Texts and Contexts: 
A History of Religious Education in American Catholic High Schools, 1929-1969

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of the
School of Theology and Religious Studies
Of The Catholic University of America
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

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By
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Washington, D.C.
2013
Religious education in Catholic high schools underwent dramatic changes in the United States over the course of the twentieth century. Between 1929 and 1969, Catholic priests, women religious, and lay leaders affiliated with various movements wrote significant religion textbooks that were widely circulated and often departed from the traditional question-and-answer structure common to the *Baltimore Catechism*. Each chapter of this dissertation highlights a thematic context and its influence on religion textbooks. This study contributes to the history of American Catholic life by examining this highly transformative period of religious education in the United States.

In the late 1920s, religion books, which were precursors to religion textbooks, were popular in Catholic high schools. They sought to make the catechism more applicable to students’ lives by de-emphasizing memorization and stressing character development. However, textbooks inspired by popular Church movements soon replaced them. Catholic Action leaders wrote textbooks in the 1930s and 40s that sought to restore the Kingdom of Christ through the theology of personalism and the Mystical Body of Christ. At the same time, leaders of the Liturgical Movement wrote textbooks that encouraged students to participate actively in the liturgy. In the 1950s and early 1960s, leaders of the Kerygmatic Movement brought an integrated message of divine grace based on salvation history, the liturgy, Scripture, and the proclamation of the Gospel.
Finally, religion textbooks in the mid- and late 1960s were influenced by the anthropological and political stages of the Catechetical Movement, as well as Liberation Theology and the reinterpretation of Divine Revelation. Hence, this dissertation reflects the changing texts and contexts of religious education in the mid-twentieth century.
This dissertation by Susan White Baumert fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in Church History approved by Christopher J. Kauffman, Ph.D., as Director, and by William D. Dinges, Ph.D., and Sandra Yocum, Ph.D., as Readers.

Christopher J. Kauffman, Ph.D., Director

William D. Dinges, Ph.D., Reader

Sandra Yocum, Ph.D., Reader
In gratitude to my husband, Stephen,
Whose love brought me closer to Christ
That our lives might bear much fruit together.

(John 15:5)
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACUA</td>
<td>American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives, Catholic University of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCD</td>
<td>Confraternity of Christian Doctrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEA</td>
<td>(National) Catholic Educational Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCEA</td>
<td>National Catholic Education Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCWC</td>
<td>National Catholic War Council (later) National Catholic Welfare Council</td>
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**Specialized Catholic Action:**

- **JEC or YCS** Young Christian Students
- **JAC** Young Christian Farmers
- **JIC** Young Christian Independents
- **JOC or YCW** Young Christian Workers
- **JUC** Young Christian University students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SLU</th>
<th>St. Louis University</th>
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<td>UND</td>
<td>University of Notre Dame</td>
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the assistance, encouragement, and guidance of many friends, colleagues, and family members who supported me in the present study, particularly Stephen Baumert, PhD, my beloved husband, to whom this work is dedicated. Thank you for watching the boys all those nights and weekends, for sharing in the journey of writing with me, and for your unconditional love and support. I thank my sons, Jonah and Benjamin, for their smiles and laughter, and for reminding mommy of the more important things in life. I also thank my parents, Steve and Jane White, for their love and financial support over my many years of education, and my brothers, Steve Jr., Chandler, and Marc, with their families, for their encouragement in all my endeavors. To the many close friends who are too numerous to name: thank you for lifting my spirits and encouraging me along the way.

I wish to recognize the assistance of my advisor and mentor, Christopher J. Kauffman, PhD, for editing and guiding the work in its form and content; Rev. Jacques Gres-Gayer, for his direction of the Church History program at The Catholic University of America throughout my coursework; and the Catholic Daughters of the Americas, for providing a research assistantship for three years of my graduate studies, which helped to make this degree possible. I thank my readers for their time and service: Sandra Yocum, PhD, of the University of Dayton, for her advice in the crucial early stages of this project and for providing perspective throughout, and William Dinges, PhD, for his keen eye and encouragement in writing. I thank Geraldine Laird, for the countless hours she spent
reading and proofreading the entire manuscript, and Rev. Frederick Miller, of Mount St. Mary’s Seminary, for sharing his ideas and experiences.

I am grateful to all of my professors who guided my appreciation of the history of the Catholic Church. I thank the archivists of the religious orders too numerous to mention, whose willingness to share their hidden treasures helped to bring my research to life. Finally, I thank Rev. Anthony V. DeCandia of the Diocese of Raleigh, North Carolina. You were my first interpreter of the Catholic faith. Thank you for teaching me about the beauty of the Church’s teachings as an undergraduate student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Your willingness to follow God’s call for your life changed the path of my own.
INTRODUCTION

Religion textbooks are a unique resource for historical analysis. They reflect contemporary trends in pedagogy, theology, and religious education. They represent the efforts of individuals, or the collaboration of a few individuals, committed to improving religious education for young people. Although earlier studies have explored elementary religion textbooks,¹ the present analysis focuses principally on the more advanced theology behind Catholic high-school religion textbooks.² This study consists of five chapters that examine a selection of prominent Catholic high-school religion textbooks published between 1929 and 1969 and the underlying movements that influenced them. It is important to stress some of the contents of these books because they have never received scholarly study.

The first chapter assesses how the Munich Method brought improvements to religious education, which resulted in the development of religion books in the 1920s. In this early phase of the Catechetical Movement, Rev. Wilhelm Pichler, a German religious educator, suggested the writing of religion books. These books followed the outline of the catechism, but they also included stories and psychological adaptations for the various elementary grades. They stressed the importance of understanding the “Creed, Cult, and Code.” While high-school religion books lacked integration (each grade studied one


²A limited number of elementary textbooks are analyzed for contrast and depth in chapters 1 and 3.
aspect of Catholicism) and stressed the deductive reasoning of Neo-Scholasticism, they responded to the psychological approach of the Munich Method by emphasizing character development.

Chapter two focuses on the work of Catholic Action in the 1920s and 30s, a movement originally from Belgium that was first based on the work of Canon Joseph Cardign, founder of the Jeunesse Ouvriere Chretienne (JOC). Cardign responded to papal wishes for the development of an apostolic youth movement. The result was Specialized Catholic Action, which stressed like-to-like forms of identity and influence, encouraging students to connect with other students and to seek new ways to overcome problems in society and to evangelize the world for Christ. This movement was based upon three principles: personalism, the Mystical Body of Christ, and the spirituality of the Liturgical Movement.

The Catholic Action series of textbooks written by Rev. Raymond J. Campion and Ellamay Horan, PhD, sought to teach students Catholic Action. Their textbooks presented how Church teachings touched every aspect of the students’ lives. The books structured new approaches to every-day concerns, ranging from works of mercy, to home life, leisure, industrial problems, and the economic organization of society. The Catholic Action series sought to instill in students Catholic doctrine and an awareness of how to apply Christianity to their lives. Campion and Horan’s textbook series connected Catholic Action and the Liturgical Movement. It was grounded on the laity’s efforts of social outreach.
Chapter three describes the Liturgical Movement’s early efforts to improve religious education. Dom Virgil Michel, OSB, brought the renewal of the liturgy to St. John’s Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota, from the Benedictine monasteries of France. His efforts influenced the Sisters of the Order of St. Dominic and Sister Jane Marie Murray, OP, who became instrumental in the incorporation of the Liturgical Movement into the religion classroom. Beginning in the 1930s, Michel and Murray’s *Christ-Life Series in Religion* (1934-35) advanced an experiential approach to religious education based on the liturgy for the elementary grades. The *Christian Religion Series* (1939-1946) expounded on these ideas for high school and college students. Although Michel’s premature death prevented the completion of the later textbooks, they represent his vision for the intimate connection between the liturgy and catechesis.

The Kerygmatic Movement, which is examined in chapter four, gained popularity within the field of religious education on the eve of the Second Vatican Council. Rev. Josef Jungmann, SJ, and his student, Rev. Johannes Hofinger, SJ, gave catechesis a new vocabulary through the kerygma. This movement promoted the importance of salvation history, Scripture, the liturgy, and proclaiming the Gospel of Christ while utilizing a Christocentric approach. It was predominant in high-school religion textbooks published in the latter half of the 1950s and at the beginning of the 1960s. The first International Catechetical Study Week, which was held at Eichstätt in 1960, was internationally recognized by religious educators and represented the height of the kerygma.

During the 1950s, Hofinger traveled the globe to promote the kerygmatic approach to catechesis. In the process, he worked with Sister Maria de la Cruz Aymes,
HHS, on the *On Our Way* series for elementary grades. Their efforts produced one of the first elementary textbooks to include the kerygmatic approach. Around the same time, William J. Reedy, an editor at Sadlier Publishing, Inc., took an active role in the incorporation of the Kerygmatic Movement into high-school religion textbooks through the publication of the *Catholic High School Religion Series* (rev. ed.). Sister Jane Marie Murray, a central figure in chapter three, returned to the catechetical scene and published another series of high-school religion textbooks with contributions by Rev. Louis J. Putz and Rev. Thomas Oakley Barrosse, CSC. Murray wrote the liturgical and doctrinal parts to the textbooks, while Putz’s contributions stressed conversion and Barrosse’s focused on Scripture studies. Their combined efforts represent the growing popularity of the kerygmatic approach and its continuity with the Liturgical Movement.

Chapter five examines the anthropological and political stages of the Catechetical Movement during the 1960s. This chapter begins by analyzing the documents of Vatican II and presents the findings of the International Catechetical Study Weeks held between 1962 and 1968. It also discusses how the influential context of Liberation Theology and the interpretations of various prominent theologians ushered in a new era of religious education. In addition, the chapter presents a detailed study of the revised edition of the *Living with Christ* high-school religion textbooks published by the Christian Brothers of St. Mary’s College. These textbooks captured the essence of the Catechetical Movement.

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in the 1960s. Their authors sought to de-emphasize both the doctrinal and the kerygmatic approaches and to instill an incarnational spirituality in the students.

This work is based upon original research that examines a selection of prominent religion textbooks published between 1929 and 1969. These books reflected many of the advancements in religious education at this time. They provide readers of this dissertation with unique insights into the history of American Catholic life and a deeper appreciation of a highly transformative period of religious education.
The Catechetical Movement, represented by the efforts of twentieth-century innovators within Roman Catholicism to improve religious education, originated in German-speaking countries before World War I. Educators sought a more effective method of religious instruction than the “question-answer approach” widely used to teach the catechism. Adapting the educational psychology of Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841), as interpreted by Tuiskon Ziller (1817-1882), they created the “Munich Method.” This method was largely a “school-centered and child-oriented method,” whereby teachers utilized lesson plans to teach the catechism, beginning with visualizations and emphasizing concrete applications rather than abstract formulas. In the United States, religious orders wrote elementary-level religion books based on this method. Although the Munich Method was not intended for high-school educators, religion books for high-school students drew from these early improvements by utilizing the layout of the Baltimore Catechism and by emphasizing character formation.

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2 Raymond A. Lucker, The Aims of Religious Education in the Early Church and in the American Catechetical Movement (Rome: Catholic Book Agency, 1966), 113. Herbart was noted for applying scientific methods to religious education. His thought on modern psychology emphasized the formation of the whole person.

3 Marthaler, “Modern Catechetical Movement,” 276.
The Munich Method and the Catechetical Movement

The Munich Method was first adopted by a group of catechetical leaders that convened a special interest meeting during the 1912 International Eucharistic Congress in Vienna. In 1928, the Congress of Munich adopted this method for all of Germany. Teachers in the United States soon incorporated it into their religion classroom through the efforts of Rev. Joseph J. Baierl (1884-1955) of St. Bernard Seminary in Rochester, New York; Anthony Fuerst (1904-1975) of St. Mary’s Seminary, Cleveland, Ohio; and Rudolph G. Bandas (1896-1965) of St. Paul Seminary in Minnesota. Bandas’ early work, *Catechetical Methods*, popularized the method and influenced religious education in the United States. The method used the principle of “learning by doing.” Students worked with materials as a way of experiential learning. It maintained that an intellectual approach was insufficient for learning religion. It emphasized the understanding of a child’s heart and will. Children should see themselves in the image of Christ.

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6 Marthaler, “Modern Catechetical Movement,” 276.


8 Ibid., 56.
The Munich Method was first divided in three distinct parts (presentation, explanation, and application to life) and was known as the *text-analysis method*. Because this arrangement was subjected to criticism, a fivefold approach redefined the standard framework of the Munich Method pedagogy. It was known as the *text-developing method* and expanded the triple division into five steps: preparation, presentation, explanation, deepening summary, and application.9 Teachers using the text-developing approach began with a story and later proceeded to teach the catechism text.

In the United States, the Munich Method first was identified with the *adaptive way*, which was promoted by Sister Rosalia M. Walsh, MHSH (1896-1982). Her religious community taught religion to children who were unable to attend Catholic schools.10 The sisters did not use any book other than the *Baltimore Catechism* as part of their teaching method. However, they made a lasting contribution to Catholic religious education through the systematization of the Munich Method approach for teaching the catechism. They sought “viable alternatives to the common pedagogical practices of rote memorization and text analysis.”11 Through Walsh’s techniques, students worked from

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9Franz Posset, *American Catechetics: Personal and Secular* (Winona, MN: St. Mary’s College Press, 1969), 56. Later, this schema was reduced again to three main steps and two secondary steps, preparation and deepening summary.


the visual and the concrete to the theoretical. They learned catechism questions and answers at the end of each lesson.\textsuperscript{12}

**The Transition from the Catechism to Religion Books**

The Munich Method laid the foundation for later advancements in religion textbooks. Throughout much of the twentieth century, the *Baltimore Catechism* was the standard text used by elementary students. High-school religion texts commonly included Joseph Deharbe’s *Large Catechism*; Thomas Kinkead’s *Explanation of the Baltimore Catechism*; the Christian Brothers’ *Catechism*; and Michael Sheehan’s *Apologetics*.\textsuperscript{13} However, beginning in 1929, innovative Catholic authors began publishing new catechetical materials that sought to make the religion class more interesting and engaging. Their efforts provided educators with more options. In the process, religion books emerged as a new genre of teaching materials, comprising an early, although largely under-documented, component of American Catholic history.

\begin{footnotesize}
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\footnote{12} Nolan, “Rosalia Walsh,” n.p.

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Religion books were based on the three-part catechetical arrangement: dogma, moral teachings, and worship (also known as “Creed, Cult, Code”). They often included the fundamentals of the faith, the life of Christ, apologetics, and Christian practice. Authors also attempted to enhance the character formation of students, while de-emphasizing the memoriter (memorization) method.

Rev. Wilhelm Pichler (1862-1938), an innovative German contributor to the field of catechetics and religious education, was one of the early supporters of religion books. Pichler studied Catholic theology in Vienna and at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome in the 1880s. He was ordained a priest in 1887 and worked as a catechist in Vienna until 1903. Pichler built his religious education ideas on the thought of Otto Willmann (1839-1920), a well-known German Catholic philosopher and educator. Pichler sought to make religious instruction more applicable to the lives of the students. Although he was reportedly somewhat shy, he first suggested the use of religion books at the Catechetical Congress in Vienna in 1912. He demonstrated his suggestions to the Congress through

14 The phrase "Creed, Cult, Code" was heard frequently during the years before the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), drawing on the Baltimore Catechism, which followed the Catechism of the Council of Trent (published 1566). The sacraments were reserved for part three and were described as a "means of grace" and a remedy for sin. The current Catechism of the Catholic Church, 2nd ed. (New York: Doubleday Publishing, 2003), preserves this basic structure but moves the sacraments forward to part two, and adds a new section on the liturgy, which was not in the former catechisms.

his own model textbook. One of Pichler’s later works further established the Catholic religion booklet for the elementary grades.

By the end of the 1920s, several definite examples of religion books had emerged at both the elementary and high school levels. Religion teachers cooperated with authors in the writing process to teach children various aspects of the faith, including the biblical narrative and appropriate levels of doctrine from the catechism. Pichler’s model was copied and spread quickly, including within the United States. Two notable series of religion books included the *Spiritual Way* for the Catholic elementary school, and *A Course in Religion* for the Catholic high school.

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16Emerich Holzhausen, ed., *Referate des kongresses für katechetik* [Speeches of the Catechetical Congress] (Vienna: Kirsch, 1912), 52-172. His brother Johann Pichler was also a priest, pastoral theologian, and catechist.


Mother Margaret Bolton, RC, (1873-1943) was a sister of the Religious of the Cenacle. Her order, which was based out of New York City, was known for its dedication to providing religious instruction to converts and to Catholics who were poorly instructed in the faith. Bolton was originally from Richfield Springs, New York. Prior to entering the convent, she was trained as a public school teacher at the New York State Normal School in Albany (later State University of New York at Albany). She graduated in 1892 and taught English to the public school children of New York until 1906. In 1913, she became a model teacher at the New York Training School for Teachers, after which she entered the St. Regis convent in 1923.²¹

These life experiences helped Bolton to put together an effective plan of religious instruction. She borrowed different approaches to create her own unique method. From the Spiritual Exercises²² of St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), the first Superior General of the Jesuits, she took the principle of spiritual “self-activity” (in Spanish, exercicio).²³ From Herbart, the German philosopher-psychologist and educator whose writings helped


²³The Spiritual Exercises describe how Ignatius, at age 37, used “a well planned and organized sequence of studies with much self-activity” to teach his exercises to young boys (niños). This was identified with “the order and method of Paris,” which Ignatius learned after arriving at the University of Paris in 1528.
to inspire the Munich Method, she took the *principle of apperception*,\(^{24}\) as well as the notion of “proceeding from the known and familiar.” Finally, from John Dewey and the school of education, she took the *principle of interest*.\(^{25}\) Teachers should attempt to impart what the children could most readily understand, making use of concrete objects and avoiding premature abstractions. They should also appeal “to the spontaneous interest and inclinations of the children as incentives for learning.”\(^{26}\)

Between 1922 and 1940, Bolton published seven books for youth, including the *Spiritual Way* series for elementary grades. She built “a solid structure for Christian doctrine, using the catechism as the basis and developing inductively a mastery of the doctrinal truths of our Catholic Faith.” Bolton centered her teaching lessons on doctrinal content that was presented “slowly and with scientific care.” At the “end of the discussion of each doctrinal point, the catechism statement is given.” This was different from other adaptations of the Munich Method, since her lessons culminated in the

\(^{24}\)Literally translated, apperception means “added to perception.” The significance of the Herbartian notion of apperception primarily relates to the formulation of the method and the curriculum from the point of view of the experience already attained by the child. For more on Herbart’s thought, see *A Cyclopedia of Education*, vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1919), s.v. “apperception.”


dogmatic formulation. Her books were regarded for their comprehensive character; they included all material needed to teach a class, such as tests, problems, and projects.  

At the time of the series’ publication, Bolton was an associate professor at Fordham University in the Department of Education for the Teaching of Christian Doctrine. She later became the director of religion for the Cenacle Convents of America. She uses the principle of apperception to build upon the previous lessons, which are now “known.” Bolton also gives the students careful directions for making their own “Project Books,” emphasizing the principle of interest by allowing the students to choose their own title. She also uses self-activity. When the students reflect on their lessons, they are encouraged to write down their thoughts, similar to a guided spiritual journal. They also might copy statements and fill in the blanks, or look up questions in the catechism.

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27McGucken, “Renascence of Religion Teaching,” 340. Bolton dedicated all the books in the Spiritual Way series to Pope Pius XI on the occasion of the fiftieth jubilee of his ordination. In the introductory letter from the author to the student, she writes about how she hopes that the “Light and Love and Power” of God influence the student throughout the book. She desired for students to know God as their guide, and in doing so share His light with the world. It was her desire that, through her books, “millions of boys and girls” might “carry such an abundance of God’s Light and Love and Power that they will make this whole world bright and beautiful with light and love.”

28Bolton, Spiritual Way, bk. 2, 23. For example, the students had already learned how each person on earth has a body and a soul. In topic six of book two, she looks at how God’s image is reflected in persons. She continues to teach the lessons by asking questions and providing answers, but in a gentle, personal format that would elicit a response from the child. In a section called, “Why God Made Us in His Image and Likeness,” Bolton asks the students: “Are God’s image and likeness mostly in the body or in the soul?” she asks. “God’s image and likeness are mostly in the soul. Your soul has a power with which it thinks and knows. What is this power called?” the author asks again. “It is called the mind.” In addition, she discusses how: “Your soul also has a power with which it chooses. What is this power called?” She goes on to teach that everyone has a soul, which is made up of a mind and a will.
and check their answers. These types of project books could become very personal and introspective for the students, leading them to an increased spiritual awareness. 

