity of this question.

In 1979, the American bishops voted to pursue a plan for a massive satellite television network that would link all 172 US dioceses as well as large Catholic institutions.[11] The purpose of the network, named the

[10] For the early history of Catholic immigrant journals in the United States, see Paul J. Foik, 'Pioneer Efforts in Catholic Journalism in the United States (1809–1840),' *The Catholic Historical Review* 1, no. 3 (1915): 258–70, www.jstor.org/stable/25011336.

[11] For an overview of the inception of the CTNA and its early history, see Paul Soukup, SJ, and Mary Boone, 'Negotiation through Power, Ideology and Technology in the Local

Catholic Telecommunications Network of America (CTNA), was telecommunications among bishops and dioceses but also education, including the availability of catechetical and formational programmes and resources.

> The New York based network functioned primarily as a delivery system, supplementing the existing communication efforts of the Catholic Church, but with the added goals of cutting the cost of existing services and increasing the number of people touched by the church's evangelization and catechetical (that, is, outreach and education) efforts. Access to the growing cable television industry and increasing financial competition from the evangelical 'electronic church' for broadcast access spurred the Catholic project.[12]

Each participating diocese was to erect a satellite receiving station to take part in the transmission. The projected cost was $2 million annually, significantly cheaper than the $112 million spent annually on telephone bills as the main telecommunications network used by the Church at that time.

The CTNA ran from 1982 to 1995. By all accounts, it was an unsuccessful endeavour.[13] The crux of the problem lay in the disagreement among bishops about programming itself. Some bishops critiqued the quality of programming altogether; others challenged the idea of a national broadcast network that would 'impose' content upon each individual diocese, bypassing the right of the bishop's primary teaching authority in each local Church. They could not build consensus and act swiftly enough for the network to remain viable and profitable. Over time, the project lost $14 million before it was terminated.

For comparison, 1981 was also the start of the satellite-based broadcast of Mother Angelica's Eternal Word Television Network from a garage studio at Our Lady of the Angels Monastery in Irondale, Alabama.[14] Previously, she had produced recorded lectures or appeared as a guest on other networks, including the evangelical Trinity Broadcasting and Pat

Development of the Catholic Telecommunications Network of America,' International Communication Association Annual Meeting, Dallas, TX, May 1983, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED235518.pdf.

[12] Soukup and Boone, 'Negotiation through Power, Ideology and Technology,' 6.

[13] For a detailed analysis of the demise of the CTNA, see Owen Charles Phelps, 'The Failure of the Catholic Telecommunications Network of America: A Qualitative Case Study' (PhD diss., Walden University, 2000), https://www.learntechlib.org/p/119527.

[14] For a brief overview of the history of EWTN, see Heidi Schlumpf, 'How Mother Angelica's "Miracle of God" Became a Global Media Empire,' *National Catholic Reporter*, 6 Sept. 2019, https://www.ncronline.org/culture/guest-voices/how-mother-angelicas-miracle-god-became-global-media-empire.

Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network. Now, on her own network, early programming was only four hours a day, while the rest of the time was filled out by diocesan programs, Protestant Christian programs, children's programming, and wholesome secular programming. Eventually, the broadcast schedule increased; by 1987, it began to air content around the clock. Working outside of the formal institutional structure of the Church and sometimes even at odds with particular bishops, EWTN skyrocketed as an independent Catholic station, eventually becoming the largest religious media network in the world today. EWTN includes television, radio, news, publishing, and digital media, and it often offers televised feed of major ecclesial events to other networks and organizations, including to the USCCB.

The comparison of the case of the CTNA to EWTN illustrates the complexity of how the Church can formally engage with media for its evangelization purposes. It is difficult to establish a national media network such as CTNA would have been, since a diocesan structure, each with its own episcopal oversight, does make coming to agreement on content and quality of programming on a national level a complex task. At the same time, individual bishops may invite or allow various media ministries to serve their diocese in a much more efficient and streamlined fashion. In a similar vein, individual bishops, priests, or religious may pursue a media ministry based on interest and talent, but to prescribe media ministry to be normative for all formal Church leadership might present a challenge. Grassroots or independent efforts of media ministry, including those directly supporting or sustaining the institutional Church's media presence, have proven to be much more accessible, nimble, and successful in evangelization through the media.

3.2. *Social Communication Training and Formation*

Another key aspect of the reception of *Inter Mirifica* is the media literacy training and formation that has been implemented and carried out since the promulgation of the document. The call for training and formation is a consistent refrain for the social communication documents, beginning with *Miranda Prorsus*, which discusses a 'mass education of spectators' in a way akin to the more contemporary concept of media literacy.[15] *Inter Mirifica* builds on this and calls with some urgency for the training of priests, religious, and laity regarding mass media for the

[15] Pius XII, *Miranda Prorsus* (mass education) (1957), http://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_08091957_miranda-prorsus.html.

apostolate (IM 15). Subsequent social communication documents, such as *Communio et Progressio*, *Aetatis Novae*, *The Guide to the Training of Future Priests on the Instruments of Social Communication*, *The Rapid Development*, and *Towards Full Presence* elaborate on this, calling for both catechetical and ministerial formation.[16] Alongside these, the call for training and formation vis-à-vis the means of social communication also begins to appear in catechetical and ministry formation documents, such as the *General Directory for Catechesis* and *Pastores Dabo Vobis*.[17] Most recently, both the 2020 *Directory for Catechesis* and the 2016 *Gift of the Priestly Vocation* (also called the new *Ratio Fundamentalis*) refer to the reality of digital culture as something to necessarily take into consideration for catechesis and formation.[18]

In the US context, the national documents on catechesis and ministry formation likewise echo the importance of media awareness and, more recently, digital culture.

The 2005 *National Directory for Catechesis* has an integrated treatment of social communication topics, raising the issue of the 'revolution of information technology' early on as one of the general characteristics of US culture and calling for the Church to employ all modern means of communication 'in order to bring others to Christ.'[19] Toward this end, under the examination of catechetical resources, the *National Directory* offers a dedicated section on 'Communications Technology and Catechesis' which promotes both the use of media for evangelization and media literacy training as part of the overall catechetical effort.[20]

When it comes to the US ministry formation documents, the treatment of social communication is brief and somewhat cautionary. Along these lines, the 2005 *Program of Priestly Formation* (5th edition) is reserved

[16] Pontifical Council for Social Communications, *Communio et Progressio* (23 May 1971), 63–72; 102–113, 164; Pontifical Council for Social Communications, *Aetatis Novae* (22 Feb. 1992), 18; Pontifical Council for Social Communications, *Guide to the Training of Future Priests Concerning the Means of Social Communication* (19 Mar. 1986); John Paul II, *The Rapid Development* (24 Jan. 2005), 2, 11; Dicastery for Communication, Towards Full Presence (28 May 2023) footnote 46.

[17] *General Directory for Catechesis*, 'Social Communication,' 160–62; John Paul II, *Pastores Dabo Vobis* (15 Mar. 1992), 53.

[18] The 2020 *Directory for Catechesis* offers a thoughtful treatment of digital culture in paragraphs 359–72. *The Gift of the Priestly Vocation* (Congregation for the Clergy, 2016) notes that 'the use of the media and ease with the digital world are an integral part of the development of the personality of the seminarian' and encourages the possibility of evangelization through digital means. See nos. 97–100.

[19] USCCB, *National Directory for Catechesis* (2020), 25–26.

[20] USCCB, *National Directory for Catechesis*, 286–92.

in its treatment of social communication, both in length and in tenor. By and large, social communication is a human formation topic where the focus is on the seminarian's own use of media, around which he 'should develop discerning habits.'[21] The theme of effective use of communication media is also briefly noted under pastoral formation.[22] This brief mention of effective communication under pastoral formation is also echoed in the parallel 2005 lay ministry document *Co-Workers in the Vineyard of the Lord*, but without reference to the media.[23]

Looking at the ministry formation documents especially, it is evident that there is a gap here between the urgent tone of *Inter Mirifica*, *Communio Progressio*, and *Aetatis Novae* or the thorough vision of *Guide to the Training of Future Priests Concerning Means of Social Communication* and the minor, cautionary attention paid to the media in the US ministry formation documents. Likewise, media literacy training and formation has not been systematically implemented in catechetical or ministry formation programmes across the United States.[24] If social communication does come up as a topic, it is peripheral to other themes that are considered more central, such as Scripture, dogma, morality and ethics, and practices of prayer and worship. In ministry formation in particular, social communication is most often a human or pastoral formation topic, a habit to discern, a behaviour to modify, or a skillset to use in ministry.

4. Social Communication Today: Digital Culture, Ongoing Formation

The profound shift in culture as a result of digital communication technologies has necessarily sustained the relevance of the question of Church and social communication. The means of social communication in our digital culture are no longer just for information and entertainment, as

[21] Congregation for the Clergy, *Program of Priestly Formation*, 264; see also 79.

[22] Congregation for the Clergy, *Program of Priestly Formation*, 239.

[23] USCCB, *Co-Workers in the Vineyard of the Lord: A Resource for Guiding the Development of Lay Ecclesial Ministry* (2005), 48, https://www.usccb.org/upload/co-workers-vineyard-lay-ecclesial-ministry-2005.pdf.

[24] Notable exceptions include the work of the Daughters of St. Paul through the Pauline Center for Media Studies in Los Angeles and the John Foley Chair in Social Communication and eponymous lecture series at St. Charles Borromeo Seminary in Philadelphia.

they may have been perceived in the middle of the 20th century. Instead, social communication has become so integral to life in digital culture that it is in many ways the fabric of our daily experience, whether working, shopping, learning, socializing, or, especially since the COVID-19 pandemic, practising our faith. In digital culture, we are living in a time when social communication has become part of most aspects of our lives.

One contemporary question for social communication in the US context is that of ministry formation. This question endures as long as social communication is considered a leisure topic or as a topic that touches only the human and pastoral dimensions of ministry formation. A comprehensive ministry formation program, attentive to digital culture, would engage the topic of social communication theologically and philosophically, expose ethical questions, and explore the spiritual dimensions especially of some of the most challenging aspects of digital culture, such as lack of authentic encounter, isolation, conflict, verbal violence, and online harassment.[25] Models for this comprehensive approach exist outside of the US context, notably the work of the late Fr Franz-Josef Eilers, SVD, and others in Manila.[26]

Related to ministry formation in general is the reality, especially post-COVID-19, of online or hybrid learning seminary and lay formation programmes. Especially in the context of lay and permanent diaconal formation, the opportunities for formation programs via online or hybrid learning have increased.[27] At the same time, Catholic seminaries have resisted this development, even if out of necessity they offered online courses during the COVID pandemic.[28] The challenge that arises from this difference in educational experiences is that the lay minister who may have gone through an online or hybrid formation programme will bring a certain familiarity for effectively engaging digital culture *as a*

[25] For a brief discussion of integrating social communication into all four dimensions of ministry formation, see Zsupan-Jerome, 'Inter Mirifica,' 360–62.