One of the most apparent differences between Bolton’s books and the Baltimore Catechism was her approach to memorization. She asked students to memorize songs that contain Scripture verses set to music, rather than requiring the memorization of catechism formulas. Her books encouraged students to learn Gregorian chant, the name given by Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) to certain choral melodies introduced into the worship service of the early Christian church. She includes many simple musical scores containing sung verse that were part of this early form of liturgical worship. The illustrations in Bolton’s textbooks are drawings in two-tone color. They include poems framed by beautiful drawings, as well as activities and tests. The lessons are broken up into little stories, in an approach consistent with the Munich Method, providing examples to the child and reinforcing the lessons in the book. Bolton’s three-pronged approach of self-activity, apperception, and principle of interest guides each lesson. Teachers using these textbooks made the pattern familiar to the children and sought to increase their ability to learn about the Catholic religion.

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29 Bolton, Spiritual Way, bk. 2, 7-8.

30 Ibid., 21.

31 For example, in the third book, one of the musical scores quotes the Gospel of Luke 1:38 and 1:49, using Gregorian chant: fifth tone. For more information on this topic, see New Catholic Encyclopedia, 2nd ed., s.v. “Gregorian Chant.”
Bolton stresses the active participation of the students in the liturgy, which was important later in the Liturgical Movement, the topic of chapter two.\textsuperscript{32} They could increase their knowledge of the events of the Mass through a “Missal Hunt” (another example of self-activity), whereby students searched throughout the missal to find the various prayers in the Mass.\textsuperscript{33} The Mystical Body of Christ (which is very important for both Catholic Action and the Liturgical Movement in chapters two and three) is mentioned in one short lesson of the fourth book.\textsuperscript{34} The idea of justice (social or otherwise), which will be very important in chapter two on Catholic Action, is limited to a paragraph on the “virtue of justice,” and is considered a special gift granted to individuals who can see “the rights of everyone.” They have “a steadfast good will in wanting to give to everyone all that is his due.”\textsuperscript{35}

Bolton’s \textit{Spiritual Way} became the standard book for elementary religious instruction in Religious of the Cenacle classrooms. Although her texts were regarded as

\textsuperscript{32}Bolton, \textit{Spiritual Way}, bk. 3, 138. Students were advised to copy a diagram in their project book that encouraged them to be active in the three parts of the “Complete Action” of the Mass, including the preparation, the Consecration and Communion, and the thanksgiving. They should offer themselves to God in the first parts of the Mass. They should be active through acts of faith, hope, and love during the Consecration and Communion. Finally, they should extend love and gratitude at the end of Mass.

\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Ibid.}, 139.

\textsuperscript{34}\textit{Ibid.}, 28. It is described in general terms, with Christ as the Vine and the Church and its members as the branches. She also refers to 1 Colossians 1:18, where St. Paul describes Christ as the head of the body, which is the Church that cannot live without its head, Christ. “Jesus, the Invisible Head, is the Source of Divine Light and Divine Beauty,” it says, that “the members of His Church, will receive into our souls” divine life when united with Him.

\textsuperscript{35}\textit{Ibid.}, 197.
influential, the scope of their influence is difficult to determine. Because the books were published during the Great Depression, many Catholic schools “felt that [the books were] too great a burden to put upon parents to ask them to purchase these relatively expensive texts, especially as the cost seemed exorbitant by contrast with the Baltimore Catechism.” However, her ideas did not remain dormant. She extended their influence through the courses she offered at Fordham, as well as the lectures she gave at Loyola University Chicago in Illinois, and St. Louis University in Missouri.\(^36\) The books are a concrete example of how the Munich Method influenced religion books.\(^37\)

**John Laux and *A Course in Religion for Catholic High Schools***

Rev. John Joseph Laux, CSSp (1878-1939), wrote a four-part course: *A Course in Religion* (hereafter *Course*). While the majority of “religion books” are limited to the elementary grades, Laux’s *Course* is an exception. It signifies a departure from the “catechism alone” approach, while simultaneously not qualifying as a “religion textbook.” It also fits into the religion book genre because of its more traditional format, using outlines and listing content into categories consistent with the *Baltimore Catechism*. It de-emphasizes memorization, stresses character and moral development, and incorporates a historical analysis of Catholic apologetics. Like Pichler (mentioned

\(^36\)McGucken, “Renascence of Religion Teaching,” 341.

\(^37\)A revised version was planned for publication on the eve of the Second Vatican Council. However, following the Council, the books were never utilized and the order’s method of teaching departed from Bolton’s earlier three-pronged approach. Sister of the Religious of the Cenacle, telephone interview by author, Ronkonkoma, New York, April 25, 2012.
above as the German author of the first religion book), Laux was also inspired by the ideas of Otto Willmann.38

A native of Waklen, Rhineland, Germany, Laux came to the United States with his family when he was only two years old. Later, he attended a parochial school in Morrilton, Arkansas, and studied classics at Holy Ghost College (later Duquesne University) in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Laux continued his studies for the priesthood at Holy Ghost Seminary. He was ordained as a Holy Ghost Father by Archbishop Edmund F. Prendergast of Philadelphia on November 14, 1902.

While in Germany, Laux regularly wrote articles for the newly founded America Catholic weekly magazine under the pseudonym, “George Metlake,” perhaps because he did not wish to identify as a German during this period.39 Laux was extremely interested in topics related to social reform. In particular, he was concerned with the safety of young women of the labor class in Germany. In 1910, Laux wrote an article on the “white slave trade” problem in European cities, where young girls were kidnapped from the cities and taken to foreign countries for prostitution and pornography. This topic was instrumental in his later work on character formation in Catholic high schools. After attending a German meeting of the Catholic Girls’ Protection Society (hereafter Society), Laux

38In 1910, Laux was preparing an article on Willmann and offered its publication to the editor of America magazine. Although not published, this reference reveals that Willmann’s thought influenced Laux in his approach to religion books. J. J. Laux to T. J. Campbell, September 8, 1910, America Magazine Archives, 23:13, Georgetown University Library, Special Collections Research Center, Washington, DC.

39America Magazine Archives, 23:13, Georgetown University Library, Special Collections Research Center, Washington, DC.
became keenly aware of the battle that its female leaders were fighting. Young girls emigrated from the country to the cities for work. They took jobs as servant girls, governesses, and nursery maids, as well as shop girls, barmaids, and factory girls. Laux describes how in Germany male white slave traders often wooed them by flattery, or by pretending to be an earnest lover, a manager of a theatre, or a virtuous father looking for a good governess. Because of the girls’ naivety and lack of religious training, they could be duped and then exported to their demise to countries like Egypt, the Balkan States, Holland, Belgium, and South America.40

For Laux, the need to protect these young girls began in their country hometown, where the priest, teacher, school, and church needed to educate them in virtue and enlighten them of the temptations that lay ahead. When their departure from home was necessary or even desirable due to economic conditions, Laux described the significant role of the Society. Its most effective outreach was known as the Station Mission, where women stood at the train station in shifts, meeting and intercepting girls upon their arrival. The Society could then connect them with a reliable support network. The girls might be given residence in members’ homes. They also might join guilds for working girls that met on Sundays for recreation or practical training in future homemaking. Laux greatly encouraged support of this group’s mission, stating his belief that additional advertisements were necessary for its success. He also held that every parish priest should

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be a member, or at least be aware of its propaganda materials that could be used to educate girls in the country prior to their departure to the city.\footnote{Metlake [pseud. John Laux], “Protection of Emigrant Girls,” 67.}

Laux also lived and worked in the Diocese of Covington, Kentucky, beginning in 1924, where he was incardinated in 1925, and taught at the Covington Latin School.\footnote{Tom Ward, Archivist for the Diocese of Covington, Kentucky, e-mail message to author, April 23, 2012.} During this time, Laux wore many hats. In 1929, he was teaching philosophy at Villa Madonna College (later Thomas More College) in Crestview Hills while also serving as the Chair of the Philosophy Department. Simultaneously, he worked as an Instructor of Religion at Notre Dame High School in Park Hills, where he likely developed his high school religion teaching materials. In addition to teaching, he was the chaplain of Good Shepherd convent in Ft. Thomas, chaplain of Notre Dame Academy in Covington, and assistant pastor of St. Agnes Parish, also in Park Hills. He later became pastor of Holy Guardian Angels Parish in Irvington, Kentucky, where he stayed until his death of pneumonia at age sixty-one. He was buried in Morrilton, Arkansas.\footnote{Special to the \textit{New York Times}, “Rev. John J. Laux, 61, Catholic Historian, Biographer of Saints, Pastor in Sanfordton, Ky., Dies,” \textit{New York Times}, February 8, 1939, http://search.proquest.com.proxycu.wrlc.org/docview/102758588?accountid=9940.}

Laux’s interests in Christian reform also led him to write a biography of Wilhelm Emmanuel Baron Von Ketteler, Bishop of Mainz (1811-1877), who was a pioneer of the Catholic social reform movement. Ketteler fought for the religious and political rights of Catholics in Germany during the mid-nineteenth century. Bishop (later Cardinal) William
J. O’Connell (1859-1944), who wrote the preface for the book, cites Ketteler’s program of action as providing the framework for Pope Leo XIII’s famous encyclical on labor, *Rerum novarum*. Leo XIII reportedly considered Ketteler his predecessor and an inspiration in addressing the social question. (Laux cites Ketteler’s sociological writings, including *Grosse socialen fragen der gegenwart* and *Arbeiterfrage und das Christem*, as classics that “exerted a far-reaching influence not only on the social reform legislation in Germany, but also on the famous Labor Encyclical of Leo XIII—*Rerum novarum.*”) In addition to his *Course*, Laux was well known as a Church historian and biographer of saints. He wrote *Church History: A Complete History of the Catholic Church to the Present Day*, which Benziger released in 1930; *Introduction to the Bible*; and the *Life and Writings of Saint Columban 542?-615*. His books tended to target the layperson. He also enjoyed the good favor of Bishop Francis W. Howard

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45Ibid., 4-5.

46John Laux, *Church History: A Complete History of the Catholic Church to the Present Day* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1930). This book was comprised of 648 pages in eight cloth volumes, containing 125 illustrations and eight maps. The success of these works undoubtedly strengthened Laux’s relationship with Benziger.


(1867-1944) of the Diocese of Covington, who granted the *imprimatur* for his high school religion books in 1932.49

**Rev. Francis H. Drinkwater**

Laux was influenced by the thought of Rev. Francis H. Drinkwater (1886-1982), of Birmingham, England, who was the editor of the *Sower*;50 a monthly periodical dedicated to the improvement of religious instruction for children. Drinkwater was an important contributor to the Catechetical Movement. He was known for his criticism of the inadequacies of the catechism.51 Drinkwater’s book, *Twelve and After*, arranged materials for religion teachers of upper elementary and high school students.52

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49 Originally from Columbus, Ohio, Howard was a participant in the 1902 establishment of the National Catholic Education Association (NCEA). Howard served as the NCEA’s first Secretary General until 1929, President until 1936, and finally Chairman of the Advisory Board from 1936 until his death in 1944. “As the leader of the CEA, he sought to maintain individual freedom while addressing prominent issues regarding the length and nature of elementary school curriculum, standardization of Catholic colleges, and the role of the nation's hierarchy in fostering Catholic educational unity.” The Catholic school system was of great importance to him, leading him to establish four Catholic high schools in the Diocese of Covington during his tenure. For more, see American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives, “National Catholic Education Association,” Historical Note, http://archives.lib.cua.edu=findingaid/ncea.cfm (accessed August 18, 2012), and Kenton County Public Library, “Howard, Francis W., Most Rev. Bishop D.D.,” Genealogy and Kentucky History, Covington Biographies, http://www.kentonlibrary.org/genealogy/bios/detail.cfm?recordID=33 (accessed April 13, 2012).


51 Marthaler, “Modern Catechetical Movement,” S-79.

52 Drinkwater provided two years’ worth of content, focusing on the religious instruction of middle- and high-school religion classes. It was a teacher’s guide originally published in 1924 that provided “subject-sections” and encouraged teachers to arrange actual lessons themselves. See Francis H. Drinkwater, *Twelve and After: A Book of
Following his ordination to the priesthood in 1910, Drinkwater became a pioneer in the field of catechetics and gained an international reputation as an author. He accommodated the 1905 decree *Quam singulari* of Pope Pius X that lowered the age of Communion from twelve to seven. “Its promulgation had taken clergy, parents and religion teachers by surprise. Few seemed to know how best to prepare little ones for First Communion.” Drinkwater realized that earlier catechetical practices had never penetrated the minds and hearts of young soldiers during World War I under his spiritual care. These young people inspired him to spend his lifetime working for reforms of religious instruction. It was at this time that Drinkwater became known for speaking to children in simple terms and bypassing the catechism.

Four years after founding the *Sower*, Drinkwater was appointed Diocesan Religious Inspector of Schools in the Birmingham Archdiocese. A year later, he published the first edition of *Twelve and After*. He encouraged teachers to understand that religion in the classroom was not limited to the text alone. Lessons should contain singing, liturgical and non-liturgical corporate prayer (prayer said in communion with other believers), and opportunities for personal service. In addition, teachers should allow

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Francis Harold Drinkwater Papers, the Archdiocese of Birmingham Archives, Birmingham, AL. Living into his ninety-fourth year, he was also a political commentator on contemporary issues ranging from the Spanish Civil War, money, capitalism, and even use of the atomic bomb.

students’ individual and interior practice of religion. If “these more essential things are well managed, then the intellectual instruction will have all the more meaning and fruit.” He thought that the intellectual components of religion classes “should become the raw material of Catholic ideals.” To summarize his approach to religious education, he said: “We can but build up our altar stone by stone and arrange our wood upon it as carefully as may be, and then pray for the fire of the Lord to fall in acceptance of the offering.”

By this he was saying that he and the teachers should do as much as possible to teach Catholicism to their students, but ultimately faith is a gift that comes directly from God.

Drinkwater provides further insight into his techniques when he notes that Scripture references in teaching materials help make the Bible live by “noticing context and circumstances” and emphasizing “One Scripture reference used in this way is worth a dozen mere citations.” He did not limit the teachers to any particular method, but encouraged them to consider using “individual assignments of quasi-research work,” because this approach lent itself well to his subject headings. In addition, occasional class discussions “starting from some cunningly-chosen query raised by the teacher as close as possible to some practical interest of the pupils” might be of some use. However, the majority of lessons should probably best “be done in lecture-form with the children taking notes.” A religion class taught over the course of a year should result with each

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56 Ibid., vi-vii.
pupil having “written [a] book of his own, containing some adequate sort of reminder of the work he has done.”

Laux adapted Drinkwater’s suggestions in the publication of his own work. In the introduction to his Course, he states that his intention is to fill the need for “some systematic presentation of the truths of our Holy Religion to boys and girls of our American Catholic High Schools.” Other manuals that had been in use for some time were either too technical or too simple, and the problem has been to prepare a text that would suit the needs of the growing mind, and, while enlisting the interest of the pupils in acquiring a knowledge of religious truths, would at the same time encourage the practice of virtue and cultivate a love for the Church.

Laux abandoned the doctrinal method because “it is conducive to memory work rather than to reasoning, encourages inefficient teaching, and makes almost no appeal to the interest of the pupil.” Likewise,

The purpose of the teaching of religion must be the same in all our schools from the grades to the university—to form religious characters, to train men and women who will be ready to profess their faith with firm conviction and to practice it in their daily lives in union with the Church.

Teachers familiar with using the Baltimore Catechism for younger students must have found the Course to be a natural extension of the grade-school catechism lessons because

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57 Drinkwater, Twelve and After, vi.


59 John Laux, The Chief Truths of the Faith, pt. 1, A Course in Religion for Catholic High Schools and Academies (New York: Benziger, 1928), iii. This is a reference to an early edition of part one. All other citations to this series reference the 1934 edition.
the author incorporated the order of the larger *Baltimore Catechism*. However, Laux abandons memory work and instead encourages analytical thinking and clear reasoning to assist high-school students in learning to use their reason to form a Catholic worldview.

In accord with Drinkwater’s suggestions, Laux’s chapters conclude with review questions and study guides and suggested-reading lists for quasi-research work. He recommends that every student be supplied with a copy of the New Testament to use throughout the course, as well as the student edition of the *Missal* (for use with part two), and Thomas à Kempis' the *Imitation of Christ*\(^{60}\) (as supplementary material for part three). In light of the later advancements of the Liturgical Movement, the Scriptural emphasis of the Catechetical Movement, and the importance placed on spirituality in the late-1960s, the supplementary materials suggested by Laux indicate his forward-looking vision of religious education.

**Overview of Laux’s Course**

**Part I: Chief Truths of the Faith**

Laux divided his *Course* into four “parts,” which are essentially four books that correspond with the four years of high school. The first part, *Chief Truths of the Faith*, places great emphasis on the importance of doctrine in the Christian’s life. It describes how faith, knowledge of God, and happiness go hand-in-hand. In the introduction, the book describes the importance of the intellect in religion instruction. It describes to the students how their

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eternal happiness will consist in contemplating and loving God, the Supreme Truth, Beauty and Goodness. Hence, our happiness in this life, and the only means of attaining eternal happiness in the next, consists in knowing and loving God with all the powers of our intellect and our will.  

Thus, service of God is a part of this love of God and forms the basis of life’s purpose.

The book describes “Our Knowledge of God,” as central to the religion class. Students should learn how Catholics know God; the role of reason in this knowledge; and how God reveals Himself and contributes to the faith of the Catholic community. The students were to examine how prophets were God’s true spokesmen. They are revealed through their prophecies and miracles that accompany their ability to foretell future events otherwise known by God alone. God speaks to the Church and reveals the mysteries of the faith throughout history.  

Students were taught that the Church is the guardian and teacher of Divine Revelation, which has been preserved and handed down through the years. The book describes how “faith” is something granted from the Divine to help people believe in God’s revelations. The textbook teaches that sources of Revelation are Holy Scripture (the Bible), with its Old and New Testaments, and Tradition (which it identifies with the catechism). The chapter describes how the Bible was written, inspired, divided, and canonized. The textbook examines the differences between Catholic and Protestant

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61 Laux, *Chief Truths of the Faith*, xvi.  
62 Ibid., 1-3.
versions of the Bible, and looks into various translations of the Bible. It teaches that the Catholic Church understands its role as the infallible interpreter of the Bible.\textsuperscript{63}

Drinkwater also influenced Laux’s inclusion of many references to Scripture, principally the role that “reading of the Bible” plays in a Catholic’s salvation. Laux asserts: “Since it is the Church that teaches us what we must believe in order to be saved, it is not necessary for the Catholic to read the Scriptures to search out the truth for himself.” Rather, “We can gain a knowledge of the truths of revelation by listening attentively to the living teaching of the Church.”\textsuperscript{64} While there is no \textit{obligation} to read the Scriptures, Laux stresses that practice is still “profitable” to salvation.\textsuperscript{65} He uses a quote by Pope Leo XIII about St. Jerome at the end of the chapter to drive home his point: “To be ignorant of the Scriptures is to be ignorant of Christ.”\textsuperscript{66} Laux asks the students to trust the authority of the Church to tell them the important Scriptures and then to know those Scriptures well.

The \textit{Chief Truths of Faith} also stresses the importance of Scripture by outlining the different books of the Bible. It provides an overview of the historical, doctrinal, and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{63}Laux, \textit{Chief Truths of the Faith}, 5-7. This section articulates a pre-Vatican II ecclesiology. It also represents a starkly different interpretation of Revelation when compared to the developments in the 1960s, as seen in chapter five.
\item \textsuperscript{64}Ibid., 17-18.
\item \textsuperscript{65}Ibid., 18.
\item \textsuperscript{66}Ibid., 19.
\end{itemize}
prophetic books of the Old Testament\textsuperscript{67} and the New Testament.\textsuperscript{68} At the end of these lessons, the textbook encourages students to review the material by looking up Scripture passages (following Drinkwater’s suggestion for individual assignments) and considering, for example, what they reveal about the early Gospel writers, or by thinking of whether the Gospels contain a complete account of the life of Christ on earth.\textsuperscript{69}

Laux differentiates Catholics from Protestants when he discusses how Tradition provides a source of faith for Catholics. He stresses the importance of both Scripture and Tradition in their religion.\textsuperscript{70} Laux takes a defensive stance regarding the Biblical Canon. When “Protestants appeal to Scripture against the Catholic Church, ‘they forget that it is from this very Church, and on her authority, that Scripture is received.’”\textsuperscript{71} He also discusses the necessity of faith for salvation and its qualities—it must be universal, firm, living, and constant. Finally, in the chapter review, he provides the student and teacher with activities (group and individual), such as listing the names of six prominent converts and searching the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} to learn how they were converted.\textsuperscript{72}

\textsuperscript{67}Laux, \textit{Chief Truths of the Faith}, 20-41.

\textsuperscript{68}Ibid., 42-49.