[26] See Franz-Josef Eilers, SVD, *Communicating in Ministry and Mission*, 3rd ed. (Manila: Logos Publications, 2009); Virgilio F. Ciudadano, *Social Communication Formation in Seminaries and Schools of Theology*, Communicatio Socialis Prints, vol. 2 (Manila: Logos Publications, 2015).

[27] Eliza Smith Brown, 'Accessible, Effective: How Online Theological Education Is Shifting the Formation Model' (Association of Theological Schools, 2016), https://www.ats.edu/uploads/resources/publications-presentations/colloquy-online/formation-online.pdf.

[28] Yonat Shimron, 'For Many Schools the Master of Divinity Degree is Moving Online for Good' (Religion News Service, 26 Jan. 2021), https://religionnews.com/2021/01/26/in-most-schools-the-master-of-divinity-degree-is-moving-online-for-good.

minister, while the seminary program that eschews any online interaction in the formation context will simply not be able to evoke that.

Online education is formative not only in delivering content but also through inviting learners into a digitally mediated educational space in which participants are asked to interact with the instructor and with one another. This digitally mediated interaction offers learners the experience to engage around meaningful topics of faith and to do so intellectually, spiritually, pastorally, and attentive to interpersonal human dynamics. The online learning space, if done well, becomes a helpful laboratory for how to begin to engage in ministry through digital communication. Learners who have experienced this will be better equipped as ministers to approach the opportunities and challenges of digital culture. On the other hand, insisting on only face-to-face formation even in the context of digital culture instills an approach to digital culture as de facto inadequate for human interaction, accompaniment, or the engagement of faith. When ministry professionals, lay and ordained, begin to work together after these different experiences of formation, tensions are likely to arise around how to approach digital culture as a whole. Recalling *Inter Mirifica*'s call for formation today, the challenge is not only to provide formation but to do so in a way that ministers are able to collaborate and serve the Church effectively in light of that formation.

ABBREVIATIONS

Documents of Vatican II, from *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*. Edited by Austin Flannery, OP. Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Company, 1992.

AA	*Apostolicam Actuositatem*, Decree on the Apostolate of Lay People, 18 November 1965
AG	*Ad Gentes Divinitus*, Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity, 7 December 1965
CD	*Christus Dominus*, Decree on the Pastoral Office of Bishops in the Church, 28 October 1965
DH	*Dignitatis Humanae*, Declaration on Religious Liberty, 7 December 1965
DV	*Dei Verbum*, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, 18 November 1965
GE	*Gravissimum Educationis*, Declaration on Christian Education, 28 October 1965
GS	*Gaudium et Spes*, Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, 7 December 1965
IM	*Inter Mirifica*, Decree on the Means of Social Communication, 4 December 1963
LG	*Lumen Gentium*, Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, 21 November 1964
NA	*Nostra Aetate*, Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, 28 October 1965
OE	*Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, Decree on the Catholic Eastern Churches, 21 November 1964
OT	*Optatam Totius*, Decree on the Training of Priests, 28 October 1965
PC	*Perfectae Caritatis*, Decree on the Up-to-date Renewal of Religious Life, 28 October 1965
PO	*Presbyterorum Ordinis*, Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests, 7 December 1965
SC	*Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, 4 December 1963
UR	*Unitatis Redintegratio*, Decree on Ecumenism, 21 November 1964

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Volume 5

Series Vatican II – Event and Mandate

Church Documents

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INDEX OF NAMES

A
Abbott, Walter M., 253
Abécassis, Armand, 466
Abraham, 121
Achebe, Chinua, 31
Adams, John, 489
Ahern, Barnabas Mary, 248, 250, 255
Aihiokhai, SimonMary Asese, 467
Alberigo, Giuseppe, 94
Alinsky, Saul, 207, 516
Anastasias I (Byzantine Emperor), 494
Andraos, Michel, 471, 472
Angelica (Mother), 586, 588
Anthony, Patrick A.B., 157
Antón, Angel, 110–111
Aquila, 291
Aquinas, Thomas, 193, 198
Aquino, María Pilar, 204–206
Arckfeld, Leo, 245
Ardern, Jacinda, 59
Arrupe, Pedro, 79
Athenagoras I (Aristocles Matthaiou Spyrou), 400
Augustine of Hippo, 379, 507, 514
Aymes, Maria de la Cruz, 205

B
Baccigalupo, Alain, 267
Baggio, Sebastiano, 43–44
Balasurya, Tissa, 220
Balthasar, Hans Urs von, 279
Bannon, Gene, 164–165
Bañuelas, Arturo, 204, 206
Barnes, Michael, 465
Baroni, Geno, 70
Bartley, Patricia, 233
Baum, Gregory, 44, 250, 252, 418, 422, 426
Baum, William W., 430
Baxter, Michael, 502
Bea, Augustin, 249, 332–333
Beaubien, Irénée, 416–417
Beauduin, Lambert, 311–313
Bebbington, David, 431
Beck, George Andrew, 567
Beirne, Margaret, 232
Bellarmine, Robert, 494
Beltran, Edgar, 202
Benedict XV, 509
Benedict XVI, 67, 74–76, 78–80, 86, 90, 92, 96, 257, 322–323, 325, *see also* Ratzinger, Joseph
Benelli, Giovanni, 183
Beovich, Matthew, 567
Berger, Peter, 41, 95
Bergoglio, Jorge Mario, 78, *see also* Francis
Bernardin, Joseph, 72, 95, 183, 554
Berry, Jason, 77
Berry, Joseph, 44
Bevans, Stephen, 218, 521
Bingemer, Maria Clara Luchetti, 131
Boeve, Lieven, 576
Bohlen, Charles E., 15
Boniface VIII, 486–487
Boodoo, Gerald, 144, 155
Borecky, Isidore, 44
Bornkamm, Günther, 255
Bourget, Ignace, 50
Bowman, Thea, 189
Brennan, Frank, 353–354, 360
Breuer, Marcel, 29, 31
Brown, Callum, 228
Brown, Joseph A., 175, 177
Brown, Neil, 352–353
Brown, Raymond E., 247, 252, 255–256, 418
Buckley, William F. Jr., 35, 84
Budden, Chris, 120
Buetow, Harold, 547
Bush, George Herbert Walker, 439
Byrne, Brendan, 252, 256–257

C
Cahill, Thomas, 334, 567
Calkins, Hugh, 30
Calvert, Cecil, 486–487
Calvert, George, 486–487
Camara, Helder, 421
Campbell, Anthony, 252
Campbell, Ian C., 60
Campion, Edmund, 333, 352
Capra, Frank, 18
Carboni, Romolo, 245, 450
Cardenal, Ernesto, 256
Cardijn, Joseph-Léon, 256
Carmichael, Stokely, 181
Carraro, Giuseppe, 533
Carroll, Charles, 487
Carroll, John, 487, 546
Carter, Emmett, 51
Carter, Samuel E., 143, 152, 159
Castro, Fidel, 32
Cattaro, Gerald, 548, 553
Certeau, Michel de, 465
Chambers, Edward, 207
Champlain, Samuel de, 51
Chanes, J.A., 479
Charbonneau, Paul-Émile, 279
Charlesworth, Max, 349
Chavez, Cesar, 207
Cheng-song, Choan, 219
Chenu, Marie-Dominique, 279
Chevannes, Barry, 149, 156–157
Cheyne, Christine, 234
Chia, Edmund, 222
Ching, Julia, 219
Chinnici, Joseph P., 382
Chiong-hui, Ng, see Coe, Shokie, 218
Churchill, Winston, 15
Clarke, Edgerton, 152
Clarke, Maura, 516
Clements, George H., 177
Clifford, Catherine E., 124
Clinton, Bill, 439
Cody, John C., 549
Cody, John Patrick, 178, 549–550
Coe, Shokie, 218
Coffey, David, 352
Cogley, John, 33
Coleman, John, 287–288
Colin, Jean Claude, 102
Collins, John, 285
Colson, Charles, 439–440
Columbus, Christopher, 194
Condon, Clare, 369
Confoy, Maryanne, 528
Congar, Yves, 68, 104, 239, 247, 250, 277–279, 293, 296
Connell, Francis, 74, 491
Cook, James, 64
Cornell, Thomas (Tom), 36
Costigan, Michael, 334, 351
Cruz, Gemma Tulud, 371
Cullinane, John, 450
Cuneo, Michael, 87, 91, 94, 97
Cunningham, Agnes, 71
Curran, Charles E., 76
Cushing, Richard James, 37, 277, 504

D
Daggers, Jenny, 477
Dahood, Mitchell, 246
Dalton, William, 252
Daly, Bernard, 50–51
Danis, Armand, 164
Davis, Robert, 577
Davison, Graeme, 62, 228, 236
Day, Dorothy, 21, 23
de Gaulle, Charles, 31
De Mello, Anthony, 220
De Roo, Remi, 279
Dearden, John Francis, 68–70, 73, 252, 277
Deck, Allan Figueroa, 204, 206
Deloria, Vine, 468
Diekmann, Godfrey, 30, 316, 318, 332–333, 338, 418
Diem, Ngo Dinh, 21, 37
Dinand, Joseph, 150–151
Dodson, Patrick, 128
Dolan, Timothy, 77
Donovan, Jean, 516
Doody, Edward, 245, 450
Dooley, Thomas A., 21
Douthat, Ross, 88
Drexel, Katherine, 467
Dries, Angelyn, 519
Duke, William, 44

Dulles, Avery, 71, 76, 95, 252
Dumais, Marcel, 257
Duncan, Bruce, 364
Dupuis, Jacques, 220
Dyson, Robert, 246, 248

E
Edwards, Denis, 356
Egan, Jack, 70
Eilers, Franz-Josef, 592
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 20, 22, 28
Elizabeth II, 63
Elizondo, Virgilio, 197–198, 200, 204–206
Ellard, Gerald, 30, 314
Ellis, John Tracy, 27, 31, 549, 555
England, John, 587
Espín, Orlando, 204–206

F
Fahey, Michael, 42–46
Fairweather, Eugene, 423–424
Faulkner, Leonard, 357
Fenton, Joseph, 74, 491
Fessio, Joseph, 322
Finau, Patelisio, 115–117
Fitzgerald, Michael, 467
Fitzgerald, Robert, 351
Fitzmyer, Joseph A., 248–249, 255, 257
Fletcher, Frank, 352
Flores, Patricio, 200
Fontaine, Gaston, 338
Ford, Ita, 516
Francis, 9, 67, 77–81, 83, 88–92, 97, 128–129, 131, 190, 203, 207, 293–294, 307, 322–324, 326, 344, 360, 361, 373–375, 388–389, 391–392, 473, 524, 535, 569, *see also* Bergoglio, Jorge Mario
Francis, Michel, 140, 155–157
Francis, Norman, 185
Franco, Francisco, 85
Friedan, Betty, 36
Fry, Christopher, 138
Fuellenbach, John, 252
Funk, Virgil, 320