\textsuperscript{69}Students also might read a pamphlet released by the Paulist Press, the \textit{Beauty of Holy Scripture}. See Joseph Beck, \textit{The Beauty of Holy Scripture} (New York: The Paulist Press, 1920).

\textsuperscript{70}For example, Tradition is necessary because Scripture does not tell believers the number of inspired books in the canon.

\textsuperscript{71}Laux, \textit{Chief Truths of the Faith}, 51.

\textsuperscript{72}Ibid., 55-59.
Laux dedicates a significant portion of his *Course* to the *Mass and the Sacraments*. He also explains the historical background related to sacramentals and indulgences. However, the primary objective of this book is to describe the means of grace in Catholic teachings.

Laux utilizes apologetic undertones in his religion books. He mentions how the Council of Trent confirmed the existence of (only) seven sacraments (no more, no less). “In the case of four of the sacraments—Baptism, Holy Eucharist, Penance, Holy Orders—we know when Christ instituted them; Confirmation and Extreme Unction were administered by the Apostles; [and] the sacramental character of Matrimony is clearly indicated in Holy Scripture.” It also maintains the constancy in, and the universality of, the Catholic position on sacraments by teaching the students how the Greek Church, as well as the Coptic, Armenian, and Syrian Monophysites, all have seven sacraments. This is “proof that the doctrine of seven sacraments was universally recognized in the Church

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*Part two is divided into nine chapters, and also includes a lengthy appendix at the end that describes the “Ordinary of the Mass in Latin and English with Rubrics and Explanatory Notes.” In this appendix, the author also provides instructions related to the altar, the sacred vessels, and vestments. See John Laux, *Means of Grace: The Sacraments, The Sacrifice of the Mass, Sacramentals, Indulgences*, pt. 2, A Course in Religion for Catholic High Schools and Academies (New York: Benziger, 1934), 143-195.*

*Laux, *Means of Grace*, 1. The first chapter provides an overview of the general nature of the sacraments as means of grace for the Catholic. It includes quotes describing how “outward signs of the sacraments make known to us the inward grace that is being produced in the soul.”

*Ibid., 3.*
at the time of their separation.\textsuperscript{76} He differentiates these teachings from Lutheranism, which only admitted two sacraments: Baptism and Eucharist. The chapter continues with a description of the sacraments in greater detail—their divisions, classifications, and the effects on believers. It ends with guidelines for the valid administration and reception of the sacraments.\textsuperscript{77}

Laux examines each sacrament in depth. He gives particular attention to the nature and celebration of the Holy Mass and the Holy Eucharist.\textsuperscript{78} He details the proofs of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist (the words of promise; of institution; of St. Paul; and the teaching and practice of the Church). He also explains the meaning of transubstantiation.\textsuperscript{79} He describes the nature and purpose of Eucharistic Adoration,\textsuperscript{80} and he reveals his knowledge as a Church historian when he also provides the history behind the connection with the practice of giving homage to Christ in the Eucharist and the institution of the feast of \textit{Corpus Christi} (the Body of Christ) in the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{81}

\textsuperscript{76}Laux, \textit{Means of Grace}, 3.

\textsuperscript{77}Ibid., 5-8

\textsuperscript{78}Ibid., 35-94.

\textsuperscript{79}Ibid., 44. When the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, “the change [takes] place only in regard to the \textit{substance} of the bread and the wine; the \textit{appearances} [remain] the same.”

\textsuperscript{80}Ibid. 46. In response to Protestant reformers, Laux asserts: “Christ is present under the species of bread and wine as long as the species themselves continue to exist and not merely, as Luther maintained, at the moment of Communion.”

\textsuperscript{81}Ibid., 47.
Laux also stresses the Mass as a sacrifice. A true sacrifice gives honor and glory to God and can be learned through the stories of sacrifice under the Old Law; under the New Law, the “new and true sacrifice is the Sacrifice of the Cross and its continuation, the Sacrifice of the Mass.”

This connection establishes the nature of the Mass as a real, bloodless sacrifice that represents the Passion of Christ, which is continued and commemorated in the Mass throughout time.

Laux mentions The Mystical Body of Christ in relation to the Church’s role as an “offerer” of the Mass in the section on the fruits of the Mass. This section teaches the students about this relationship so that they might better understand the universal connection of all Catholics offering Mass together and be more mindful of the “sublime dignity” they posses through it. This section mentions how the Sacred Liturgy is another name for the Mass, although it does not mention the importance of increased participation on the part of the laity in the sacrifice of the priest, as would be emphasized in the Liturgical Movement.

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82 Laux, Means of Grace, 53.

83 Laux further explains the role of the Sacrifice of the Mass in the Church’s teaching and worship; the four ends of Mass (“adoration, satisfaction for sin, thanksgiving for favors received, and petition”) as well as its four fruits. See Laux, Means of Grace, 62.

84 He describes how the “Church is the Mystical Body of Christ, one and inseparable into parts.” Accordingly, “whoever offers up the Sacrifice does so as a member of that Body. No sacrifice is ever offered to God except on the part of the whole Church, that is, by the faithful who compose the Church.”

85 Ibid., 63-64.

86 Ibid., 69.
The students were taught the different components of the celebration of the Mass\textsuperscript{87} and the nature and the necessity of receiving Holy Communion based on the command to do so by Christ and the Church.\textsuperscript{88} Students learned how Catholics in the parish should be in a state of grace to receive Communion worthily—having observed a proper Eucharistic fast, prepared for it through confession, and purged themselves of venial sins. Laux also references Drinkwater on the importance of non-liturgical prayer to encourage students to “spend some time in devout prayer, adoring Our Savior, thanking Him, offering [themselves] to Him, and asking His graces.”\textsuperscript{89} Laux establishes a connection between the Mystical Body of Christ and the effects of Holy Communion, which include the preservation and increase of the soul’s supernatural life, the closer union of the soul with Christ, and the uniting of all Catholics “with each other in charity.”

The lesson concludes with the assurance that Communion “remits venial sin, and

\textsuperscript{87}This lesson included the meaning of the introit (the first part of the Mass, which is variable and specifies the intent of the Mass); the collect (“the first of the three special prayers sung or said by the celebrant, the other two being the Secret and the Post-communion”); and the Orate, fratres, which means “Pray, brethren” (“the celebrant’s request for the prayers of the faithful before the most solemn part of the Mass begins”). Many other definitions and descriptions are listed in outline form to provide the students with references to understand the structure of the Mass. See Laux, \textit{Means of Grace}, 74-83.

\textsuperscript{88}This section demonstrates Laux’s approach to the Church’s teachings. Catholics should behave in a certain way because of the laws that told them to do so (rather than in joyful response to the Christian message, as would be stressed through the kerygmatic approach studied in chapter four).

\textsuperscript{89}Laux, \textit{Means of Grace}, 88.
preserves us from mortal sin” with the “pledge of future glory” of the Beatific Vision of Christ in heaven.\(^{90}\)

### Part Three: Catholic Moral

Laux most clearly discusses character formation in the third part of his *Course, Catholic Moral*. He explains the systematic moral teachings of the Church, first examining some general ideas related to the conditions of morality (free will, law, conscience, and the collision of rights and duties) and some basic elements of Catholic moral teachings based upon the Scriptures. He explores both moral good and moral evil. The second section covers the Christian’s duties to God, to self, to neighbor, and to the family, the state, and the Church. Like the other parts in the *Course*, the book on the Church’s moral teachings provides an outline format to facilitate the class lecture using a very systematic presentation.

In the acts of charity, students learned how to act as Christ acted by considering the nature and properties of Christian charity through the corporal and spiritual works of mercy. Students learned how to love their enemies, citing Christ as the most perfect example. Laux also quotes numerous Scripture references to demonstrate this end, including Matthew 18:12-22, whereby Christ forgives his enemies in the midst of his

Passion, to demonstrate His love for them.\(^{91}\) He also uses the Ten Commandments to discuss basic violations of Christian charity.\(^{92}\)

Evidence of Drinkwater’s influence on Laux occurs again in his “Suggestions for Study and Review.”\(^{93}\) Laux suggests topics for writing papers and Scripture verses for the students to consider. He also provides quotes of various Christian and secular authors on related material. In addition, Laux furthers his intent to equip students with the tools they will need to lead a life in harmony with God's law by covering topics such as free will, moral good and evil, and the Christian’s duty to God.

*Part Four: God, Christianity and the Church*

Although at times Laux uses an apologetic tone in parts one through three, the fourth textbook in the series, *God, Christianity and the Church*, is exclusively apologetic. Its purpose is to examine the veracity of Church teachings in greater detail. It uses a skeptic’s eye to peruse the relationship between God, Christianity, and the Church with the intent of providing the students with a systematic discourse that argues in defense of the origin and authority of the Church. It also presents apologetic arguments for the “reasonableness” of belief in God by examining the existence of God in general, followed by theological, cosmological, moral, and historical proofs of His existence. It ends with

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\(^{92}\) Ibid., 131-141. This first textbook in the series considers the sins of hatred, murder, and stealing, as well as the Church’s teachings on capital punishment and the circumstances surrounding self-defense.

\(^{93}\) Ibid., 141-146.
descriptions of the nature and attributes of God. The first section concludes by examining God’s reasonableness through an analysis of humanity’s place in the universe, including the immortality of the soul and humans’ relationships to the lower animals.

The fourth book also emphasizes the reasonableness of the Catholic belief in Christ through “Revelation and the Signs of Revelation.” The signs of revelation include Christ’s “personal revelation of Himself,” whereby God draws back “the veil or curtain which conceals Him from us, a discovering of Himself to us”; and Supernatural Revelation, which occurs only when a message from God is conveyed through a special individual. As for Christ, He “claimed not only to be a messenger of God, but the Son of God Himself.” Laux supports this claim by his own standards of reasonableness, miracles, and prophecy—this claim rings true because Christ “supported His claim by the purity and sublimity of His teaching, by the holiness of His life, by numerous miracles during his lifetime, and by the crowning miracle of His resurrection.”


95Ibid., 25-46.

96Ibid., 47.

97While “private revelations made by God for the benefit of one or a few individuals” do occur, the Church concerns herself, as does Laux, with the public. Laux proceeds to describe the conditions around which this type of revelation can occur. A supposedly prophetic writing’s credentials can be disproven when it “conflicts with right reason and morality”; likewise, it should be accompanied by miracles, or prophecies must come true. See Ibid., 49-50.

98Ibid., 50.
Laux also provides the students with a great deal of historical knowledge to contextualize the “Sources of Our Knowledge of Christ and His Teaching.” Students learned about first- and second-century non-Christian sources that confirmed early Christian activity. These include a reference by Tacitus, a Roman historian who provided confirmation of the foundation of Christianity by Christ, His death under Pontius Pilate, the spread of Christianity, and Emperor Nero’s attempt to extirpate it.\(^9^9\) It also includes a report by Pliny the Younger, a Proprætor who was sent by the Emperor Trajan into Bithynia to discuss the worship practices of the early Christians; Suetonius, the biographer of the Caesars, who regarded the early Christians as a Jewish sect; the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, who mentioned that Christ performed miracles; twelve references to Christ in the Talmud, all of which “are filled with hatred of the very name of Jesus”; and a letter of exhortation addressed by Mara, a Syrian, to his son Serapion, who considered Christ the “wise king of the Jews.”\(^1^0^0\)

Laux then examines Christian sources for knowledge about Christ and His teachings, such as the Epistles of St. Paul (to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, and Philippians); the Epistles written by the other apostles (1 Peter and 1 John); the four Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John) and the conditions of their authenticity; and the Acts of the Apostles, which are a continuation of the Gospel of Luke and are validated by outside sources.\(^1^0^1\)

\(^9^9\)Laux, *God, Christianity and the Church*, 53.

\(^1^0^0\)Ibid., 54-55.

\(^1^0^1\)Ibid., 55-69.
The remaining chapters examine “The Claims of Jesus” to be the “Messias” (the Christ), whose existence was foretold by the prophets of the Old Testament; how “Jesus Justified His Claims”; and the reasonableness of the Catholic’s beliefs in the Church. In general, they cover how the Church was founded; its constitution; the primacy of St. Peter and the Roman pontiff; and the infallibility of the Church and the pope. The concluding chapter of the book stresses and explains how “outside the Church there is no salvation.”

The use of logic and basic truths to teach teenagers how to respond to challenges to their faith are foundational to *God, Christianity and the Church*. Throughout all of these lessons, Laux’s intent, as stated in his introductory letter to the teachers using his book, was the formation of “religious characters, to train men and women who will be ready to profess their Faith with firm conviction and to practice it in their daily lives in union with the Church.” His purpose through his *Course* was first to help the teachers give the pupils “a fuller and more profound grasp of Christian Doctrine, and to lead them on to the intelligent use of the helps that have been given us to lead Christian lives.”

Laux’s *God, Christianity and the Church*, which teaches apologetics, is surprisingly engaging. Perhaps because Laux was in his forte with the contextual and historical analyses of the sources of Christianity, his presentation of the material that

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102 Laux, *God, Christianity and the Church*, 123-129.

103 These fundamental truths include the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, Scriptural sources, the founding of the physical Church, and the papacy.

104 Laux, *God, Christianity and the Church*, vi. Laux includes the same introduction in all four of his books.
addresses potential skepticism and doubt actually serves in strengthening the students’ self-knowledge of their own religion. Rather than dry formulations, his material could potentially help students defend Christianity by answering questions about their own doubts and questions that the other books could not answer. Later textbooks, like those examined in chapters two, three, four, and five, did away with sections on apologetics. However, Laux made a largely under-appreciated contribution to religious education when he looked beyond the catechism and the Scripture to examine secular sources written during the first centuries of Christianity. In doing so, Laux validates Christian teachings and seeks to answer some historical questions crucial to Catholic teenagers in the modern world.

**Conclusion**

Historical studies of religious education in the United States often overlook the wealth of innovative material compiled for religion classrooms in the late 1920s and early 1930s. They are often overshadowed by early improvements in “method” (through the Munich Method) that relied on the catechism alone to teach religion. Bolton’s *Spiritual Way* is a prime example of an innovative book that was created to expound upon the Munich Method. It drew from the best current spiritual, psychological, and educational theories, and yet is unnoticed by scholarly study. Laux’s *Course* also made a valuable contribution at the high-school level. Although his books utilized the outline of the

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105 One exception is found among the Catholic homeschooling groups in the United States. TAN Books and Publishers, Inc., out of Rockford, Illinois, republished Laux’s high-school religion books in the 1990s. This was done on the premise that Catholic doctrine is unchanging and that Catholic high school students now could learn from the same material as students in the 1930s.
catechism, they went beyond doctrinal formulas and sought character formation in the students. They also emphasized an objective interpretation of Divine Revelation. By overlooking the work of these authors, catechetical studies miss important parts of the rich history of religious education.

By reviving these religion books, this chapter demonstrates how teachers and textbook authors played an important part in strengthening religious education at both the elementary- and the high-school levels. The fervor for improved religion materials in the late 1920s was just beginning. Chapter two examines how Catholic Action movements shaped religion textbooks. It begins in Brooklyn, New York, where a religion teacher by the name of Rev. Raymond J. Campion incorporated Catholic Action into a series of religion textbooks for the Catholic high school. In doing so, he created one of the first textbooks inspired by a Catholic lay movement in the United States. In addition to reviewing Campion’s efforts to teach students Catholic Action, chapter two also studies the contributions of Specialized Catholic Action through the work of Rev. Daniel A. Lord and the Sodality Movement, as well as the importance of Msgr. Reynold Hillenbrand, seminary rector in Chicago. These men instructed generations of Catholics (and their priests) on how to live active and fruitful lives in the practice of Catholicism through the Mystical Body of Christ.
The Catholic social consciousness of the twentieth century can be traced primarily to the writings of Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903), who was the first pope to articulate the circumstances of modernity and a changing view of the Church in his encyclical *Rerum novarum*.\(^1\) Leo XIII foresaw the impact of the changing world on the mission of the Church. With democratic processes, scientific inventions, and industrial developments, the laborer was in the position of strength and had the potential to make a significant impact by uniting with other laborers, whether through Catholic labor unions, Catholic professional groups, or Catholic political parties. The pope applied the thought of St. Thomas Aquinas to the modern world. He inspired two categories of socially progressive Catholics that sought to enact change in American society in the 1920s and 30s. This chapter first describes these categories and focuses on how Personalism inspired Catholic Action, which contributed to an increase in experiential religious education in high-school textbooks.

**John A. Ryan, Neo-Thomism, and the New Deal**

Rev. (later Msgr.) John A. Ryan (1869-1945) was a social activist who attempted to translate Thomism to modern society. He emphasized the importance of the centralized

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role of the bishops. They held the power to advocate for federal legislation and to bring about change. Ryan was revered for his “brilliant exposition and explanation of the principles of natural law.” He utilized Aquinas’ moral principles to provide a solid foundation for the hierarchical approach to social reform based on the natural law.2

In the United States in the 1920s, the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council (NCWC) “played the leading role in formulating programs and in counseling the bishops on their public pronouncements on social questions.”3 With headquarters in Washington, DC, the NCWC was charged with the tasks of keeping “close contact with national affairs, keeping Church leaders, organizations and the Catholic press informed, and lobbying before congress for Church interests.” Ryan was, at the time, “the most prominent Catholic cleric involved in social activism.”4 As the leader of the Social Action Department, he focused primarily on social and economic reform.5

Ryan presented a positive, practical agenda for social reform after World War I. He was the author of the Bishops’ Program of Social Reconstruction, which was

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5Ibid., 89.
published in 1919 by the Administrative Board of the National Catholic War Council. Later, he was an active supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal, Ryan’s proposals included legislation for a minimum wage, social security insurance, the child labor law, and public housing.\(^6\) He saw little tension between the New Deal programs of reform and Catholic social teaching,\(^7\) and he utilized his position to influence federal legislation.

In the 1930s, Ryan formulated a coherent system of social ethics that became the foundation of the social gospel, which added a public dimension to the private lived religion of Catholics in America.\(^8\) The most popular item on his agenda and the topic of his doctoral dissertation from Catholic University of America was the “living wage,” a term he coined to describe the moral obligation of employers to give their employees a just payment for work performed.\(^9\) Ryan “had immense confidence in the ability of Catholic social principles to ameliorate the economic woes of the day.” His approach to reform was historical, economic, and political. He emphasized the role of the states in safeguarding, rather than hindering, social progress.\(^10\) These assumptions predisposed him to support the Roosevelt administration’s reform efforts and characterized his belief

\(^{6}\)Pecklers, *The Unread Vision*, 89.


\(^{9}\)Ibid., 342-343.

\(^{10}\)Schmiesing, “John A. Ryan, Virgil Michel, and the Problem of Clerical Politics,” 117.
in the Church’s ability to influence the state to bring about the desired measures of social reform.

**Personalism and Catholic Action**

Another philosophy, known as personalism, inspired the second approach of social change. Personalism in the 1930s called followers of Christ to live the truths of Christianity by helping those in need based on the firm belief in the dignity of every human person. Its supporters sought a “new world” that would be formed by a “personalist revolution.” It began with the person and “worked its way toward the reordering of all creation.”\(^{11}\) Personalism sought to influence culture one person at a time as a means of changing society. It called on all Christians to care for others in need, to give of their own resources. Furthermore, it emphasized Christians’ personal responsibility as the first line of attack in combating poverty, which preceded intervention by the state.\(^{12}\)

With the collapse of capitalism and the rise of totalitarian regimes (Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, Stalin in the Soviet Union), Catholics who desired a middle way of thinking “found a solution in ‘personalism,’ which sought to reconstruct social and political life through the spiritual rebirth of individuals.” This philosophy, grounded in the thinking of a devout Catholic named Emmanuel Mounier (1905-1950), was a departure from Neo-Thomism. Catholic personalists held to a “heroic imitation of Christ

\(^{11}\)William D. Miller, *Dorothy Day: A Biography* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1982), 241-244.

\(^{12}\)Ibid., 245.
over docile obeisance to religious or temporal authorities.”13 Its end was not legislation, but rather a “synthesis between the holy and the ordinary, between faith and action.”14

Personalism is most commonly identified with the Catholic Worker Movement, which was founded by Dorothy Day (1897-1980), a lay Catholic who spent the latter part of her life in service to those suffering from the ill effects of the Great Depression, and Peter Maurin (1877-1949), a former Christian Brother who became known as a French peasant social philosopher. In 1933, Day called on young Catholics across the country to care for society’s outcasts and to put their beliefs into action. Day and Maurin advocated for a Catholic action founded on Christ and the value and dignity of the human person. She based her approach on papal social encyclicals and the personalism of Mounier. Maurin had directed Day to both of these sources in the previous year. Through her publication of the *Catholic Worker*,15 Day called on all Christians “to give personal service to society’s outcasts, thereby providing personal examples of love in action.”16 Day and Maurin lived a life of voluntary poverty to share with others and to show

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Christ’s love “by deed rather than word.” For Day, the human person was at the center of history. Accordingly, history was realized through persons, not the actions of the government or legislation or social programs. Only persons could perform actions of unconditional love for other persons, which included a commitment to pacifism. 