G
Gachet, Charles, 158
Gaillardetz, Richard R., 124, 291
Gallardo, Gloria, 200
Gallin, Alice, 554–555
Gamber, Klaus, 322
Gauthe, Gilbert, 78
Geiselmann, Josef Rupert, 244
Gelasius I, 494
George, Robert P., 501
Gilbert, Edward J., 152–153
Gillard, Julia, 59
Gilroy, Norman, 245, 247–248, 251, 364, 563, 566–567
Gleeson, James, 356–357, 360
Goizueta, Roberto, 206
Goldie, Rosemary, 231
Gomez, José, 500
Goody, Launcelot, 350, 450, 567
Gordon, Caroline, 23
Gorsuch, Neil, 500
Gow, James Ian, 266–267
Graham, Billy, 63, 586
Grand'Maison, Jacques, 272
Granfield, Patrick, 76
Granquist, Mark, 437
Grassby, Al, 351
Greeley, Andrew, 72, 549
Greene, Graham, 21, 23
Gregory XVI, 489
Gregory, Wilton, 190
Grey Tyree, Patricia, *see* Grey, Martin de Porres
Grey, Martin de Porres, 179–181
Griffiths, James, 248
Grillmeier, Alois, 250
Groot, Jan C., 418
Guardini, Romano, 316
Guéranger, Prosper, 310
Gutiérrez, Gustavo, 197–198

H
Habito, Ruben, 219
Hackett, Estelle, 314
Hallinan, Paul John, 319
Hamelin, Jean, 270
Hamid, Idris, 153–154
Harder, Helmut, 427

Harrington, Daniel, 254
Harrington, Wilfrid, 252
Harris, Maria, 283, 285
Harrison, Brian W., 322
Harvey, Clyde, 153, 156
Hawkes, Paul, 357
Hayes, Alan, 54–55
Heaps, John, 351
Hehir, J. Bryan, 70
Helman, Ivy, 229–230
Henderson, John, 458
Herberg, Will, 26–27, 33
Hermaniuk, Maxim, 399, 426
Herrera, Marina, 205
Hill, John, 351
Hillenbrand, Reinhold, 313, 315
Hiss, Alger, 21
Hofinger, Johannes, 572
Hogan, Michael, 366
Hoover, Herbert, 490
Howard, Edward, 248
Huerta, Dolores, 207
Humbard, Rex, 586
Hume, Paul, 317
Humiliana (Sr), 151
Huntington, Samuel P., 498

I
Illich, Ivan, 516
Ireland, John, 85
Isasi-Díaz, Ada María, 205

J
Jackson, Jesse, 178
James I, 54
Jefferson, Thomas, 489
Jesus of Nazareth, 48, 50, 77, 117, 121–122, 127, 133–134, 159, 161, 169, 173–174, 205, 234, 247, 258, 291, 356, 383, 456, 458, 466, 510–512, 521, 574
Jobst, John, 567
John of Paris, 494
John Paul II, 67, 73–76, 78–80, 86, 90, 94, 96–97, 121–122, 132–133, 220, 290–291, 326, 385, 391, 403, 411, 456, 460, 474, 479, 516, 520–521, 532, 583, *see also* Wojtyla, Karol
John XXIII, 2, 31, 34–36, 42, 50, 55, 103, 138, 147, 204, 231, 249–250, 259, 278, 302, 381, 385, 412, 417, 493, 498, 510, 515, 551
Johnson, Lyndon B., 37–38, 63, 196
Johnson, Martin, 44
Jordan, Pascal, 156
Julliard, Louis, 114
Jungmann, Josef, 572

K
Kazel, Dorothy, 516
Kearney, Geraldine, 240
Kearns, Christopher (Chris), 36
Keating, John, 416, 423
Keating, Paul, 354
Keehan, Carol, 442
Kennedy, Jacqueline, 34
Kennedy, John F., 21, 32–34, 36–37, 195
Kernodle, Tammy Lynn, 176
Khrushchev, Nikita, 26, 29, 34
King Jr., Martin Luther, 36, 179
Kinne, Rosemary, 240
Kocik, Thomas, 323
Komonchak, Joseph A., 7–8, 76, 94, 193, 239, 279–280, 348
Kwasniewski, Peter, 323

L
LaFarge, John, 18–19
Lamberigts, Mathijs, 530
Lambert, Bernard, 418
Landon, Elizabeth, 240
Lane, Dermot, 569, 571
Lane, Loras T., 549
Langlois, Joseph, 43
La Salle, John Baptist de, 559
Latourelle, René, 252, 254
Lavanoux, Maurice, 315–316
LaVerdiere, Eugene, 252
Lawson, Judy, 240
Laycock, Douglas, 500–501
Leamy, Robin, 107
Leary, John, 124
Leckey, Dolores, 288
LeDoux, Jerome, 176
Lee, Jung-young, 219
Lee, Merrilyn, 240

Lefebvre, Marcel, 74, 94, 324
Léger, Paul-Émile, 247, 249, 251–252, 416–418, 550, 552
Legrand, Hervé, 260
Lengeling, Emil, 318
Leo XIII, 16, 90, 92, 444, 490, 494–495, 502, 535, 567
Leonard, Ellen, 48
Lercaro, Giacomo, 332
Levinson, Bradley, 569
Lewinski, Ron, 253
Lohfink, Norbert, 249
Lonergan, Bernard, 163–164
Lovat, Terence, 573
Lowe Ching, Theresa, 138, 154–155, 157
Loya, Gloria, 205
Lubac, Henri de, 74
Lucas, Lawrence, 180
Lucey, Robert E., 197
Luckman, Thomas, 41
Luna, Roger, 206
Lung, Richard Ho, 156
Lynch, William F., 24, 27, 32
Lyonnet, Stanislaus, 249