**Catholic Action and Personalism**

Although Catholic Action technically fell under the jurisdiction of Ryan and the Social Action Department and was “established in the United States as the organ of the NCWC to mobilize Catholic laity in working cooperatively with Church leadership in social justice,” its members often approached social change differently from the Neo-Thomists. Since the ultimate aim was the renewal of American culture “by a return to a more organic view of American society, this task needed to be accomplished through the apostolic, social activism of Catholic Action members, in collaboration with the hierarchy.” Utilizing “personalism,” Catholic Action also emphasized the role of the laity in evangelizing and changing the world one person at a time.

Early stirrings of Catholic Action came from Pope Pius X (1903-1914), who launched a revival within the Church based on the liturgy to assist in the education of the laity. He “directed priests and bishops to provide active religious participation on the parish level. He was the first to give a name to this lay movement. He called it ‘Catholic

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17 Miller, *Dorothy Day*, 245.

18 Carey, *Roman Catholics*, 203.


Catholic Action was further defined in 1927 by Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) as “the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy.” Pius XI predominantly restricted Catholic Action to the organized, apostolic work of the laity that was given a special mandate by the bishops. Although it fell under the jurisdiction of the bishops and the hierarchy, its emphasis on changing society for Christ brought a more autonomous participation of the laity in temporal society as they attempted to bring a distinctly Christian influence in their environment. This resulted in the laity assuming the entire responsibility for the process of Catholic Action with the priest serving exclusively as the moderator.

**General and Specialized Catholic Action**

Catholic Action developed slowly in the early twentieth century. Catholics were not clear on the best or most effective way of applying papal teachings to their daily lives. As members collaborated with the hierarchy to accomplish their goals of social activism, there was a distinction normally made between General and Specialized Catholic Action. General Catholic Action organizations, such as the Holy Name Society or the Legion of Mary, were open to all Roman Catholics. However, Specialized Catholic

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Action groups were limited to members of a given profession or interest group, including workers, students, farmers, and married couples.²⁴

Specialized Catholic Action classified groups of individuals according to their state in life. One of the first and best examples began in 1912, when Canon Joseph Cardign (1882-1967) founded the *Jeunesse Ouvriere Chretienne (JOC)* in Belgium. This movement was popularly called the Jocist movement. It was based on the Observe-Judge-Act dynamic.²⁵ The *JOC* appealed to Catholics after they graduated from school and entered the workforce. Small groups of young people who belonged to the same social milieu would seek to influence others in their similar station in life.²⁶ Through the *JOC*, young people “gained a sense of their dignity as Christians with a responsibility to serve the needs of their fellow young workers.”²⁷

Using the Jocists as a model, Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) gave further definition to Catholic Action with his encyclical, *Ubi arcano Dei consilio*, which he released on

²⁴Within the United States, Specialized Catholic Action was comprised of five organizations: Young Christian Students (*JEC*); Young Christian Farmers (*JAC*); Young Christian Independents (*JIC*), who worked in management and the professions; Young Christian Workers (*JOC*); and the Young Christian University students (*JUC*).

²⁵In the United States, this structure was also listed as Think-Judge-Act. Specialized Catholic Action group members would “observe” or “think” of problems in the neighborhood or city. They would select or “judge” a problem that needed attention. Finally, the group would devise a plan of “action.” Members sought to strengthen the moral convictions of other young people. See Jeffrey M. Burns, *Disturbing the Peace: The History of the Christian Family Movement, 1949-1974* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 13-14.


December 23, 1922. He called on Catholics to continue in their participation in that “whole group of movements, organizations, and works so dear to Our fatherly heart which passes under the name of ‘Catholic Action . . . .’” It was understood at the time that *Ubi arcano Dei consilio* conveyed the pope’s wishes for Catholic Action to develop primarily among Catholic “youth.” Those in high school were at the beginnings of their involvement in this movement. Pius XI encouraged the development of apostolic youth movements, and he was committed to the like-to-like form of outreach as the basis of Specialized Catholic Action. He wanted workers to minister to other workers, farmers to farmers, and students to minister to other students, which he maintained would revive Catholicism.

The Catholic Action movement oriented Catholics “toward action and the reform of society, rather than the education and formation of the individual,” which had been the traditional role of the laity. Young people putting Christ at the center of their lives could

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achieve “a positive revolution” that would “restore Christian values to daily life.”

Pius XI gave Catholic Action a purpose and a sense of urgency to win souls for Christ, for in it he saw how the laity was “indissolubly bound up with the restoration of the Kingdom of Christ,” which he believed would bring true peace.

**Catholic Action, the Liturgy, and the Mystical Body of Christ**

In the early years of Catholic Action in the United States, the retreat movement was a limited source of spiritual inspiration. Following Pius XI’s encyclical on December 20, 1929, *Mens nostra,* retreats helped some members “grow in personal sanctification.” However, retreats were infrequent, leaving Catholic Action members largely remained devoid of the spiritual inspiration they needed to influence society. Leaders would eventually recognize the “intrinsic link between liturgical action and social action.”

John A. Ryan, head of the Social Action Department of the NCWC, would later be criticized for separating social action from liturgical worship, thereby advocating a “privatistic spirituality.” In the 1930s, this would change due to the work of men like Dom Virgil Michel (1890-1938), founder of the American dimension of the Liturgical

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34 Pecklers, *The Unread Vision,* 98.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid., 96.
Movement, and Rev. Reynold H. Hillenbrand (1904-1979), rector of St. Mary of the Lake Seminary in Chicago who greatly influenced both the Liturgical Movement and Catholic Action. Michel maintained that Ryan emphasized “material rather than spiritual reform.” Michel “saw Ryan’s approach as being too shallow and superficial.” His criticism carried over to Catholic Action, as well. Without a foundation in the liturgy and prayer, Michel maintained that Catholic Action and other programs ran the risk of losing their Christ-centered focus. Michel held that it was the participation of the laity in the action of the Mass that should prompt and orient social action.37

Msgr. William Busch (1882-1971) also helped Catholic Action spirituality to transition toward the liturgy. Born in Red Wing, Minnesota, he was the son of Frederick and Anna (Weimar) Busch. After studying at St. Paul Seminary and the University of Louvain, Belgium, he was ordained in 1907. Busch became assistant pastor of St. Luke’s Parish in St. Paul from 1907-1911, and a professor of Church History at St. Paul Seminary beginning in 1913. Busch was a pioneer of the Liturgical Movement in the United States, but he also had connections with Catholic Action. He observed that the “lack of a liturgically-based spirituality for Catholic Action . . . led potentially to a Pelagian view that Christians through personal piety and good works sanctified the Church and built the reign of God.”38 This view was a significant accusation.39 Pelagius’

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37Pecklers, The Unread Vision, 98n45.

38Ibid., 99.

39Pelagianism was a heresy in the fifth century that denied original sin, the need for God in salvation, and the Christian understanding of grace. Its principal author, Pelagius, argued that the “human will is completely free and is equally ready to do either good or
primary enemy was St. Augustine, whose anti-Pelagian writings emphasized “the weakness of man’s will as a result of original sin and man’s continuous need of God’s help in order to be saved.” In addition, his writings insisted “that grace is something personal, intrinsic, and above all a gratuitous gift of God, for if it were not gratuitous it would no longer be grace.”

Busch held that it was necessary to consider the social, as well as the individual, aspects of salvation to understand how the “holy sacrifice of the Mass [is] the center of Catholic life and action.” In the liturgy, “our social life as well as our individual life is rightly orientated and supernaturally energized and empowered for the carrying out of every good work.” As Catholic Action “expanded in the 1930s, its agenda became more integrative. The doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ became the unifying factor, thanks to the efforts of the liturgical movement.”

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Divine grace for Pelagius was “something external.” These two basic principles led him to conclude that Adam’s sin was purely personal, and that “death is not a punishment for sin, but a necessity of human nature.” His doctrine negated the need for infant baptism and the Redemption. It denied the supernatural order, did away with the mystery of redemption, and “made God only a spectator in the drama of human salvation.” See New Catholic Encyclopedia, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 2003), s.v. “Pelagius and Pelagianism.”


42 Pecklers, The Unread Vision, 100.
Campion, Catholic Action, and the Cathedral College

Catholic educators maintained a strong belief in the ability of Catholic Action to produce practical, devout Catholics. As early as 1923, Rev. (later Msgr.) Raymond J. Campion (1896-1958) was working on a notable series of religion textbooks for Catholic high schools. Campion was born in Brooklyn, New York. After attending St. Mary’s Seminary in Baltimore and Sulpician Seminary in Washington, DC, he was ordained for the Diocese of Brooklyn in 1923. Campion taught at Cathedral College of the Immaculate Conception in Brooklyn, New York, until 1939. While at the College, Campion’s writings were “subjected to the acid criticism of his fellow-professors. Under their many suggestions [each] book [was] rewritten many times and then placed in use in the high school department of the Brooklyn preparatory seminary.”

The first two books of Religion: A Secondary School Course were released as part of the Catholic Action Series in 1928 and 1929. They disregarded the doctrinal structure of religion textbooks and departed from the conventional arrangement of Creed, Code, and Cult in the religion curriculum. Instead, Campion’s first chapter begins with the parish church. He used a topical approach rather than the question-and-answer method. He incorporated Catholic Action into the lessons to equip students with the knowledge, the skills, and the ability to evangelize others according to their vocation.


The Catholic Action Series taught that the Church is a living organism. In particular, it stressed the importance of the Mystical Body of Christ to analyze and critique the American economy. The Catholic Action Series conceded the importance of private property for society, but denounced unchecked power within capitalism. The textbooks also stressed the principle of subsidiarity and criticized the duplication of federal bureaus. Campion devised lessons in the Catholic Action series that made a significant contribution to Catholic high-school religious education.

Campion was very particular in the selection of material for his textbooks. He looked for topics that he saw as having permanent value to the student. He also carefully arranged the content and emphasized a “psychological approach” that could “make the subject understandable and likable to the mind of the child.” His books presented Catholic social doctrine in a way that would arouse the student’s interest, specifically by giving examples of concrete experience that a student might encounter in living a religious life in his home parish.

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46 Raymond J. Campion, Teacher’s Manual for Religion, Books One and Two (New York: William H. Sadlier, Inc., 1930), 4. Campion demonstrates the psychological approach to the teacher by explaining his deliberate decision to alter the traditional order for teaching the sacraments. As the students learn of sin, Campion maintained that it was naturally important for God’s mercy to be introduced through the sacrament of penance. The life-giving nature of grace given in penance unifies the treatment of the sacraments. Students learned to nourish the life of grace through the Eucharist; they would begin that life with baptism; they could strengthen and continue that life by the sacraments of
In the foreword to book one, Msgr. Joseph V. S. McClancy, LLD, the Superintendent of Catholic Schools of the Diocese of Brooklyn, directs the reader’s attention to the table of contents to see the “wholesome newness in the manner of presentation” of Catholic doctrine, morality, and devotional practices:

The approach is wholly new. Father Campion has succeeded in removing the grade catechism out of its question-and-answer form and he gives it to the high school students in a welcome dress of exposition. The pedagogic notion of passing by easy stages from the known to the unknown is exemplified throughout the work in a way that will furnish a freshness of outlook and an atmosphere of novelty to the great old truths of the Catholic faith.\(^4^7\)

McClancy describes how Campion wove Scripture into the work. He compliments the “thorough and adult treatment of religion,” in the “form of chapter questions, study topics and selected readings from the Bible and from the best modern Catholic writings.”\(^4^8\)

The Catholic Action program was developed on the ideals of social justice and charity. According to Campion, these virtues would be “the guiding principles of our confirmation and Holy Orders; sanctify the home with life-giving grace through matrimony; and end the earthly life through extreme unction, which leads to eternal life.

\(^4^7\) McClancy, foreword to Religion, v-vi.

\(^4^8\) Ibid., vi-vii. McClancy continues: “The high school intelligence of the author’s clients has led him to treat in a rather full manner such topics as Confirmation, Extreme Unction and Holy Orders. He has also brought the Mass and the altar rail into a better setting with his student’s mind and heart. Unusually clear is his discussion of the nature and function of Divine grace, and such devotion as that to the Blessed Trinity and that to the Holy Ghost have been pinnacled for the eyes and the soul of his readers. The closing chapter features the great motive of complete human living; the nobility of loving God has been accentuated in that chapter.”
civic, economic, industrial and social life.”

To accomplish this goal, an “enlightened and aroused laity, enkindled with a crusading spirit” was needed to “convince men that these principles ought to be put into practice.” For Campion, the “high school offers a unique opportunity for [the] placement” of these ideals among the laity. “Ideals are formed and enthusiasm aroused during high school years which have a tremendous influence for life. This is the time to inspire students to do effective work in the cause of religion and morality.”

Campion’s textbooks addressed the moral side of the economic, social, and industrial problems of society, which he held were vitally important issues that should be taught at the high-school level. “The Catholic Church is at present engaged in a mighty struggle to advance the Kingdom of Christ in the hearts of men. She sees that the most effective way to advance that kingdom is to right the civic, economic, industrial and social wrongs of the modern world.” Christian principles had the power to solve the world’s problems; this was Catholic Action. Even though the hierarchy had explained the Church’s determination to bring about change, their writings were removed, “hidden away from our people in printed pamphlets and yellowing newspaper files.” The religion course should accomplish the important work of equipping the laity with the intelligence


they needed to accomplish this goal. Otherwise, “[s]poradic efforts and enthusiasm of the moment are apt to disappear without tangible evidence of results commemorating [sic] with the energy employed.”

Campion recognized that critics of his approach may claim that these topics on economic, social, and industrial justice were too difficult and were too dry or uninteresting. They may allege that teachers were not familiar enough with the topics to teach them. Campion rejected these allegations based on the state’s requirement that teachers master similar topics in other subjects. “Certainly then teachers of Religion should be willing to master the Catholic moral teaching on these subjects. How else will the stand of the Catholic Church filter down to the people unless teachers attempt to explain this position in the concrete language and problem of the classroom?”

Campion’s religion textbooks encompassed a two-fold objective that would develop over the four years of high school. In the freshman and sophomore years, students should strive to achieve Christian perfection by preparing for Catholic Action through studying the “Divine Plan of Redemption” (i.e., the Church, the life of Christ, and the sacraments.) She should internalize a desire for Catholic Action through the Mass and the “Great Law of Charity” (i.e., the Ten Commandments, the beatitudes, the works of mercy, and the counsels of perfection). In the junior and senior years, the “lay participation in the apostolate of the hierarchy,” as outlined by Pope Pius XI, would be accomplished first by engaging in Catholic Action, then by propagating and defending

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52 Ibid., 501-502.
Catholic Action. The junior year was the most intensive year for studying all aspects of Catholic Action, including: its relationship to Catholic life; its implication for Catholics as members of the Mystical Body of Christ; Catholic education; and the “Industrial Problem.”

It was not uncommon for educators to criticize Catholic schools in general for allowing the religion class to stray too far from the center of the school’s curriculum. Campion envisioned Catholic Action not only as a unifying force for the religion course, but also as a means of making religion the central focus of all education. In this role, it would allow Catholic schools to achieve the “great purpose of the Catholic Educational System.” According to Campion,

The Catholic Church has made many contributions to all departments of human living. Catholic living pervades all walks of life. . . . Catholic Action expresses that ideal. Catholic Action may, therefore, enter classes in foreign languages, in history, in economics, in civics, in science and mathematics and give them an orientation that will emphasize that religion is the queen of the sciences and core of all learning.

Catholic Action held the answer for the problems of the religion class of his day. Upon completion of high school, students should not only be well versed in Catholic doctrine, but they should also be inspired to pursue growth for themselves and society. Their religious education should include teachings on morals, liturgy, Sacred Scripture, and

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54 Ibid., 498.

55 Ibid.
history. Students must not only be well versed in Catholic doctrine, but they should also be inspired to pursue personal perfection.\footnote{Campion, “Organizing the High School Religion,” 502-503. Campion recommended that the first two years be devoted to dogma, morals, and liturgy, while the remaining years of high school should cover civic, social, economic, industrial, and apologetic problems. These divisions are different from the “organic unity” that the kerygmatic approach, studied in chapter four, attempted to achieve, whereby every lesson incorporated these elements of the Gospel.}

\textbf{The Catholic Action Series and the Liturgical Movement}

Campion dedicates the first thirteen chapters of book two in the Catholic Action Series to the study of the liturgy of the Mass. This provides a concrete example of how the Liturgical Movement was incorporated into Catholic Action. The remaining fifteen chapters examine the moral obligation of Catholic students. In chapter one, the author incorporates the language of the Liturgical Movement, which provides the students with training for Catholic Action. He begins by describing Sunday Mass as “the greatest dramatic moment in the week.”\footnote{It is “not a mere spectacle at which there is present a more or less indifferent audience. The Church is the mystical Body of Christ. He is the head and we are the members . . . . The bond that unites us to one another is the Blessed Eucharist.” The congregation is closely united with Christ as the head of the Mystical Body and their brother. “Thus we are brought face to face with a startling fact. The gift of the Mass from Christ makes us participators in the sublime sacrifice of Calvary. We join the blessed company who stood at the foot of the cross.” See Raymond J. Campion, \textit{Religion: A Secondary School Course; The Inspiration of Catholic Action}, bk. 2, Catholic Action Series (New York and Chicago: William H. Sadlier, Inc., 1929), 3.}

With this realization and understanding, Campion asks,

Are we satisfied with a merely indifferent presence at the celebration of Mass? Does not the Mass take on a different meaning for us? Sunday Mass in the parish church becomes, then, the combined act in which Christ, priest and people unite to praise God, to thank Him, to ask His favor, and to secure His forgiveness for sin.\footnote{Campion, \textit{Religion}, bk. 2, 14-15.}
With this lesson, students should gain a greater appreciation of the actual event occurring in the Mass and their participation in the Mystical Body of Christ.\textsuperscript{59}

Chapter two teaches that the liturgy of the early Church and that of the modern day are essentially identical.\textsuperscript{60} During the first Masses, the “Breaking of Bread” was said in the Upper Room, in early Christians’ private homes, and in prison. In the modern day, Christians know that “wherever the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass is celebrated there for the time at least we have a house of God because Christ is present.” Furthermore, the parish “is the house where God is. Jesus Christ is there, a living consoling Presence in the neighborhood.” When students attended Mass, they were to “think of your union with the Apostles and Christians of all time, worshiping God by the same Holy Sacrifice of His Son.”\textsuperscript{61}

Chapter ten encourages the students to maintain silence as they experience the Canon, where “the sacred drama of Calvary” takes place and the Angels marvel as

\textsuperscript{59}Suggested readings included “Participation in the Mass,” in chapter one, and “The Mass and the Cross,” in chapter two of Virgil Michel’s \textit{My Sacrifice and Yours} (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1927).

\textsuperscript{60}Campion, \textit{Religion}, bk. 2, 35.

\textsuperscript{61}Ibid., 48, 125-126. The congregation participates in the offertory by donating money instead of bread and wine to assist the parish in acts of charity. “In making our offering we not only take part in the Offertory act of the Mass but we perform an act which is pleasing to God. If our contribution causes sacrifice, then the offering is much more pleasing to God.” During the offertory prayers, the priest prays by saying “we.” “The Mass is not the exclusive property of the priest. It is an action in which all present participate.” He prays with the congregation, asking them to, “pray that my sacrifice and \textit{yours} may be acceptable to God, the Father Almighty.’ Since this is \textit{our} sacrifice let us enter into it with hearts full of love and devotion.” Campion encourages the students to memorize the prayer of the offertory “instead of sitting vacantly in the pew.”
“Heaven and earth are united. Christ comes down from heaven and takes His abode in our midst upon the altar.”\(^{62}\) The prayer known as the “Communicantes” reminds the congregation to join with the saints in heaven, united together in the Mystical Body of Christ through divine grace.\(^{63}\) This mystical union extends to both heaven and earth.\(^{64}\) The faithful should pray without ceasing and follow the example of Christ. Campion suggests to the student that the Mass prayers might be a reminder of this duty.\(^{65}\) Chapter eleven ends with explanations of the Consecration, and chapter twelve translates the remaining prayers of the Mass from Latin into English and provides a spiritual interpretation of the significance of receiving Holy Communion, which is necessary to complete the Holy Sacrifice.\(^{66}\)

Chapter thirteen draws from the Liturgical Movement and shows how the liturgy throughout the Ecclesiastical Year is “a way to grow in holiness.” This is significant because it establishes the Liturgy as the source of spirituality for Catholic Action. In this chapter, students learn about the two “great themes [that] run through the ecclesiastical year,” namely, the life of Jesus Christ and the story of the saints. The “drama” of the Christian life, a term prevalent in the language of the Liturgical Movement to describe

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\(^{63}\)Ibid., 145.

\(^{64}\)Ibid., 147. “Because we are so intimately associated with one another by the Communion of the Saints our prayers may help our neighbor.”

\(^{65}\)Ibid., 148. “By our charity in this respect we will gain many blessings for ourselves.”

\(^{66}\)Ibid., 151-191.
the Mass, comes alive in the Church year because the liturgy “has been so arranged that the great dramatic events of the life of Christ are brought before us for our edification and imitation.” Also in the same vein, Catholics may come to know the lives of the saints and imitate their virtues, along with those of Christ. Since the Liturgy has sanctifying power, Catholics may re-enter into the liturgy year after year and experience “the powerful, sanctifying events of the Saviour’s career.” Through the yearly anniversaries of the chief events in Christ’s life, Catholics remain mindful of Christ and “strive to be worthy of His graces.” In this way, the connection between Catholic Action and the Liturgical Movement is made apparent.

**Catholic Action and the Early Contributions of Ellamay Horan**

Campion wrote book three with Ellamay Horan, PhD. Born in Chicago, she was one of four daughters of Joseph M. and Mary Alice Horan. She had great sympathy for the charism of the religious life, worked with many sisters, and sought admission to two religious orders during her lifetime. However, Horan was an academic and called to the single life. She completed her undergraduate work in 1919 at Mary-of-the-Woods College near Terre Haute, Indiana. She received her master’s degree from the University

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68 Ibid.

69 Ibid., 18. The Church, a school of holiness, has established an official method of prayer which is *liturgical worship*: and she has organized her action in an authentic fashion, and this is the *Catholic apostolate.* Likewise, all “Christians are to *participate actively* in the double form of priestly activity proposed to them by their hierarchical leaders; in the church they will take that secondary place in active worship which is reserved for them, and outside of the church they will take the place in Catholic Action which is proper to them.”
of Chicago (1925) and her PhD from Loyola University Chicago (1929). While completing her education, Horan taught at the following schools: the High Schools of the Sisters of Providence of St. Mary-of-the-Woods; Loyola University Chicago (1927-1929); and DePaul University (hereafter DePaul) as a professor of Education beginning in 1929. Horan’s interest in improving Catholic high-school religion developed before she worked at DePaul. She taught hundreds of sisters in teaching religious orders. They almost unanimously expressed their “dissatisfaction with the results of present curriculum materials and methods of teaching.”

In 1928, while still a graduate student, Horan completed a study to determine how Catholic high schools prepared girls to meet their future “life problems.” By this term she meant “those questions and situations that confront the average Catholic woman of the world.”

She limited her study, however, to over 300 women graduates of Catholic high schools in the Chicago area. Horan also investigated commonly considered problems in the high-school textbooks; her first problem was “to discover if graduates of Catholic high schools felt that present curriculum provision was adequate, and secondly, to find out if priests and Catholic laywomen believed that additional stress should be placed

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70 Ellamay Horan, “The Teaching of Catholic Ideals, Grade Placement, Grade Emphasis and Determination of Curriculum Material in the Form of Virtue Application” (PhD diss., Chicago: Loyola University, 1929), Preface.

upon this seemingly obvious group of questions,”\textsuperscript{72} i.e., “those questions and situations that confront the average Catholic woman of the world.”\textsuperscript{73}

In tabulating the results of her mailed survey, Horan found that the problems common to women could be grouped into general categories, all of which had ethical implications. They included religion, leisure, marriage, citizenship, and a miscellaneous group. She would use many of these same categories as chapters for the textbook she co-authored with Campion. The life problems that Horan examined included whether or not high schools had adequately taught about the reproduction of life; the danger of keeping company with non-Catholics, both male and female; the nature and purpose of marriage; when and how to be married (hour, place, season, and service); and the danger of going out with divorced men. Additionally, there was little emphasis on married life or birth control.\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{72}Horan, “Religious Needs of the High School Girl,” 376.

\textsuperscript{73}Ibid., 375.

\textsuperscript{74}Ibid., 381. Horan states that her use of the term “birth control” was intended to signify the “Catholic attitude” toward the subject, but she does not explain what she means by that qualification. She justified inclusion of the question in her study based on a letter from the Illinois Birth-Control League dated February 15, 1928. The letter stated: “Replying to your inquiry of February 10, I beg to advise you that since the beginning of the work of the Illinois Birth-Control League in 1924, we have had 3,353 cases apply to us for information. Of these 1,854 were Protestants, 1,046 Catholics, 388 Jewish, and 62 were of other religions or the religion was not stated.” This quotation does not clarify Horan’s position on the latter like she claims, although it could be interpreted to mean that Catholics were consulting the Birth-Control League since they were not getting answers to these questions in their Catholic high-school religion classes. The survey concluded that the greatest need in the curriculum of Catholic high-school girls pertained to issues associated with “Marriage.” See Horan, “Religious Needs of the High School Girl,” 383 for the full context.
In 1930, Campion paired with Horan to write their first book together: *The Mass: A Laboratory Manual for the Student of Religion.*\(^7^5\) This book was intended as a supplement to book two of the Catholic Action Series or any other high-school religion textbook that focused on the Mass or sacraments.\(^7^6\) It was a “laboratory” in the sense that the authors hoped to incorporate “experience” into the lesson plans. It operated under the framework of “learning by doing”\(^7^7\) with the purpose of assisting junior and senior high-school pupils in the study of the Mass.

The inclusion of *The Mass* as part of the Catholic Action Series demonstrated the close connection between Catholic Action and the early Liturgical Movement, which will be discussed further in chapter three. According to the foreword, “It is an aim of Catholic education to give not only an intelligent attitude towards the Mass itself, but also to help the pupil appreciate the Holy Sacrifice and participate to the fullest in its sacred action.”

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Therefore, this book would provide the religion teachers with supplementary materials to equip the students with an intelligent attitude toward the Mass, with appreciation of the “tremendous action” occurring before them. Also, it would provide the “ways and means” of bringing the Mass to the core of the students’ spiritual life, as well as allow the students to follow the liturgical year with the Church. ⁷⁸

The text was actually a workbook divided into four units, which included the externals of the Mass, assisting at Mass, and the ecclesiastical year, with a section of true-false tests and a completion test at the end of the book. While using the book throughout the school year, students might be assigned Bible passages to read, asked to explain a doctrine such as transubstantiation, or given the task of writing a letter to write to a non-Catholic friend. There was very little content in the book itself, making it truly a supplement to another textbook. Students were actually asked to write their answers in the pages of the book in their own words, providing their own reflections and insights, all of which were directed to providing a fuller understanding of the Mass.

In the spring of 1933, Horan completed a study of 453 students to determine what they were actually learning about the Mass in their high-school religion classes. This study was insightful into how effective her book on the Mass had been in the classroom. The survey asked students to provide three reasons why a young woman named “Marie” should “remain firm in her purpose to assist at Mass on Sunday” when a car full of

⁷⁸Campion and Horan, The Mass, 3.
friends invites her to go golfing instead.\textsuperscript{79} The results of this study reveal an overemphasis on the dogmatic reasons behind “Marie’s” obligation to attend Mass, with very few (thirty-five responses out of the total 1,359 reasons submitted) pertaining to the beauty, meaning, or graces proffered in the Sacrifice itself. The most popular reason given was that it would be a mortal sin to miss Mass; the second highest was her love for God. Horan concluded that the sacrificial idea behind the Mass needed greater emphasis in high-school religion. “Without a doubt,” she concluded, “the Catechism is partly to blame for the inadequate understanding of the sacrificial ideas of the Mass.”\textsuperscript{80}

\textit{Journal of Religious Instruction and the Catholic Action Series}

In 1932, Campion and Horan published book three of the Catholic Action Series. Horan’s contributions strengthened the textbook series significantly as students were provided with more concrete information on how they could live according to Catholic Action. This structure included not only how the students should train for Catholic Action, but also what Catholic Action looked like in the Catholic home, in Catholic education, in the students’ life work, and in social service. In addition, several of the chapters initiated students to perceive the larger economic, industrial, and social situations in light of their religious conversion. Finally, the last half of book three covers topics on citizenship, the “Industrial Problem,” the “Economic Organization of Society and the Mystical Body of Christ,” leisure, and “Catholic United Action.”


\textsuperscript{80}Ibid., 534.
Between 1931 and 1938, Horan also published fifteen articles in the *Journal of Religious Instruction* (the only journal of its kind in the 1930s) related to Catholic high-school religion. Most of these articles were on the Catholic Action Series. These articles served as vital resources for religion teachers using her textbook series. She published teaching guidelines for various chapters and provided teachers with supplemental materials. In 1934, she published a summary of the goal of the Catholic Action Series. The article prepared teachers for chapter two of book three, in particular. Teachers and students had the opportunity to review both Christian doctrine and asceticism, “to exemplify, spread and defend the Faith” for Catholic Action.

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81 Horan was the editor of the *Journal of Religious Instruction* from its inception in February 1931 until her departure from DePaul in 1944. Her positions both at DePaul and with the journal made her a leader in the field. Through the journal, she sought to identify problems with religious education and to bring improvements to religion classrooms. She expressed her great concern for the religious education of the students in her day. Between 1938 and the end of her tenure with the *Journal of Religious Instruction*, Horan’s interests moved away from the school-based religious education and more toward the improvement of Religion taught in the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD).

82 These included pretests; bibliographies for reading and study topics for the teacher to further appreciate the unit; study questions and projects for students; as well as assimilation tests and answer keys to adapt to the individual classroom. A great deal of information can be learned about Horan’s perspective on high-school religion through an examination of the structure of her study topics and test questions, which were all related to the theme of each chapter.

Campion and Horan divided the high-school years into three parts. The first part consisted of teaching students to pursue personal holiness and engage as members of the Mystical Body of Christ. The second type of preparation entailed teaching Christian doctrine. "Catholics are not educated if they are unable to explain Catholic doctrine and Catholic teaching on social questions." The third component of training for Catholic Action involved actual participation activities such as caring for "the poor, the ignorant, and the needy." A school that maintains a Sodality or similar entity "offers training in active Catholicity." This three-fold approach was at the core of the Catholic Action Series.

One problem that Horan foresaw in the Catholic school system was the students’ lack of interest in the religion class. Students had a careless attitude toward religion and regularly refused to complete assignments. Teachers complained of this problem, usually attributing it to the lack of course credit for religion classes. Horan wrote an article for the Journal in 1931, voicing her concern and solutions. Teachers who found themselves in this predicament should first examine their typical classroom procedure and try to find

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85 Campion and Horan, Religion, bk. 3, 23.
the cause of the students’ disinterest in the study of religion—a subject all students
desperately needed for their spiritual well-being.\textsuperscript{86}

In contrast, a classroom based on formalized instruction by the teacher, complete
with question-and-answer recitation of the catechism, “is seldom conducive to the
development of individual responsibility and learning on the part of all pupils.”\textsuperscript{87} For an
effective study session, Horan suggested that teachers must meet certain conditions. First,
they must understand educational psychology to meet the needs of students’ learning
styles. Second, teachers must be masters of the subject. Third, there must be good
physical surroundings. Fourth, the class needs questions or workbooks to direct the
pupils’ study. Additionally, reference materials needed to be at hand, and the teacher
should provide specific works for both fast and slow learners.

In 1931, Horan wrote to the Very Reverend Michael J. O’Connell, CM, president
of DePaul from 1935 to 1944, asking him to approach the National Catholic Education
Association (NCEA) and request proper academic credit for religion courses. She said
that the religion course would not achieve academic respectability without it.

\textsuperscript{86} After rating the class on a list of questions provided by Horan, teachers should
consider “directed study,” by which Horan meant “the class period of Religion [is made
into] a time of supervised study.” An “intelligent and efficient usage of [directed study] is
bound to produce a more intelligent attitude and greater earnestness on the part of pupils
in the study of Religion.” By changing the method of instruction, this teaching technique
would help alleviate pressure on teachers. “We recommend directed study to the teacher
of Religion because it offers maximum opportunity for the period of religious instruction
to make definite contributions to the religious education of youth that cannot be obtained
by accidentally in the customary teacher-explanation, and question and answer method.”
of Religious Instruction} 1 (1931): 127.

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., 136.
Administrators should not expect Catholic students to take religion courses seriously if they are worth only one credit hour compared to the three credits that students earned in other classes.\textsuperscript{88}

To enhance the religion classroom, Horan suggested that teachers give a “short written pretest” to students, accompanied by an oral discussion, to reveal “members of the class who may have an adequate understanding of the unit as a result of previous learning experiences.”\textsuperscript{89} The day following the pretest, the teachers would be equipped “to do a masterful piece of teaching” because of the knowledge they had gained about their students. In this way, the personal energy of the teacher could keep the students’ attention, and his or her careful preparation would allow for a successful class.\textsuperscript{90} The remainder of Horan’s article provided study questions for use during the all-important study period, as well as possible topics for oral reports or written papers, and a sample test on the Fourth Commandment.\textsuperscript{91}

In June of 1931, prior to the release of book three, Horan presented her opinions on an important teaching technique in the religion classroom during the 1930s. Known as “Unitary Organization,” it required religion teachers to organize their material into units.


\textsuperscript{89}As part of her solution to students’ disinterest in religion, Horan provided a sample test on the Fourth Commandment for teachers to use and to adapt as needed. See Horan, “High School Period of Religion,” 354-355.

\textsuperscript{90}Ibid., 356.

\textsuperscript{91}Ibid., 358-363.
“This requires a thorough knowledge of the subject and a conception of it as a factor in the religious education of youth.” The unit made education feasible, for “without the mastering of particular units, learning, in the educational sense, is not taking place.” Therefore, a “unit is both the objective goal and the corresponding change in the student represented by a new attitude, special ability or skill.”

The technique avoided independent study of large bodies of literature such as the Old and New Testaments; rather, students received exposure to Scripture by having contact with various books of the Bible in each of the units.

In the sophomore year, for example, students began with a study of the Mass, followed by the ecclesiastical year. At mid-year, they studied the virtue of religion. Through these units and others, students would have prolonged exposure to studying each of the Ten Commandments. Therefore, it emphasized how to apply Church teachings rather than simply retaining the information through memorization. The end goal of unitary organization in the classroom was the “ability for all members of the class to talk easily and intelligently on all of the units listed.” This approach was to be adapted to individual teachers and classrooms.

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93 Ibid., 455.

94 Ibid., 456f.
Analysis of the Catholic Action Series

The Works of Mercy

In January of 1932, Horan encouraged educators to teach the corporal and spiritual works of mercy by having their students complete exercises to help train for Catholic Action.\(^95\) In chapter twenty of book one, Campion wrote on “Love of God and Neighbor.” In this chapter, the author discussed the relationship between perfect love of God and the call to love one’s neighbor. For the Christian, the “practical working of this love for one another requires that it be sincere, disinterested and apply to all.”\(^96\) To this end, charity, or love, requires action, for “Christian charity is more than a mere feeling; it is responsible for definite acts that demonstrate love for neighbor.”\(^97\) This meant care for the less fortunate. Campion traces examples of Christian actions from the time of the disciples, when they sold all their worldly goods and gave the money to the poor; through the Middle Ages, when Catholics organized hospitals and orphanages, and gave refuge to those in need; and into modern times, when institutions provide relief from suffering.\(^98\)


\(^96\)Ibid., 268.

\(^97\)Ibid., 270.

\(^98\)Ibid., 270-273. The Church maintains the need for both corporal and spiritual works of mercy. Drawing from the Gospels, the author teaches that the seven corporal works of mercy are: “(1) to feed the hungry; (2) to give drink to the thirsty; (3) to clothe the naked; (4) to harbor the harborless; (5) to visit the imprisoned; (6) to visit the sick; and (7) to bury the dead.” In exchange for doing these actions, the students learned that they might be rewarded both in this life and in the next. Likewise, the spiritual works of mercy include: “(1) to admonish sinners; (2) to instruct the ignorant; (3) to counsel the
In her article on this chapter, Horan suggested ten exercises on religion and moral teaching. The process of learning according to this outline included ideas and practical application: “Not only is the pupil required to study the works of mercy as they are presented in the text-book, but he is directed to apply the study to his own sphere of life.”

Exercise two urged students to establish both the supernatural and natural motivation for performing good works, while exercise three prompted them to ponder how to engage in good works in their present state in life. Exercise four asked students to reflect on their future adult lives and consider how to engage in such work. Exercises five and six brought the students to the Scriptures and the Gospels to discover the Gospel command to show mercy, as well as Christ’s actual deeds. In exercise seven, the students actually performed acts of mercy. In exercise eight, students scanned newspapers and magazines to discover “inspiring examples of particular works of mercy” in the world around them, while exercise nine asked them to do the same in biographies that they had read. The final activity, exercise ten, “suggest[ed] that the individual select applications of the ideal that he has been studying which he would like to manifest in his life and which he will have many occasions to make, and note them in the record that he is making of the character ideal he would like to realize.”

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100 Ibid., 448-449.
The Industrial Problem

In 1932, the Great Depression hit the United States, so Horan tackled the decline in the economy and society by publishing an article on industrial problems. The high-school religion class was a unique opportunity for teachers to translate the labor encyclicals to the daily economic life of students in Catholic high schools. The relationship between Church teachings and the depressed industry was an urgent issue for the Church in the early 1930s. On May 15, 1931, exactly forty years after Pope Leo XIII wrote his social encyclical, *Rerum novarum,* Pope Pius XI issued *Quadragesimo anno.* This encyclical addressed modern economic and social issues. Both popes asserted that it was only by adhering to the social teachings of the Church on the virtues of justice and charity that society would achieve a sense of unity.

Campion and Horan realized that their expectations were very high for high-school students. “We believe, however, that it has a very definite place in the curriculum of the secondary school. The problem is important. If the boys and girls in our high schools do not get an understanding of this question before they are graduated from the Catholic high school, there is little hope that the majority of them will receive an adequate instruction on this question later in life.”

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102 Ellamay Horan, “Catholic Action and the Industrial Problem,” *Journal of Religious Instruction* 2 (April 1932): 744. She realized that only a small number of high-school graduates in the 1930s continued their education in a Catholic college.
Communism, in general, and soviet bolshevism, in particular, were the Church’s great enemies because they “spell[ed] revolution, disorder and disaster for the workingman. His right to own property and to liberty of contract would be abolished under communism, to say nothing of his right to worship God as his conscience dictates.”

A society must be organized for the benefit of all persons, and employers are obliged to pay a just and living wage to workers. A living wage means that employees have the hope and opportunity of owning property. Capital and labor depend upon one another for their common good. The just minimum wage must be enough to support the wage earner in a reasonable and frugal comfort, for himself and for his family. Pius XI believed that mothers and children working outside the home, often in factories, would have an ill effect on the family. Thus, “every effort must therefore be made that fathers of families received a wage sufficient to meet adequately ordinary domestic needs.”

To accomplish these goals, *Quadragesimo anno* advocated a new economic organization of society into “vocational groups,” rather than “unlimited free competition and economic domination of supremacy.” In this model, the fundamental law of Christians, which was love of God and neighbor, should be practiced. Campion and Horan taught that a living wage is not the full measure of justice. However, when a living wage is not in place, the labor or trade union could be one of the most effective means

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104 Ibid., 301-305. Throughout pages 303-305, the authors quote the Bishops’ pastoral letter of 1919, including the Bishops’ positions on the living wage and the Program of Social Reconstruction.

105 Ibid., 335.
used to improve working conditions. A strike is a measure of last resort; peaceful mediation must be tried first.

The Economic Organization of Society

In chapter nine of book three, Campion and Horan explored the importance of basing the economic organization of society on the Mystical Body of Christ. At the core of this theological ideal, citizens should be in “close and harmonious union.”\(^{106}\) It called for a new society to be structured around the Mystical Body of Christ, serving the best interests of both employers and employees. Socialism and communism separated employer and employee by preaching the doctrine of class warfare, but the Church advocated economic restructuring around vocational groups. Men and women of the same occupation would be brought together for closer cooperation; they relied on the state to promote harmony among the classes through legislation.

The pope was not attacking the rights of individuals or of private property, nor was he intending to destroy the power and influence of the employer. Rather, he was the first pope to refer to social justice, and he urged employers and employees to come together in associations and unions to bring about social justice, which included: providing just wages; distributing property more equitably; and allowing governmental control of free competition in business. These groupings should form a close and harmonious union. They could be given legal standing by state law. However, the state could not interfere with the ability of groups to subdivide into smaller associations.