M

MacDonald, Heidi, 47
MacDonald, John, 43
Macdonald, Stuart, 53
McGowan, Mark G., 49
MacKellar, Michael, 351
Mackenzie King, William Lyon, 476
MacKenzie, Roderick, 248
Madison, James, 488
Mahoney, Anne Louise, 10
Mainville, Bessie, 165
Malcolm X, 181
Malone, Mary, 48
Maloney, Charles Garret, 251
Maly, Eugene H., 248
Malzaire, Gabriel, 148
Manley, Edna, 159
Mannion, M. Francis, 321
Mansfield, Mike, 21
Manso, Alonso, 546
Margerie, Bernard de, 420
Maritain, Jacques, 16, 23–24
Maritain, Raïssa, 16, 23
Markoe, William, 18
Marks, Monica, 355
Martínez-Vásquez, Hjamil, 194
Mary [Blessed Virgin], 107, 159, 162, 342, 451, 466
Massam, Katharine, 63
Mataca, Petero, 105, 107
Mathis, Michael, 315
Matovina, Timothy M., 204
Mauriac, François, 24
Maurin, Peter, 21
Mayne, Geoffrey Francis, 366
McAfee Brown, Robert, 33
McAuley, Catherine, 355
McAuley, James, 254
McBrien, Richard, 76
McCabe, Thomas, 567
McCarthy, Joseph R., 20–21, 23, 26
McCool, Francis, 246
McCormick, Vincent, 492
McCue, Michele Peseux, 185
McEleney, John J., 152
McEwan, Tracey, 235
McGowan, Mark, 49–50
McGuigan, James, 51
McInerny, Ralph, 85
McIntyre, James, 277, 319
McKenzie, John L., 253
McManus, Frederick, 316, 318–319
McNamara, Jo Ann Kay, 49
McNicholas, John, 584
Medina, Lara, 200, 203
Meier, John, 252
Merkle, Judith, 381
Merton, Thomas, 23
Meyer, Albert Gregory, 248, 250–252, 276, 429, 531
Michel, Virgil, 312–317
Miller, Larry, 427
Min, Anselm Kyongsuk, 219
Mindszenty, Joseph, 20
Mocquereau, André, 312
Modin, Battista, 186–187
Moloney, Francis, 252, 256
Montminy, Jean-Paul, 270
Moore, Cecilia, 175–176
Moran, Gabriel, 573
Moran, William L., 246, 249
Morris, Jill Ann, 156

Muldoon, Thomas, 451
Murnion, Philip, 290
Murphy, Jeffrey, 449
Murphy, Roland E., 255
Murphy, Terrence, 50, 52
Murray, Jane Marie, 314
Murray, John Courtney, 27, 34, 74, 348–349, 485, 491–496, 502, 504–505, 548

N
Narcisse, Lisa, 156
Neal, Marie Augusta, 70
Nearon, Joseph R., 185–186
Neiman, Joseph, 283–285
Nestor, James, 367, 370
Neuhaus, Richard John, 86, 95, 439–440
Nineham, Dennis, 256
Nixon, Richard M., 21, 33
Nocent, Adrien, 340
Noll, Mark, 440
Noonan, John A., 486
North, Robert, 248, 256
Novak, Michael, 85
Nystrom, Carolyn, 440

O
O'Boyle, Patrick, 277, 549
O'Brien, David, 557
O'Brien, Eris, 450
O'Connor, Flannery, 23
O'Dea, Thomas F., 31
O'Donnell, Patrick Mary, 450
O'Farrell, Patrick, 333, 348–349, 354, 356, 448–449
O'Gara, James, 21
O'Gara, Margaret, 426–427
O'Hara, John, 25, 277
O'Loughlin, John, 123
O'Malley, John W., 252, 528
O'Mara, John Aloysius, 165–166
O'Meara, Thomas, 281
O'Sullivan, Joseph, 44
Obama, Barack Hussein, 77, 439, 499
Olivares, Luis, 207
Ormerod, Neil, 132, 370
Orsy, Ladislas, 299
Ortega, Gregoria, 200
Ottaviani, Alfredo, 29, 247–249, 492, 497
Owens, Joseph, 144

P
Pantin, Anthony, 152
Paré, Marius, 549
Parks, Rosa, 28
Parsch, Pius, 30, 316
Passicos, Jean, 272
Paul (Apostle), 115, 280, 291
Paul VI, 36–37, 63, 67, 70, 73, 75, 92, 102–103, 106, 197, 211, 213, 230–231, 286, 302, 304, 308, 318–319, 322, 324, 326, 336, 365, 377, 383, 385, 400, 421, 515, 517, 531 *see also* Giovanni Battista Montini
Paul, Camille, 233
Paunga, Mikaele (Mika), 10
Pearce, Marion, 129
Peelman, Achiel, 471
Pell, George, 358–359
Pelland, Gilles, 254
Pelletier, Georges-Léon, 250
Pelletier, Leonard, 468
Penn, William, 486
Percy, Walker, 23
Perdjert, Boniface, 120–121, 124
Pettit, Norman, 351
Peyton, Patrick, 63
Phan, Peter C., 215, 218–219, 221–222, 225
Philips, Gérard, 250, 279
Pinder, Patrick, 160
Pius IX, 244, 489, 492
Pius X, 295–296, 311–312, 330
Pius XI, 19, 211, 281, 295–296, 551, 584
Pius XII, 16–17, 26, 29, 31, 177, 243, 245, 248, 295–296, 313, 317, 330, 364, 510, 515, 585
Poncet, Alexandre, 245
Porter, Herman A., 179
Posey, Thaddeus J., 186–187
Poulle, Mapletoft, 156
Prell, Riv-Ellen, 478

Priesand, Sally, 478
Priscilla, 291
Procter-Smith, Marjorie, 341
Provost, James H., 265–267
Prowse, Christopher, 458