Rather than associations in competition with each other, the groups would work together, in cooperation with one another.\textsuperscript{107}

Horan used government monitoring of the railroad industry as an example to teach the “promotion of harmony between employer and employee by the intervention of the state.” Although it was not an example of vocational groupings, it did demonstrate how a governing body like Congress could establish a board of mediation whose only power was that of moral suasion, since labor disputes could affect the welfare of the entire country. An official procedure might be established for settling disputes for just and final solution.

The Mystical Body of Christ was a model for Catholics to hope for the day when economic society would be balanced and just, where “all men will work as harmoniously and peacefully as the members of Christ’s Body work.”\textsuperscript{108} The ideas in these textbooks prefigured later developments of Specialized Catholic Action, which created small groups, called “cells,” from like-to-like participants according to their jobs and place in society. These cells had the aim of influencing others through their actions and to “make the world more Christian.”\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{107} Campion and Horan, \textit{Religion}, bk. 3, 355. See also Campion, “Economic Organization of Society,” 609-610.

\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., 366-367.

\textsuperscript{109} In Chicago, by 1940 the widespread development of cells resulted in the grouping of cells into seven “federations”: “high school girls, high school boys, teachers’ college girls, college boys, working men, working women, and teachers.” In addition, Reynold Hillenbrand would spur the movement on in Chicago. Through his talks, he gave cells “a vision of great possibilities” and convinced Catholic Action members that the actions of the laity “depended on a ‘profound Catholicity,’ which in turn rested upon
The Life of Christ

In June of 1932, Horan presented a very brief outline for the instruction of fourth-year students in “The Life of Christ.” The aim of this unit was to “make Christ better known and loved” and to “motivate Christian living.” Classes would also review previously learned religious knowledge related to this topic. In five units, the teacher first covered why Christ came; His example; His Teachings; the prophecies, claims, miracles, character, and resurrection of Christ as the Son of God; and characteristics of the mother of Christ. Students were expected to learn about the life of Christ in each of these five units through examinations of the Gospels, and to write papers on the unit’s topic, perhaps using the assignment for an English class.110

Christian Education

Horan published an outline for the chapter on Christian Education in November of 1932. In this unit, students learned about the following: the history of Catholic education in the United States; the anti-Catholic attacks on educational institutions; the papal incentive for the Christian education of youth from Pius XI’s encyclical, Divini illius magistri issued on December 31, 1929111; and the future and advancement of Catholic

a divine plan which assigned to each man his proper function.” In their eyes, the cell movement was “the instrument for social regeneration in the world.” See Zotti, A Time of Awakening, 45, 48.


education in the United States.\textsuperscript{112} This very comprehensive unit required teachers to be prepared to give instructions on the reasons for Catholic schools; the attitude of non-Catholics toward religious and moral education; and duties of parents to be the primary educators of their children.\textsuperscript{113}

\textit{Prayer}

In November of 1933, Horan prepared a unit study guide on “Prayer” for book one. This unit for first-year high-school students aimed at strengthening the internal prayer life of the students. In general, students reflected on prayers that praised God, that thanked Him, and that petitioned Him. They also learned how to avoid mere “lip service” during prayer, as well as reasons why students could be easily distracted. In addition, this lesson would help them grow in their love and practice of prayer as they were instructed about the two types of prayer: vocal and meditative.

In this unit, one of the students’ activities involved analyzing each petition of the “Our Father” and writing paragraphs to explain the request man makes to God and the thoughts that should accompany them. Or, in keeping a notebook for reflections, the students might be encouraged to find ten quotations of Christ from the Gospels to use


\textsuperscript{113}Ibid., 219-221. Teachers could present students with open-ended questions and projects such as: “What sources would one quote in explaining the obligation of parents to provide a religious education for their children?” or “Explain the obligation of college students and adults to attend Catholic schools of higher learning.” Alternatively, they could “try to find out how many Catholics within four blocks of your home are attending public or non-Catholic private schools. If possible, discover the reasons why these boys and girls are not attending Catholic schools.”
during quiet, reflective prayer or meditation. They also might try to explain the meaning of the “Hail Mary” in their own words, or formulate a plan that would enable them to acquire the habit of saying the morning offering upon waking.

Home

Another interesting topic that students studied as part of the Catholic Action Series involved the ideals needed for a Christian home. Chapter three of book three, “Catholic Action in the Home,” stands out because of its practicality. The topics covered were vitally important for the Catholic lifestyle and Catholic culture. It aimed to help students train for the responsibilities of family life and parenthood. It also encouraged Catholics to support the Church and state through discussions at home. Catholic Action could be a source of guidance for recreation in the home. Finally, the chapter discussed in detail how students should establish their future Catholic homes.

To promote Catholic Action in the home was a huge responsibility, “a work of obligation for all parents who are assuming their responsibility as parent-educators. The direction, the systematic training and the inspiration that parents owe the infant from the time he learns to walk must follow him until he leaves the parental roof in adult years to

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115 Ibid., 238.

116 Campion and Horan, Religion, bk. 3, 64. Most importantly, “The purpose of the present chapter is to present some of the opportunities that Catholic fathers and mothers and their sons and daughters have to exemplify, uphold, and spread Catholic faith and morals in their own small group and in the world with which they come in contact.”
establish a home for himself.” Catholic high-school students learned the various ways home life engaged in Catholic Action. The roles for men and women were very defined, and expectations for pre-marital relationships were culturally developed.

**Social Service**

The Catholic Action Series also provided solutions to modern society’s social problems based on “the teachings of Christ and the revelation of Almighty God.” The overall theme of the chapter was to demonstrate the alternatives to secular totalitarian systems. The Church’s solutions were based on understanding Revelation as the deposit of faith, “which is the sum total of all the divine truths God has revealed to man.” The modern world must rest on these principles of justice and charity and bring society to the teachings of Christ to “wipe out the evils afflicting it.” The responsibility of the laity was to join in the “cause of promoting human welfare” by embracing and advocating the “revealed truths of God which the Catholic Church teaches.” The laity,

by applying these truths to the solution of these problems, will not only relieve distress but [also] go a long way toward restoring all things in Christ and bringing mankind to acknowledge and practice the religion of Christ.

Social service meant knowing the problems of the times and becoming familiar with the “remedies that are bearing fruit.” It was “not enough to have a knowledge of our religion.

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118 Ibid., 69. For example, “The home engages in Catholic action when it points out the dangers of courtship and guides the conduct that should characterize young people at this period of life.”

119 Ibid., 166.

120 Ibid., 168.
so that we can recite definitions and explanations rapidly and accurately. This is important knowledge, it is true, but we should know our religion in relation to the social needs of the day.”\textsuperscript{121}

Campion and Horan held that students who completed their studies in the Catholic Action Series would learn that the purpose of Catholic social service was ultimately to save immortal souls.\textsuperscript{122} Justice and charity through Catholic Action were the ends that should be promoted to thwart the evils that exist within society. These virtues could be accomplished by seeking the “mutual welfare of all mankind” through social service, which “means those activities that help to improve the condition of the people. These activities look to secure the well-being of the individual and through the welfare of the individual to bring peace and contentment to the whole society.”\textsuperscript{123}

Horan completed a 1933 study that surveyed a group of boys and girls graduating from a Catholic high school. The study pertained to an issue of economic injustice. After reviewing the students’ responses, Horan became passionate about exposing high-school students to the ideas behind social justice. In her survey, she wanted to determine how

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\textsuperscript{121}Campion and Horan, \textit{Religion}, bk. 3, 168.
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\textsuperscript{122}Ibid., 173.
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\textsuperscript{123}Ibid., 170. The corporal works of mercy were the basic Catholic teachings on service. Catholics should give food, drink, clothing, and shelter to the needy; they should visit the sick and imprisoned, and bury the dead. The chapter describes the innumerable ways that the Church helped those in need, including those in poverty; disorganized families; and those in distress due to natural disasters, such as a flood or drought. In addition, Catholics should help the Church provide social services by promoting good health; by education, summer camps, and helping neglected children; and by hospitals and assistance to immigrants. See Ibid., 166-215.
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teenagers would respond to a situation in which a young man named “Bill” chose to
avoid purchasing a baseball team’s uniforms from a department store that paid its clerks
an unjust wage. Students were asked to give three reasons why Bill might have taken this
stand. Horan categorized the students’ responses, studied them, and came to the
“interesting, if not typical” conclusion that graduates of Catholic high schools in 1933
“forgot or never knew how to see an economic situation as a religious situation or
religious opportunity.” Horan perused *Rerum novarum* for guidance on when the
Church and its members should take a stand on matters related to industry and commerce.
Only one student “out of 453 who contributed replies, gave the religious principle upon
which social justice is based: ‘All creatures are created for the honor and glory of
God.’”

Leisure

Horan and Campion also examined how students could use Catholic Action in
their leisure time. By “leisure,” the authors meant the “waking hours in which men and
women are not engaged in the labor of their particular vocations.” For high-school
students, leisure would be non-school and non-study hours. The chapter stressed that God
equipped man to rest and relax; leisure hours, however, could be “just as fruitful for
personal sanctification and the edification of others as any other period of the day.” On

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125 Ibid., 70.
126 Ibid., 9.
127 Ibid., 377.
the other hand, there is “no vacation from the observance of the Christian code of conduct.” Catholic Action required persons to be alert throughout the day, whether through conversation, through reading appropriate materials, or through avoiding materials found on the *Index of Forbidden Books*.”\(^{128}\)

Also, Catholics should choose appropriate sports for themselves and use good sportsmanship, and they should ideally only go on dates with Catholics whom their parents know well. They should use temperance regarding food, drink, and medicine; avoid films or plays in the theater that make “vice attractive and moral laxity convenient”; and discourage betting and gambling while pursuing Catholic art, music, and leisure. In all things, Catholic children should obey their parents, who in almost all situations have the best interests of their children at heart.\(^{129}\) Ultimately, the hours of leisure reveal the true character of the young man or woman. Catholic Action must bring the application of religion to the Catholic’s life every hour of the day, without exception.\(^{130}\)

Book three of the Catholic Action Series demonstrates how far religious education had come since the start of the twentieth century.\(^{131}\) The Catholic Action Series

\(^{128}\) Campion and Horan, *Religion*, bk. 3, 386.

\(^{129}\) Ibid., 379–404.

\(^{130}\) Ibid., 405. “Others may see you go to Church frequently and participate actively in Catholic works,” the textbook warns, “but if, in the hours of play, you are a different person, with no respect for the Catholic code, then your way of life is a contradiction to your prayers and good works.”

marks an early advancement to the development of new ideas concerning religious
education for Catholic high schools. By attempting to address all aspects of teenagers’
lives, it sparked a generation of Catholics to be more persuasive in affecting others with
the appeal of Catholic Action. These Catholics were more knowledgeable about the
mission of the Church and their role as members of the Mystical Body of Christ. The
Catholic Action religion course sought to instill in Catholic students alternative
ideologies in response to totalitarianism, which threatened the American Catholic way of
life. 132

Campion and Horan demonstrate how Catholic Action strengthened Catholic
high-schools students, preserving and protecting their faith and morals. As baptized
Catholics and members of the Mystical Body of Christ, students realized that they were
called to share the divine life with others. Students should show their concern for the
problems facing other students and become active leaders in their schools, participating
in a variety of programs under Catholic Action. These groups included Sodalities, Social
Service Clubs, the Catholic Students’ Mission Crusade, the Liturgical Club, the Catholic
Youth Organization, and Study Clubs. While membership was not regularly mandatory,
these groups provided a means of strengthening the religious convictions of the student
body outside of the religion classroom and asserted that being Catholic meant more than
going to Mass on Sunday.


In particular, see chapter 2, nn. 106-109 on the restructuring of society according
to the Mystical Body of Christ.
Catholic Action reached its apex in the United States from the late 1930s to the 1950s, approximately a decade after the publishing of the Catholic Action Series. Since the Catholic Action Series preceded later developments, the next section turns to the work of notable priests who made Catholic Action, with the Liturgical Movement, their primary ministry in Church.

**Catholic Action and the Sodality Movement**

The Sodality Movement was one extension of Specialized Catholic Action that was incorporated into high schools at the turn of the twentieth century. Sodalities had a history that dated back over 300 years. The Sodality Movement traced its origins to Europe in the time following the Protestant Reformation when Rev. John Leunis, SJ, gathered select pupils together to follow a simple program to set lay members apart as followers of Christ. “As a Jesuit initiative, the Sodality’s spiritual dynamism closely modeled the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola, emphasizing frequent examination of conscience, prayer, meditation, confession and communion.” The Sodality Movement spread worldwide in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries among the laity who were “engaged in apostolic works and in the defense of a beleaguered Catholicism fending off the spirit of the Enlightenment and the moral and spiritual corruption of industrial society.”

It became a source of Catholic Action for Catholic high-school students largely through the work of one of its most prominent leaders, Rev. Daniel A. Lord, SJ.

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Sodalities provided students in Catholic high schools in the 1930s and 40s with a great source of devotionalism, using the motto, “To Christ Through Mary.” Sodalities were important to parish life and at times were also incorporated into the high school religion class. Students could also participate in Sodalities as extracurricular activities in after-school hours. Sodalities strengthened devotion to the Blessed Virgin. They sought “to stir up in its members such a special fervor of Catholic life” which would result in “good works for personal holiness, the help of the neighbor and the defense and spread of the Church.”\(^\text{134}\) Caring for both the bodily and spiritual salvation of one’s neighbor was seen as a natural result of devotion to Mary. Sodalities also allowed their lay members to participate in various committees to accomplish the many tasks of the Movement.\(^\text{135}\)

Lord, a notable leader of the Sodality Movement, spent his whole life dedicated to its advancement. He was born in Chicago on April 23, 1888, to George Douglas and Iva Jane (Langdon) Lord, and he entered the Society of Jesus in 1909. He received his bachelor’s degree from Loyola University Chicago, and his master’s degree from St. Louis University (SLU). Lord was ordained in 1923 and professed his solemn vows in 1925. Prior to his ordination, he was an instructor in English from 1917-1919, and a professor of English and a student counselor from 1919-1920 at SLU. Upon completion


\(^{135}\)Ibid., 10-11. Examples included the Eucharistic Committee, which furthered devotion to the Blessed Sacrament; Our Lady’s Committee, which prepared and presented programs in honor of the Blessed Mother; the Literature Committee, which would recommend and select library books; the Activities Committee, which reported parish activities; and the Publicity Committee, which kept bulletin boards up-to-date.
of his vows in 1925, he became the editor of the *Queen’s Work*, a publication of the Sodality Movement, and he also became the national organizer for the Sodality of Our Lady. He was the organizer and director of the Summer School of Catholic Action beginning in 1931.\(^{136}\) Lord hoped to strengthen the Catholic identity of young people and combat totalitarian ideologies so attractive to the young people of his day.

In a 1939 survey of Catholic Action programs in Catholic high schools, one high school described its participation in Catholic Action through “Our Lady’s Sodality.” This school noted how the Sodality of Our Lady was called the “Catholic Action Club,” and was organized according to Lord’s Committee System for the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin:

In order to promote Catholic Action and to pray for the spread of Christ’s Kingdom, the whole student body, except one non-Catholic pupil, assists at a High Mass in honor of the Sacred Heart every First Friday and receives Holy Communion. The Blessed Sacrament is exposed all day, and the girls keep half hours of public adoration. Many of the former graduates return to make visits on that day.\(^{137}\)

Another respondent to the survey described how the Sodality was “making our pupils Catholic-minded.” This Catholic high school’s “students are very interested in the ‘Queen’s Work’ and read the magazine from the first to the last item every month. They await its arrival with the greatest enthusiasm.”\(^{138}\)


\(^{137}\)Sheffel, “Catholic Action Programs,” 24-25.

\(^{138}\)Ibid., 24.
Lord based the philosophy of his magazine and the approach to his work on the attractiveness of Catholic Action to young people. During his day, he knew that every world movement, whether Fascism or Communism, Nazism or Atheism, was at battle for the allegiance of youth. The conquest for their loyalty made the Catholic Church’s efforts vitally important for the future of the Church. The Holy Father’s answer to those world movements was Catholic Action. According to Lord,

In Catholic Action they have heard the answer to that ‘What now?’ They know. Here is action, and the blood of youth calls for action. They must accomplish. They must achieve. And while they see a thousand other causes bent on class war and destruction, a devastating war upon everything from private property to the decency of womankind, they see in this Catholic Action a chance to do constructive work.\(^\text{139}\)

Catholic Action was a direct appeal not only to teenagers’ sense of religiosity, but also to their need for belonging. Catholic Action was “the modern Crusade without weapons. It is the Pope’s summons to the laity of the world to rise as one man to battle for Jesus Christ and His cause through prayer and sacrifice, through charity and applied knowledge, through a deepened spirituality and an extended world viewpoint, through Catholic sociology and economics and citizenship and recreation, in the hope that the Kingdom of God may dominate humanity.”\(^\text{140}\) It was a direct response to many other anti-Catholic political movements in the 1930s.

Of vital importance to Lord was the need to nourish a deep spiritual foundation in the students while participating in Catholic Action. Herein lies the influence of the


\(^{140}\)Ibid.
Liturgical Movement on Catholic Action. Lord recommended that students receive Communion frequently, which was as “essential in their training as correct diet is to the young athlete.” Likewise, they needed a “deep understanding of the union of the soul with the Mystical Body of Christ.” This would first give them “a reassuring courage” in their mission, and second would help them to understand “the viewpoint of a united mankind.”\textsuperscript{141} Lord’s approach was based on the Mystical Body of Christ, relying on the liturgy as a source of strength for Sodalists. In 1935, Lord described the relationship between Christ as the head of the Mystical Body and the community of believers.

“Therefore, when Christ the Priest offers up Himself, the Victim, He cannot dissociate Himself from those who are united with Him in the Mystical Body. Hence Christ in the Mass really offers to God, to the Blessed Trinity, Himself and all the world of His followers.”\textsuperscript{142}

Likewise, upon leaving Mass, the “candles go dead in their sockets” and the “missal and cards are removed.” However, the congregation’s “priesthood is not lost” upon going out into the world:

We are still united in closest union with Christ, the High Priest. We ourselves are still members of that royal priesthood whether the consecrating oils of ordination have warmed our hands or not. Our task of offering sacrifice is not over. We have still lives of endless sacrifice to lead. For, like the priesthood of Christ, our priesthood never ends.

\textsuperscript{141}Lord, “The Training of Youth,” 13.

\textsuperscript{142}Daniel A. Lord, SJ, \textit{Our Part in the Mystical Body} (St Louis: The Queen’s Work, 1935), 143.
In this quote, Lord demonstrates an example of employing personalism to change society, drawing on the idea that the community of believers is also part of the priesthood of Christ. Since the “royal priesthood of every true Christian becomes a living, present, vital thing only through its connection with the Mass,” every small action offered by the recipients of Holy Communion gives “every action a sacrificial character.” Thus, Catholics might know that their “actions and sufferings, these commonplace deeds and thoughts of our commonplace lives are accepted by the Heavenly Father as a continuance of that endless sacrifice which His divine Son, through His Mystical Body, offers to the throne of Justice and Love.”

Through the liturgy, “the young generation sees itself [as] part of the Church worshiping and carrying forward the priesthood of Jesus Christ.” Students might experience an “essential prerequisite” for participation in Catholic Action when they “fix their eyes in loving study upon the glamorous figure of Jesus Christ, building up a knowledge and love of their Leader which make all other leaders seem second rate and unsatisfactory.” Lord also promoted the importance of devotion to the Virgin Mary, which is consistent with the themes of the Sodality Movement. The “lovely figure” of the Virgin Mother would be nearby Christ; her “face is their inspiration and [her] life and purity is the shining light to their steps.” According to Lord, future leaders of Catholic Action “cannot be ordinary Catholics. They must be trained to a deep and high perception

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143 Lord, *Our Part in the Mystical Body*, 143.

144 Ibid., 146.

of spiritual principles and ideals, and to a personal intimacy with the Son of God and His Virgin Mother.”

Lord asserted that religious educators, through Catholic Action, had the unique opportunity to bring religion outside of the theoretical realm and into the practical. “Education is essentially a preparation, and a preparation must have a fulfillment. Education must have its practical expression. And the Catholic educator has seen in Catholic Action the fulfillment of Catholic education, the practical expression of the theory of the Religious classroom and the ideals of the Catholic system of education.”

Beginning in the later 1930s, Catholic Action flourished. These Catholic Action textbooks provided some of the earliest interpretations of the papal directives on Catholic Action, serving as the foundation for later developments across the United States.

Hillenbrand, the Liturgical Movement, and Young Christian Workers (YCW)

As has been seen throughout this chapter, Catholic Action took on much of the spirituality offered by the Liturgical Movement beginning in the 1930s. An important component of this convergence depended upon the incorporation of the language of the Mystical Body of Christ. In the later 1930s, after nearly a decade of the Depression, the YCW emerged in the United States with the help of an Australian author and Christian activist Paul McGuire (1903-1978). He had been exposed to Cardjin in Belgium and decided to promote Catholic Action among Catholic high-school students across the country and the world. McGuire’s mission was to challenge young people to restore the

147 Ibid., 13.
world to Christ through Catholic Action. He promoted Catholic Action according to the Jocist model in the United States, challenging young people to restore the world to Christ through schools of Catholic Action. He “made a clear distinction between Catholic Action and what he called Catholic social action. He saw Catholic Action as dealing with personal and religious issues, rather than social problems.” He maintained: “political, social, and economic reform could not be enacted without moral reform.” Because of his conviction that Catholic Action should take root in America, “he came to the States in 1938 and began to seek out ways to reach the American Catholic public.”

His understandings of Catholic Action would influence the Movement in the United States.

McGuire’s efforts first took root in Brooklyn, New York—Campion’s home where he wrote the Catholic Action Series —after he challenged Catholics to venture outside of their parish-based piety and devotions and into the world of social activism through a call to “restore the world to Christ.” After hearing McGuire speak, a young man named John Berkery left McGuire’s meeting, mobilized by the Church’s social teachings, and together with three friends, started two groups of Catholic Action, one in Brooklyn, the other in Queens. “They called themselves the American Jocists.”

This group had little literature readily available to teach them about Jocism, but by translating the French-Canadian Jocist publications, they were able to learn the method. They began by making inquiries among themselves into “the working

149 Ibid., 5.
150 Ibid., 14.
environment, dancing, dress, dates and preparation for marriage, movies, family life, the indifference of Catholics regarding their religion, [and] the practice of charity.” They also applied Cardjin’s Observe-Judge-Act model of Specialized Catholic Action and planned to take actions to help with the problems the groups observed.\textsuperscript{151}

The YCW movement in America became an extension of the JOC and an early form of Specialized Catholic Action, which “mobilized [youth] to defend their faith and Catholic interests while bringing the Church’s moral and social teachings to bear on American public life.”\textsuperscript{152} As was mentioned earlier, Catholic Action members met in parish-based small groups known as “cells,” and in the early days they relied on the retreat movement for spiritual strengthening.\textsuperscript{153} As Specialized Catholic Action grouped like members of the laity, people were able to be “active in their own particular place among the people they knew best, in a milieu where they could be most effective.”\textsuperscript{154}

In the mid-1930s, one of the leading voices in support of both the Liturgical Movement and Catholic Action emerged. Msgr. Reynold Hillenbrand became rector of St. Mary of the Lake Seminary in Chicago beginning in 1936. He was ordained in 1929 and did postgraduate work at Mundelein before spending a year in Rome. He also spent a year teaching English at the Preparatory Seminary and was thereafter appointed to the Mission Band, “a group of priests throughout the archdiocese exhorting the faithful to

\textsuperscript{151}Lord, “Training of Youth,” 14-15.

\textsuperscript{152}Dinges, “‘An Army of Youth,’” 35-36.

\textsuperscript{153}Pecklers, \textit{Unread Vision}, 97.

\textsuperscript{154}Zotti, \textit{A Time of Awakening}, 9.
know and practice their religion.” In this final position, he encountered the problems that Catholics in Chicago were facing because of the Great Depression. Hillenbrand served as a source of inspiration for a generation of priests in the Chicago area. He exposed future priests to the teachings of the Liturgical Movement, the dialogue Mass, and Catholic Action, equipping them to go out into their parishes after ordination and instill both movements among the laity. Hillenbrand’s contributions helped make Chicago “a national center of the Catholic Action movement.”

As a rector, Hillenbrand asserted the “strict interpretation of the papal encyclicals,” which led him to call for “intense training in the social teaching of the Church and a firm foundation in the liturgy” despite the fact that “many conservatives among the clergy saw this as an indication that the young monsignor was a flaming radical.” Hillenbrand appreciated the important work of the laity in the Church.

“Throughout the years, he interpreted the messages of the Holy Father as the voice of Christ in the world and made those words meaningful to lay leaders in the specialized movements, of which the closest to his heart was the Young Christian Workers.”

The leaders of this movement would look to the education of the priests in the social teachings. This was perceived as the first step toward a solution that would help the workingman understand and apply the Church’s social teachings. Hillenbrand was inspired by a 1937 conference on Catholic Action, which had been called by Samuel A. Zotti.

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155 Zotti, *A Time of Awakening*, 28. Hillenbrand also served as a consultant in the area of “Social Life” for book two of the *Christian Religion Series for High Schools* by Jane Marie [Murray], OP, which will be explored at the end of chapter three.

156 Ibid., 29.
Stritch, then archbishop of Milwaukee. Hillenbrand wanted to “develop a team of priests interested in liturgy, social action, and the lay apostolate to work out some kind of program combining all three elements.” He began by planning the Summer School of Social Action at Mundelein Seminary for priests beginning in July 1938.\textsuperscript{157}

The Summer School of Social Action exposed many priests to the ideas of Jocism. “It was the first time a significant number of priests learned of the Jocists.” He thought that the JOC could save America from communism “because it would get young workers involved in action” according to the Observe-Judge-Act model used in Europe. Thus, following the close of the Summer School, Hillenbrand became instrumental in making Chicago “a good place to start an American version of the JOC since it was the second largest industrial city in the country.”\textsuperscript{158}

In addition to developments in Chicago at this time, Rev. Louis J. Putz, CSC, started a cell of Young Christian Students (JEC) for graduate students at the University of Notre Dame (UND) in 1940. He assisted Catholic Action groups that emerged in Brooklyn, Chicago, and other parts of the country by founding Fides Publishers, “which became an important small book publisher specializing in bringing to the United States the works of great Catholic thinkers in Europe that were previously untranslated and unavailable here.”\textsuperscript{159}

\textsuperscript{157}Zotti, \textit{A Time of Awakening}, 31.

\textsuperscript{158}Ibid., 32-33.

\textsuperscript{159}Ibid., 40. Fides is also particularly important to the present study, since it would become the publisher of Catholic high-school religion textbooks written by Jane Marie Murray, OP, from the perspective of the Liturgical Movement in the mid-1950s.
Conclusion

Later in life, Campion, referred to as, “Campion the Champion,” advocated for the just treatment of African Americans in society. In 1940, he became a priest at St. Peter Claver Catholic Church in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. Founded by Rev. Bernard J. Quinn (1888-1940) in 1921 to serve the black Catholic population in Brooklyn, St. Peter Claver parish was the first African-American parish established in the Diocese of Brooklyn. In 1922, Quinn bought, blessed, and dedicated a former Protestant church building to St. Peter Claver. In it, he established the Little Flower Children Services, an orphanage founded at the request of Katharine Drexel, to care for the many black children made orphans as a result of the Great Depression. Campion followed in Quinn’s footsteps. After Quinn’s death on April 7, 1940, Campion was transferred to St. Peter Claver. He remained there as pastor until 1952, and then was assigned to the Little Flower House of Providence until his death on June 10, 1958. The Little Flower House orphanage was an offshoot of St. Peter Claver parish located in Wading River, Long Island, New York.

During his time at St. Peter Claver parish, Campion collaborated with Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia of New York. LaGuardia included Campion on his “Committee on

\[160\] Msgr. R. Emmet Fagan, telephone interview by author, Brooklyn, NY, February 27, 2012. Campion’s nickname was a result of being well read, as well as having a keen mind and abundant energy. Msgr. Fagan’s brother, Rev. John Fagan, succeeded Campion at Little Flower Children and Family Services of New York.

Unity” in 1944, which sought to “promote understanding and mutual respect among all the racial and religious groups in [New York] city.” The committee was “to observe and study unfavorable conditions and dangerous trends, and analyze objectively their causes and what steps may be taken to combat them: to further amity and racial and religious harmony in our City.”\textsuperscript{162} However, the committee had no legal power other than the social influence of its members.\textsuperscript{163}

Campion was also instrumental in getting the Brooklyn Dodgers to be the first major league baseball franchise to accept African Americans. Determined to help his parishioners at St Peter Claver to aspire to greatness, he fought against the “unwritten rule” that only white players could try out, and that people of color were limited to the Negro leagues. He involved the press, persevered through the resignation of Larry MacPhail, head of the Dodgers, and succeeded when the baseball commissioner called a meeting of Campion’s committee and the owners of all the major-league teams. The commissioner had been following the story in the papers and said, “I want to get this

\textsuperscript{162}Due to citywide concerns with race relations following riots in 1943, Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia created the Mayor’s Committee on Unity by Executive Order in 1944. It had no enforcement powers, instead relying on the persuasive powers of its members. See New York City Commission on Human Rights, “Announcement of the Formation of the Mayor's Committee on Unity,” last modified September 29, 2011, http://www.nyc.gov/html/cchr/pdf/announcement_of_the_formation_of_the_mayors_committee_on_unity.pdf (accessed on November 10, 2011).

\textsuperscript{163}In addition to Campion, committee members included lawyers, doctors, judges, a colonel, and representatives from other faith communities as well. However, this study is left without further details on the extent of Campion’s influence with the group.
thing settled once and for all. You are supposed to hire the best players you can find, regardless of color or any other consideration.”

As for Horan, her journey would keep her in the Education department of DePaul until around 1943. During this time, she wrote numerous books and articles while continuing to edit the Journal of Religious Instruction. She also worked for William H. Sadlier Publishing Company where she published study guides for textbooks, and she was the author of the study lessons for the Official Revised Baltimore Catechism and for the Illustrated Revised Edition of the Baltimore Catechism. She also volunteered with the Daughters of Charity, East Central Province, in catechetical work. In April 1945, at forty-seven years of age, she requested entrance into their order, was accepted, and took the name Sister Mary Alice. She was assigned to St. Vincent Hospital in Indianapolis, Indiana, but she left the religious community in 1947. However, she continued a positive relationship with them and later spent her time volunteering at the Marillac Settlement House in Chicago, a social center affiliated with the Daughters of Charity. Her contributions to the Church were formally recognized when Samuel Cardinal Stritch (1887-1958) of the Archdiocese of Chicago presented her with the Pro ecclesia et

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pontifice medal in April 1953. Pope Leo XIII instituted this “Cross of Honor.” It is the highest medal that can be awarded to the laity by the papacy. She eventually retired to Florida where she continued her work with the Daughters of Charity until her death on June 16, 1987.166

As for the Catholic Action Series, these textbooks mark an early and largely underappreciated attempt to create an experiential catechesis through social action with its spirituality based on the liturgy. The history of catechesis largely overlooks the contributions of Catholic Action to the Catechetical Movement, which will be examined in chapter four and five. However, one of the greatest achievements of the American Liturgical Movement was the integration of various apostolates that otherwise would have developed in isolation of one another.167 Catholic Action was no exception to this cohesion. Its adoption of the Liturgical Movement as its spirituality further demonstrates this connection. Although religious leaders in the 1920s recognized the intrinsic relationship between the liturgy and social regeneration, the primary objective of the Christ-Life Series in Religion and the Christian Religion Series, which are examined in chapter three, was to bring students to a real active participation in the liturgy. Their re-education would allow them to experience Christ through the liturgy, and to carry them...

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spiritually as a lifelong teacher. Similar to Catholic Action, social action was a result of true worship and became a part of the mature Christian’s life into adulthood.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ As will be noted in chapter three, the Christ-Life Series in Religion rarely teaches social action to the elementary students. However, the Christian Religion Series for High School and for College both incorporate more of the Church’s social teachings based upon the Mystical Body of Christ. The authors’ primary intent was to provide students with a foundation in the liturgy first, allowing it to become their first teacher, and then to bring them to a realization of their social responsibilities later in life.
The Liturgical Movement originated in the Benedictine monasteries of France and Belgium at the close of the nineteenth century. Encouraged by Pope Pius X in his *motu proprio* of 1903,¹ this movement sought to advance Catholics’ participation in, and understanding of, the prayers in the Catholic liturgy. Dom Virgil Michel, OSB (1890-1938), was traveling in Europe in the mid-1920s when he first encountered the liturgical revival at two Belgian centers of liturgical worship, Louvain and the Abbey of Mont César.² Michel later attended St. Anselm’s Benedictine University and College in Rome, where he hoped to study “a living Thomism, slanted to modern problems.”³ He sought a Thomism that drew upon the original writings of St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) and departed from Neo-Scholasticism. This theological interpretation was unavailable at St. Anselm. However, Dom Lambert Beauduin (1873–1960), a renowned monk and visiting liturgical scholar of Mont César, led Michel to combine Neo-Thomism, the liturgy, and a renewed understanding of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ as the answer to


³Ibid., 26.
modern day problems. Michel later transferred to Louvain where he found inspiration for a Neo-Thomistic philosophy that came to grips with critical problems of his day. Michel’s exposure to European influences allowed him to become “the bridge over which the liturgical apostolate of Europe came to America.” Upon his return to the United States, Michael began his efforts to promote an active and intelligent participation of the laity in the Liturgy of the Mass, whereby they could experience dogma through prayer and Scripture. “This would aid in forming an enlightened and zealous laity prepared for the cause of God in the market place, because as they gave themselves with Christ to God at Mass, so this personal and corporate self-dedication would continue from Mass to Mass by serving God in one’s neighbor.”

Michel held that the Liturgical Movement had been stirring in America for some time, springing up independently in places and longed for in others. However, he wanted St. John’s Abbey to serve as a source for the Liturgical Movement in the United States. He expressed this idea to his superior, Abbot Alcuin Deutsch, who had also studied in Rome (1897-1903) and had encountered an earlier form of the monastic liturgical

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4 Marx, *Virgil Michel*, 27.

5 Ibid., 42.

6 Ibid., 61.


revival. Deutsch supported Michel’s ideas and later encouraged the publication of a bi-monthly review, *Orate Fratres*. This publication would review, translate, and disseminate these liturgical concepts across the United States.

From the start, the American Liturgical Movement assumed a pastoral character. It was distinctive from its more theological and academic counterparts in Europe because the American movement was a response to widespread misunderstandings about the nature of true worship. The American movement “attracted significant numbers, conducted study weeks and summer schools, held national meetings well into the 1960s and published its own journal.” In the twentieth century, this movement sought “to create a better understanding of the Mass through a more active participation upon the part of the people.” It promoted the Mystical Body of Christ, an ecclesiology based on an understanding of the Church as a living organism in worship rather than simply a hierarchical organization. Supporters of the Liturgical Movement emphasized a “right

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10 Known as *Worship* after 1951.


12 Ibid., 37.


understanding” of the Mystical Body, in which all Catholics had a “general share in the priesthood of the God-man.” This meant that members of the laity, by virtue of their baptism and confirmation, were just as responsible for worshiping God through the Mass as the priest. The Liturgical Movement urged all Catholics to appreciate the dynamic nature of the liturgy.

Catholics often initially resisted changes brought by the Liturgical Movement. Many had suffered a history of anti-Catholicism in the United States. They had not gained acceptance as equal members of society until their participation in World War I. After the War, they had a renewed sense of confidence in their faith and in their place in society that was accompanied by a strong sense of the institutional Church. They often focused on Sunday attendance at Mass as an obligation and missed their contribution to its celebration. For them, the rituals of Mass were “an efficient, impersonal technique or rigid apparatus to which the faithful must submit passively and mechanically, like automatons.” The established rituals were often devoid of a communal understanding; Mass was a private prayer of the priest, and the laity were observers rather than participants. The significance of the Mass did not readily extend beyond the Church walls.

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16 Marx, *Virgil Michel*, 54-55.

17 Catholics in the United States kept a positive attitude following the War, whereas their European counterparts did not. The 1920s were not an easy time for Catholics, and integration was often difficult due to discrimination they suffered through Nativism and the Ku Klux Klan.

into their daily lives; for many, it lacked a sense of communal responsibility. Many Catholics embraced novenas and the recitation of the rosary, principally because they were in the English language and were easy to understand. Such activities gave the laity a sense of religious participation because they were in the vernacular.

Outside of the influence of Catholic Action and the Liturgical Movement, the *Baltimore Catechism* was used in nearly all religion classes. Teachers taught religion by instructing students to memorize lessons of the catechism. Students assented to traditional ecclesial authority, which reinforced the institutional notion of the Church. Even in seminaries the Church was taught primarily “as a visible, juridic[al] organization or society.”¹⁹ As a result, most lay Catholics understood, or were taught, that the hierarchy—not the laity—was responsible for worship and evangelization.

Michel’s efforts to re-educate the laity were grounded on a practical mission that sought first to help Catholics understand and live the liturgy. He embodied a spirit that aimed to inform prior to enacting change. He wanted Catholics to “understand what we have, and above all, live it—then, we will be in a position to begin to think of and possibly suggest changes.”²⁰ While Michel held that certain reforms were desirable to

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¹⁹ Marx, *Virgil Michel*, 83. This quote was an historical observation made later by Marx.

²⁰ Ibid., 56.
generate participation, “there was no point in urging them [changes] as long as ‘liturgy’ meant ‘sanctuary etiquette.’”

In contrast, the Liturgical Movement popularized the notion of a communal Church. Its basis was a “new theology of the Church” that was a “more biblical, less institutional, type of theology, which emphasized the spiritual nature of Catholicism. Its focus was Jesus Christ, not the saints; its chief prayer was the Mass, not the novena; it encouraged a social spirit, rather than individualism; it sought to foster community, rather than isolation; it stressed the public quality of religion, not the private.” As part of the communal understanding of the Church, advocates believed that the “liturgy possessed a transformative power for social change.” Through the Mystical Body of Christ, Catholics connected to Christ in the Mass. This linked them with one another—a connection that extended beyond the church walls and into their daily lives.

Social activism based on the Mystical Body of Christ also developed within the Liturgical Movement. In the 1934-35 edition of *Orate Fratres*, Michel wrote an article that included his famous quote:

> Pius X tells us that the liturgy is the indispensable source of the true Christian spirit; Pius XI says that the true Christian spirit is indispensable

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24 It was not until 1939, after Michel’s death, that this topic was included in the *Christian Religion Series for College*. 
for social regeneration. Hence the conclusion: The liturgy is the indispensable basis of Christian social regeneration.\textsuperscript{25}

In \textit{Quadragesimo anno}, Pope Pius XI responded to the severe economic depression throughout the world. This encyclical influenced the character of the Liturgical Movement in the United States. “The intimate union of all members of the body with each other in Christ led to the communion of saints and a common treasury of merit.”\textsuperscript{26}

Just as each person was required to “contribute to the ongoing maintenance of the mystical body, so too, each person in society had a responsibility to contribute to the common good of the society.” The term “social justice” had appeared in the encyclical numerous times. Michel defined it “as that virtue of justice by which the members of a society perform whatever actions are necessary for attaining or maintaining the common good of that society, and regulate all their conduct in right relation to that same common good.”\textsuperscript{27} Michel advanced the Mystical Body of Christ in conjunction with social justice, with the goal of restoring society to Christ.\textsuperscript{28}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{26}Margaret M. Kelleher, “Liturgy and Social Transformation: Exploring the Relationship,” \textit{U.S. Catholic Historian} 16, no. 4 (Fall 1998): 59.
\item \textsuperscript{28}Kelleher, “Liturgy and Social Transformation,” 67.
\end{itemize}
Jane Marie Murray, OP, and the Liturgical Movement

One of the important figures in liturgical religion textbooks was Sister Jane Marie Murray, OP (1896-1987), who grew up in a devout Catholic household in Freeport, Michigan. Her parents, Daniel and Mary, gave her the name Mary Winifred. Her family belonged to St. Patrick's Parish in Bowne, Michigan, where she was baptized and attended Mass on a semi-weekly basis. Her family prayed the Rosary and read short meditations on the various mysteries on alternating Sundays as they learned about God, the Blessed Virgin, and prayer. Following the premature deaths of her parents, Murray was entrusted to the Sisters of the Order of St. Dominic (hereafter Dominican Sisters). She attended Holy Rosary Academy in Bay City, Michigan. Upon graduation from the Academy, she joined the order and lived at the Dominican Center at Marywood (hereafter Marywood) in Grand Rapids, Michigan.²⁹

Murray’s interest in the Liturgical Movement began in the fall of 1928, when she attended a conference at Marygrove College in Detroit sponsored by the Catholic Alumnae Association. Mass celebrated at the conference was a turning point for Murray. Contrary to the characteristic silence of the congregation and private devotions of the faithful, the “priest intoned the opening prayers, ‘Introibo ad altare Dei.’” Rather than a lone response in Latin from a sotto voce altar boy, Murray heard for the first time a congregation responding in thundering unison, “Ad Deum qui laetificat juventutem

meam!” The sound of this “people-at-prayer” affected Murray to the core and generated a new awareness of the meaning of Church. After the Mass, she met Sister Judith Donnelly, IHM, who was head of the Marygrove College journalism department. Donnelly encouraged Murray to read *Orate Fratres* to begin her re-education in the liturgy. Upon her return to Marywood, in 1928, Murray initiated the liturgical program at Marywood College and Academy with the help of Sister Estelle Hackett, OP.