Q
Quinn, John R., 71

R
Rahim, Jennifer, 149
Rahner, Karl, 104, 209, 249–250, 279
Ratzinger, Joseph, 74, 76, 249–250, 322, 549, *see also* Benedict XVI
Rausch, James S., 70
Reagan, Ronald, 439, 516
Reinhold, Hans A., 313–314
Reynolds, Robyn, 240
Rice, Robert, 357
Richard, Gabriel, 587
Ritter, Joseph, 247, 277, 279, 545, 550–551, 553
Rivers, Clarence Joseph, 177–178, 183
Roach, Dolly, 165
Roberts, Oral, 586
Robertson, Pat, 586, 589
Robinson, Gene, 436
Robinson, Locksley, 156
Rochard, Garfield, 156
Rock, John, 29, 380
Rodney, Walter, 142
Romeo, Antonino, 248–249
Romero, C. Gilbert, 206
Romero, Oscar Arnulfo, 516
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 17
Rouault, Georges, 24
Routhier, Gilles, 252
Rowe, Cyprian, 184
Roy, Maurice, 248, 421
Rudd, Kevin, 121
Ruiz, Ralph, 199
Rush, Ormond, 129, 198
Ryan, Anne, 240
Ryan, John A., 490
Ryan, William, 421
Ryder, William, 350

S
Santamaria, Bartholomew Augustine (Bob), 349, 361, 363–364, 366, 374
Sasso, Sandy Eisenberg, 478
Sauve, John, 148
Sayegh, Maximos IV, 399, 401
Schillebeeckx, Edward, 249, 279
Schloesser, Stephen, 381
Schmiedl, Joachim, 10
Schreiter, Robert, 167, 170
Seljak, David, 389
Senior, Donald, 252
Sheen, Fulton J., 26–27, 277, 509, 515, 586
Shinnick, David, 356
Siegman, Edward F., 254
Skinner, Patrick, 50
Smith, Alfred Emanuel, 490
Smith, Pauline, 233
Smulders, Pieter, 250
Solomon, Priscilla, 164–165
Solomone, Anthony Kafoa, 103
Spadafora, Francesco, 249
Spellman, Francis, 21, 25, 74, 276, 319, 550–552, 566
St Olmer, Dunstan, 159
Stafford, Joseph, 51–52
Stalin, Joseph, 26
Stanley, David M., 255
Starkloff, Carl, 172
Stewart, Bernard Denis, 567
Suenens, Leo Jozef, 530
Sullivan, Francis A., 254

T
Tan, Jonathan Y., 222
Tardini, Domenico, 565
Tate, Allen, 23
Tavard, George, 8, 103, 418
Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre, 32
Tekakwitha, Kateri, 167–168
Telfer, Peter, 156
Theobald, Christophe, 251
Thils, Gustave, 45
Thomas, Albert Reuben Edward, 567
Till, Emmett, 28
Tillard, Jean-Marie, 260, 424, 426
Toohey, John, 567

Tracy, David, 71
Tromp, Sebastian, 250
Truman, Harry S., 18–19
Tulloch, Rohan, 157
Turbanti, Giovanni, 347
Turner, Margaret Mary Kemarre (Arrernte), 119

V
Valiente, O. Ernesto, 137
Van Hoof, Mary Ann, 22
Vanderveld, George, 427
Varela, Don Felix, 587
Vaughan, Roger, 565
Velati, Mauro, 550
Vermeule, Adrian, 501
Viganò, Carlo Maria, 85
Vilela, Albano, 269
Visser ‘t Hooft, Willem Adolf, 418
Vogt, Ernst, 245

W
Wainwright, Elaine, 233
Ward, Barabara, 421
Ward, Justine, 312–313
Ward, Miriam, 255
Warman, Helen, 240
Warren, Earl, 22
Webster, Carole Marie, 148
Weigel, George, 95, 512
Weigel, Gustave, 33–34
Weimers, Liz, 240
White, Joseph, 528
Whittle, Sean, 549
Wicks, Jared, 252, 254
Wilcken, John, 352
Willebrands, Jan, 496, *see also* Willebrands, Johannes
Willebrands, Johannes, 418, *see also* Willebrands, Jan
Williams, Kevin, 156
Williams, Mary Lou, 178
Williams, Roger, 486
Wills, Garry, 35
Wilson, Bryan, 41
Witherup, Ronald, 256
Woodcock Tentler, Leslie, 385
Wojtyla, Karol, 74, *see also* John Paul II
Wright, John, 279
Wright, N.T., 256

Y
Young, Guilford Clyde, 231, 253, 333–337, 344, 350
Young, John, 54

Z
Zedong, Mao, 20
Zerwick, Maximilian, 249

INDEX OF VATICAN II DOCUMENTS

Ad Gentes, 123, 182, 207, 294, 507, 510–511, 514–516, 517 n. 23, 519–520, 522, 525
AG 1–18 512
AG 2 517 n. 23
AG 4 124
AG 6 181
AG 7 512
AG 9 130
AG 15–17 281
AG 17 303 n. 36
AG 21 188
AG 22 161, 188
AG 23 281
AG 24 281
AG 26 123, 281

Apostolicam Actuositatem, 45, 278–279, 280
AA 2 303
AA 9 231
AA 10 303 n. 36
AA 21 303
AA 22 132, 281
AA 24 130 n. 29, 280, 300 n. 23, 303 n. 36
AA 25 303
AA 29 233

Christus Dominus, 145 n. 43, 268
CD 9–10 264 n. 9
CD 17 263
CD 27 263–264, 264 n. 10–11
CD 36 144
CD 37 103, 263

Dei Verbum, 106, 246–248, 250 n. 25, 251–253, 255–258, 332, 513
DV 1 257
DV 2 246, 257
DV 4 246, 257
DV 5 246, 253
DV 7–10 250
DV 8 246
DV 9 246
DV 10 246
DV 11 246
DV 12 92 n. 27
DV 19 246–247
DV 21–26 247, 254, 257
DV 21 252–253, 332 n. 18, 333 n. 29
DV 23–25 253
DV 24 250, 254, 256
DV 25 253, 256
DV 26 246

Dignitatis Humanae, 92, 124, 441, 485, 491, 492 n. 18, 495–498, 496 n. 34, 497 n. 36, 505, 513, 549
DH 1 496
DH 2 124, 493 n. 25, 496
DH 7 495
DH 12 123
DH 13 125

Gaudium et Spes, 45, 68, 92, 106, 110–111, 112 n. 29, 113 n. 31, 143, 176, 207, 212–214, 218 n. 20, 224, 230, 253, 294, 347–361, 364–365, 369–375, 377–378, 380, 381, 382–383, 382 n. 15, 387–388, 391–392, 513
GS 1–45 350 n. 18
GS 1 113, 118, 145, 224, 357, 378 n. 3, 393 n. 45
GS 2 134, 350 n. 17, 370
GS 4 118, 202
GS 11 252
GS 26 357

GS 29 357 n. 44
GS 41 350
GS 42 120, 350–351
GS 43 280 n. 17
GS 44 129, 252, 351, 359–360
GS 46–93 378, 381–383, 385–386, 389, 391–392
GS 46 365
GS 47–52 380, 383
GS 56 205 n. 42
GS 58 185 n. 34
GS 60 182
GS 63–72 381
GS 75 366
GS 80 111–112

Gravissimum Educationis, 545–546, 549, 553, 556–557, 559–561, 563, 566, 568–569, 575
GE 1–6 551
GE 1 551, 566
GE 2 551, 566
GE 3 551, 566–567
GE 6 551, 566
GE 7 552
GE 7–12 552
GE 8–9 553
GE 8 570, 571
GE 9 552, 567
GE 10 552–553
GE 12 553
GE, Conclusion 558

Inter Mirifica, 581–587, 589, 591, 593
IM 3 586
IM 15 589–590
IM 18 583
IM 19 582
IM 21 263
IM 23 582

Lumen Gentium, 45, 67–68, 75 n. 13, 77, 106, 112, 113, 186, 188, 201, 253, 278–279, 281, 293–294, 299, 356, 370, 513, 533
LG 8 327, 450 n. 12
LG 9–17 75
LG 10 297
LG 11 300
LG 12 77, 193, 205–206
LG 16 246, 511
LG 23 109
LG 27 297
LG 30–38 279
LG 30 300
LG 31 131, 279–280, 300, 301 n. 25, 370 n. 36
LG 32 300, 303 n. 36
LG 33–35 303 n. 36
LG 33 280, 296, 300, 303
LG 35 129, 280, 303
LG 37 303 n. 36
LG 41 280–281
LG 43 182
LG 56 511
Nota Explicativa Praevia 301

Nostra Aetate, 124, 401, 422, 463–465, 467, 473, 477–480, 483–484, 512–513, 524, 549, 570, 574
NA 1 465
NA 2 120, 123–124, 464 n. 6, 466, 482
NA 3 466, 482
NA 4 246, 464 n. 6, 466, 480, 482
NA 5 463

Optatam Totius, 108, 527, 530–533, 535, 539, 541, 543
OT, Introduction 108, n. 19, 537
OT 1 532
OT 2–3 533
OT 4–7 533
OT 4 533
OT 5 109, 539
OT 7 109
OT 8–12 534
OT 8 534
OT 9 535
OT 10 535
OT 13–18 535, 539
OT 15 536

OT 16 536
OT 17 536
OT 18 536
OT 19–21 536
OT 19 536
OT 22 537
OT, Conclusion 537

Orientalium Ecclesiarum, 400–403, 410, 412
OE 1 401
OE 2 401
OE 3 401
OE 4 407 n. 37, 409
OE 5 401, 403
OE 24 401
OE 26–29 407
OE 30 402–404

Perfectae Caritatis, 232
PC 8 182

Presbyterorum Ordinis, 253 n. 34, 268, 533
PO 7 263, 264 n. 11
PO 8 280 n. 17

Sacrosanctum Concilium, 37, 106, 131, 188, 231, 253, 309–310, 313, 318–319, 324–326, 330, 336–337, 513
SC 1 187
SC 4 326 n. 78
SC 7 332, 337–338
SC 9 344
SC 14 109, 129, 337
SC 15–16 536
SC 21 327 n. 79
SC 23 325
SC 24 253, 337
SC 25 337
SC 33 337
SC 35.1 337
SC 36 325
SC 36.1 337
SC 37–40 327
SC 37 126
SC 38 128
SC 40 131
SC 44 263
SC 45 263
SC 46 263
SC 51 253, 256, 337
SC 52 256, 338
SC 55 325
SC 56 333 n. 29, 337
SC 57 325
SC 64 253
SC 107 337
SC 108 337
SC 123 126
SC 126 263

Unitatis Redintegratio, 113–114, 117, 144, 253, 326, 400, 402, 420, 426, 429, 441, 445, 447, 452–453, 455, 460, 458, 460–461, 495, 570, 574
UR 1 416
UR 2–4 114 n. 38
UR 4 116 n. 52, 447 n. 1
UR 5–12 114 n. 39
UR 5 116 n. 52
UR 8 114, 407
UR 9 116
UR 11 116
UR 15 407
UR 23 420

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