Prior to entering the Dominicans, Hackett attended Central State Normal School in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan, and taught elementary school in the rural countryside. After she received a degree in education from The Catholic University of America, she later became a highly respected children’s author. Hackett wrote children’s schoolbooks, including the Marywood Readers published by the Macmillan Company. The liturgical efforts of Murray and Hackett soon turned the entire faculty of the academy-college into...

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31 After Murray returned from her first liturgical convention, she and Hackett earnestly began studying all available issues of *Orate Fratres*. They continued this project together.

32 While at Catholic University, Hackett studied under Rev. (later Msgr.) Edward A. Pace (1861-1938) and Rev. Thomas E. Shields (1861-1921), men known for their initiatives in religious education. The Macmillan Company, a secular publisher that included children’s books, would agree to publish the *Christ-Life Series in Religion* based on its relationship with Hackett.

disciples of the Liturgical Movement. They crafted a plan to begin reaching the Marywood girls with the new teachings on the liturgy.\footnote{Mona Schwind, OP, \textit{Period Pieces: An Account of the Grand Rapids Dominicans, 1853-1966} (Grand Rapids, MI: West Michigan Printing, 1991), 172. It was after teaching high school for twelve years that Murray became aware of Pope Pius X’s call "to renew all things in Christ" (Eph 1:10).}

In 1928 and 29, Murray and Hackett inspired the Marywood student body to develop an intellectual awareness of the liturgy. As of Advent 1928, each student had obtained a copy of the St. Andrew Daily Missal:

Every Saturday evening those who wished would meet and discuss Sunday’s mass in the student lounge. Eventually brief meditation papers were prepared that were really an ‘invitation to action.’ The papers, prepared for each day’s celebration, contained an objective, a paragraph reflecting on the feast, an application pointing out the implication for daily Christian living and last, a place for a resolution ‘if anyone was so minded.’ Soon the girls were asking to prepare the papers themselves.\footnote{Lazio, “Jane Marie Murray,” 271-272.}

Murray taught that perceived prayer was “not a pious meditation that withdrew the spirit into passivity, but rather that thoughtful participation in the event of the Mass that moved one to live the Christ-life in the world.”\footnote{Oosdyke, “The ‘Christ Life Series,’” 23, Interview with Murray, Aquinata Hall, Grand Rapids, MI, June 3, 1981.}

The success of this endeavor at Marywood led Murray and Hackett to request permission from Mother Eveline Mackey, OP, Prioress General, to expand their involvement in the Liturgical Movement. They sought permission to attend the first liturgical summer school, which was advertised in \textit{Orate Fratres}, and to write
meditations on the liturgy for children. “Mother Eveline’s response was expeditious. She suggested that they discuss their idea with someone knowledgeable and she wrote immediately to [Michel,] the editor of *Orate Fratres.*” Her encouragement led them to the next phase of their journey.\(^{37}\)

Mackey arranged for Murray and Hackett to meet with Michel. They traveled to St. John’s Abbey. While attending Mass at the University chapel, Murray “heard the voice of God and the people of God in the *missa recitata*” and “she consciously experienced the reality of the liturgy as action.”\(^{38}\) Hackett and Murray had realized the significance of the Liturgical Movement for the Church and the importance of bringing children to a fuller participation in the liturgy. They approached Michel with their concern for reaching the girls of Marywood with these new understandings of the Mass. They wanted to teach the students how the “mass was an event. It was something to participate in, to experience—not simply to attend as a drama is attended and players watched.”\(^{39}\) They wanted him to write “some experimental manuals in Religion that would introduce children to the liturgical life of the Church.” With his profound insights into the significance of the Liturgical Movement, “he opened windows on expanses of Christian life of which [they] had not so much as dreamed.”\(^{40}\)


\(^{38}\)Schwind, *Period Pieces*, 171-172.


At Michel’s suggestion, Hackett and Murray spent that evening sketching a sample lesson, which evolved into the laboratory manuals, *With Mother Church*. These religion books were published by the Liturgical Press later in 1929. They laid the foundation for Murray and Michel’s later textbooks. *With Mother Church* was the first series of religion books that used the liturgy as its basis. However, the authors ultimately rejected the entire series almost as soon as it was published because of its dependence on the *Baltimore Catechism*, which resulted in too many theological incongruities with the authors’ objectives. Michel, Murray, and Hackett realized that they needed to revise their approach.


41Sisters of the Order of St. Dominic, *With Mother Church*, bks. 1-5 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1929). These manuals were intended to be supplements to the *Baltimore Catechism*.

42Peckler, *Unread Vision*, 165-166. Michel was the founding editor of the Liturgical Press. In its infancy, it was improbable for the Liturgical Press to be a viable publisher of the manuals. The press had experienced losses in its early years. Publications were limited primarily to *Orate Fratres*, the Popular Liturgical Library (a series of small paperback books dedicated to liturgical topics), and *Sponsa Regis*, an academic journal for sisterhoods that began publication in 1929 (renamed *Sisters Today* in 1965). See Murray to Michel, April 6, 1929, Virgil Michel, OSB, Papers, Box Z 29:2, St. John’s Abbey Manuscript Collection (hereafter SJA MS Coll.), St. John’s Abbey, Collegeville, MN.

43Since the laboratory manuals supplemented the lessons in the *Baltimore Catechism*, they could not stand alone like later textbooks. They were published as part of the Popular Liturgical Library at the Liturgical Press, but they contain very little of the Liturgical Movement other than the liturgy calendar, with only one lesson on the Mystical Body of Christ in books four and five.
Michel’s support and the Dominican Sisters’ charism as a teaching order facilitated a mutually productive relationship, one that would benefit Catholic school children and advance religious education. Michel worked closely with the sisters, instructing them on the Church, the life in Christ, the Mass, and the Sacraments. Michel placed the Dominican Sisters at the forefront of the Liturgical Movement. To Murray, the Benedictines understood the fullness, the beauty, and the meaning of the spiritual life, which sparked an enthusiasm for the liturgy among the Dominican Sisters.

The Need for New Religion Textbooks

To achieve the goals of the Liturgical Movement, Catholics needed to understand worship. This required that religion teachers instruct students in history, theology, and spirituality to learn about the spirit of worship. Acquiring such broad understanding was clearly a lifelong process for any Christian, beginning in childhood, and never ending.

The majority of religion classes at this time relied on the *Baltimore Catechism* as a

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44 Work on the *With Mother Church* laboratory manuals continued during the summer of 1929. Sixteen Dominican Sisters traveled to Collegeville to study and to write. The sisters worked in teams of three, each team preparing a volume. They received input from the summer school faculty and submitted their work for editing to the leaders of the project.

45 Schwind, *Period Pieces*, 171. In a letter of September 3, 1929, the Prioress General shared her enthusiasm for the Liturgical Movement, and Murray and Hackett’s work. She called on all the sisters under her care: “In the Name of the Divine Victim of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, I beg you to take up the teaching of the liturgy at once. Use as a text our new Laboratory Manuals in Religion called WITH MOTHER CHURCH.”

textbook, which popularized the question-and-answer method.\textsuperscript{47} Students memorized answers that depended upon Church authority rather than the personalism of the Liturgical Movement and the teachings on the Mystical Body of Christ.

Teaching from the \textit{Baltimore Catechism} alone ran the risk of overemphasizing superficial knowledge removed from practical application to religious experience.\textsuperscript{48} According to Michel, this separation of doctrine and liturgy was inherently imbalanced. “For the Protestant reformer who repudiated all visible priesthood and liturgical mystery, this is intelligible, [but] for the Catholic it is not!”\textsuperscript{49} Supporters of the Liturgical Movement maintained that since the catechism’s methodology divorced dogma from the living liturgy of the Church, students of this method would tend to abandon their faith once they were outside of the school environment. A new approach was needed to instill life-long faith in the students since the old method was simply not working.

Michel wished to convey the “essence of religion” to the students.\textsuperscript{50} He was convinced that this end would require an entirely new religion textbook series based on the liturgical revival. With the help of Murray and Hackett, Michel would return to the

\textsuperscript{47}The American bishops approved this catechism in 1885 following the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.

\textsuperscript{48}Virgil Michel, OSB, “Liturgical Religious Education,” \textit{Orate Fratres} 11 (1937): 267. Catholics had adopted the catechism in defense of the attacks by Martin Luther (1517) and other Protestant leaders. Religious instruction had become separate from daily life, since religion teachers did not connect religion to real-life experience.

\textsuperscript{49}Spaeth, \textit{Virgil Michel}, 268.

original theological sources (such as the writings of Thomas Aquinas) to provide a sound theological basis for religion textbooks.\(^{51}\) These inspirations led to his involvement in the *Christ-Life Series in Religion*.\(^{52}\)

**Michel and Religious Education**

Michel held that the liturgy should be an integral part of religious education.\(^{53}\) Since religion classes did not incorporate worship or the liturgy into their lessons and Mass was a separate part of the Catholic school experience, Michel wrote: “Young souls may be marched regularly to the reception of sacraments, to frequent devotions, and still not get beyond the acquisition of external habit which is upheld by dint of the pressure of external circumstances.”\(^{54}\) When properly celebrated, the liturgy actually taught the faith while at the same time actively allowing Christians to live the truths they believed central

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\(^{51}\) Reflecting on this realization later in life, Murray said: “When we used the word, ‘Church,’ we meant the mystical body, the people of God united in Christ. That was the news we were bringing.” And when speaking of grace, “we knew the definition in the catechism . . . but we meant a sharing in the divine life. The words [in the *Baltimore Catechism*] simply did not carry the meaning we intended.” See Jane Marie Murray, OP, Oral History Tape: “Involvement in the Liturgical Movement,” March 19, 1975, Archives of the Dominican Sisters of Grand Rapids, MI. Quoted in Oosdyke, “The ‘Christ Life Series,’” 27.


\(^{53}\) Murray worked with Michel on the *Christ-Life Series in Religion* in the last nine years of his life. She greatly benefited from his liturgical and pedagogical approaches.

\(^{54}\) Michel, “A High School Course in Religion,” 408-409.
to their lives. The liturgy and the liturgy alone is the truth of Christ prayed by the continuing Christ, and prayed as an inspiration for the faithful living of this same truth at all times.” For Michel, religious education “was not so much information apart from Christ as formation of Christ, through Christ.” A Christian at worship in the Mass experiences many elements: “psychological, emotional, intellectual, volitional, natural and supernatural.” These same characteristics must be used to teach the truths of the faith.

Michel laid blame for problems in religious education first on the “almost universally accepted atmosphere of individualism, naturalism and materialism” that pervaded the culture of his day, which was a source of conflict for the successful teaching of religion. Second, he faulted the “one-sided stress on the intellectual grasp of doctrine,” which would not facilitate a lifetime of belief. Third, without living the truths of religion in worship, the work in the religion classroom was bankrupt. Separating instruction from real life hindered its success, Michel also criticized the Catholic tendency to imitate the Protestant conceptions of Christianity, i.e. to place “stress on the imitation of Christ without the corresponding emphasis on Christ’s life in us. . . .” Finally, he put some blame on the parents for failing to lay the “first foundations in the home” or to support

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57Ibid., 267.

58Ibid., 269.
the schools actively.\textsuperscript{59} The “Christ-life” that the authors sought to instill in students was an all-important concept that involved living the Christian lifestyle and putting Christ at the center of worship as the “bearer of grace.” This would convey the life in Christ to the students.\textsuperscript{60}

Michel considered the greatest travesty of teaching religion to be “the divorce between doctrine and the liturgy.” He noted that an integrated approach was necessary, not just relating religion to the students’ lives outside of the classroom, but also interrelating doctrine and the liturgy to live the faith:

The remedy for this situation [of doctrine divorced from the liturgy] is to return to the traditional Christian method of teaching, to the liturgy of the Church, at least to the extent of knitting up the teaching of doctrine immediately and intimately with the official liturgical worship. That this cannot possibly mean neglect of the doctrinal aspects of our faith is evident to anyone who has a proper understanding of the Church’s liturgy and who does not view the liturgy merely in terms of its external elements.\textsuperscript{61}

Some criticism was leveled against Michel’s approach. It was thought that teaching religion from the perspective of the liturgy would result in neglecting doctrine. For Michel, this was impossible. The liturgy was the principle for teaching doctrine. It

\textsuperscript{59}\textsuperscript{5}Michel, “Liturgical Religious Education,” 218-220. Much of Michel’s work with Murray sought to overcome these limitations.

\textsuperscript{60}\textsuperscript{60}Josef Jungmann, \textit{The Good News Yesterday and Today}, trans. W. A. Huesmen, eds. Johannes Hofinger and W. A. Huesmen (New York: W. H. Sadlier, 1962), 34-35. Jungmann was a liturgist and the source of the kerygmatic approach to theology and catechesis in the 1950s and 60s. His contributions will be examined in greater detail in chapter four.

\textsuperscript{61}\textsuperscript{61}Michel, “Teaching the Life in Christ,” 12. This article was published in 1940, two years after his death. It clarified his thought on teaching the Christ-life in religion classes.
was Christian dogma prayed by the Church. No one could “begin to understand the
liturgy without an understanding of the dogma underlying it,” making it impossible to
teach liturgy “without giving preponderant emphasis to the doctrinal content, to the
profound Christian truths that are prayed and prayed so repeatedly in the liturgy.”

Taking steps to achieve integration would combat many of the “great losses” of faith in
the Church. Religion would be “better coordinated with and oriented towards the prayer-
life of the Church, fortified by the sacramental graces of Christ, and aided by the prayer-
power of the Church.” Only by uniting doctrine with the liturgy would students form
habits to last a lifetime, to participate more actively in the liturgy, and thereby revive the
Mystical Body of Christ in His Church.

**Overview of the Christ-Life Series in Religion**

Although this study is primarily concerned with high-school religion textbooks,
the unfortunate timing of Michel’s early death before the completion of the high-school
books increases the significance of his involvement in the elementary *Christ-Life Series
in Religion*. This section will provide a brief overview of how this notable leader of the
Liturgical Movement adapted the liturgy to the lives of children.

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63 Ibid., 15.

64 Ibid., 17.
The *Christ-Life Series in Religion* was comprised of eight elementary-level textbooks. The first-grade textbook taught active participation in the liturgy by encouraging these young students to learn their prayers so that they could pray with the priest. The authors taught the children some background knowledge that they would need to become more active participants in the holy Mass. They established a clear connection between the Last Supper and Calvary. In the same vein, the second-grade textbook taught the students about the various parts of the Mass and about the Missal. The authors also connected the Last Supper with the words spoken by the priest during

65The series included *God our Father*, bk. 1; *Jesus our Savior*, bk. 2; *The Story of God's Love*, bk. 3; *A Child of God*, bk. 4; *The Redeeming Sacrifice*, bk. 5; *The Kingdom of God*, bk. 6; *With Mother Church*, bk. 7; and *Through Christ Our Lord*, bk. 8.


69Ibid., 109-110. The textbook explains the Confiteor and the Gloria, and focuses on the beauty of the Missal.
They also focused on the importance of the reception of Holy Communion in Catholic worship.\textsuperscript{71}

The textbook for third graders, \textit{Story of God’s Love}, conveyed “salvation history.”\textsuperscript{72} Salvation history was intended to demonstrate how God spoke to the community of believers over time, both through the people of Israel and at the time of Jesus. \textit{A Child of God}, the textbook for fourth graders, sought to help students become more loving and faithful children of God based on the all-important communal nature of the Church.\textsuperscript{73} It stressed the importance of Jesus’s role in dying on the cross and how the Mass is a great privilege for Catholics.\textsuperscript{74} The authors also connected various parts of the

\textsuperscript{70}Michel, Stegmann, and the Dominican Sisters, \textit{Jesus Our Savior}, 117.

\textsuperscript{71}Ibid., 126. The book states the Church’s rules regarding fasting and the need for confession before Holy Communion. It also provides prayers for after Communion.


\textsuperscript{73}Virgil Michel, OSB, Basil Stegmann, OSB, and the Sisters of the Order of St. Dominic, \textit{A Child of God}, bk. 4, The Christian Life Series in Religion (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935), 23. This textbook first depicts the Church as the family of God, based on the Mystical Body of Christ. It gives secondary emphasis to the role of the hierarchy. Jesus Christ, rather than the pope, is described as the head of the Catholic Church so that Christ would remain in touch with the students of the present day.

\textsuperscript{74}Ibid., 43-44, 47.
Mass with the daily lives of the students.\textsuperscript{75} This content focused on how the sacraments and the Ten Commandments assist worship.\textsuperscript{76}

The fifth-grade textbook, the \textit{Redeeming Sacrifice},\textsuperscript{77} returns to the sacredness and sublimity of the “action” of the Mass.\textsuperscript{78} The authors prepare the students for the Dialogue Mass, which was an important contribution of the Liturgical Movement that sought to bring a more active participation on the part of the students.\textsuperscript{79} It teaches that the action of the Mass is at the center of Christianity. The students needed to be changed into Christ through the Mass so that the Christ-life, which began in their baptism, could be strengthened.\textsuperscript{80} Students should have a personal response when encountering Christ.\textsuperscript{81} They should also live liturgically,\textsuperscript{82} which would help them in their pursuit of the “Christ-

\textsuperscript{75}These parts included the Mass of the Catechumens; the Offertory; the Consecration; the time after the Consecration; and Communion. See Michel, Stegmann, and the Dominican Sisters, \textit{A Child of God}, 67-68.

\textsuperscript{76}Ibid., 114. Unit four examines various Scripture passages to understand the origins of the sacraments and describes the purpose and intent of each one to the students.


\textsuperscript{78}Ibid., 6.

\textsuperscript{79}Ibid., 9.

\textsuperscript{80}Ibid., 45.

\textsuperscript{81}Ibid., 62.

\textsuperscript{82}For a description of how students were taught to live liturgically, see Ibid., 86-87.
life.” Each year they would come to know God better and to live in closer union with Him.\textsuperscript{83} Each lesson connects the action within the Mass and the students’ daily lives outside of worship.\textsuperscript{84} Students learned about their important role within the Church. Since Christ acts through them, the union experienced between Christ as the head, and members as the body, is very close.\textsuperscript{85} St. Paul also compares the relationship between Jesus and His church to members of the physical body of men.\textsuperscript{86}

In \textit{With Mother Church}, the textbook for seventh graders,\textsuperscript{87} the authors encourage students to keep a notebook to make their study of the feast days more personal. They should also write their prayers to God and what God had said to them. They were to record whatever they had done to please God so that they would be prepared to bring

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{83}Michel, Stegmann, and the Dominican Sisters, \textit{The Redeeming Sacrifice}, 87. For example, students on the Second Sunday after Epiphany were taught that by “receiving the sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist and by frequently taking part in the holy sacrifice of the Mass,” they might “increase the Christ-life within” themselves. “Christ living within you will be your strength so that by His grace you can be obedient even when it is difficult for you to do so.” See Ibid., 125-126.
\item \textsuperscript{84}Ibid., 97.
\item \textsuperscript{85}The most common image of this union portrays a connection between the vine and the branches (John 15:5-6).
\item \textsuperscript{86}For more on the communal spiritual life in Christ, see Virgil Michel, OSB, Basil Stegmann, OSB, and the Sisters of the Order of St. Dominic, \textit{The Kingdom of God}, bk. 6, The Christ-Life Series in Religion (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935), 197.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
their gifts to God and enhance their participation in the liturgical celebration. Finally, they should write their thoughts about Holy Communion.88

*Through Christ Our Lord*89 educates the eighth grader on the venues of grace in the Church, including Mass, the sacraments, the sacramentals, the Divine Office, and the Liturgical year. These venues carry over into the students’ thoughts, words, and actions, equipping them to strive for perfection in the Christian life and to be strengthened by Christ’s divine energies.90 The book emphasizes the Mass and the Eucharist, as well as prayer. It describes how to reach perfection through the Christian life and makes one reference to the importance of caring for all people in the Mystical Body of Christ.91 The authors also teach the students about the Beatitudes.92 Ultimately, this series seeks to

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90Michel, Stegmann, and the Dominican Sisters, *Through Christ Our Lord*, 3. Hildreth Miere provided the illustrations for these ideas in book eight. She used a different style from the previous artists, incorporating “scratchboard,” reverse-ink drawings with a black ink background and white highlights to provide the impression.

91Ibid., 236. This reference occurs in unit five, which discusses the corporal and spiritual works of mercy.

92This section describes how God blesses those who are “poor in spirit,” “meek,” and those “that mourn.” It quotes from the opening of Jesus’s Sermon on the Mount how “they that hunger and thirst after justice” shall “have their fill”; how the “merciful” shall “obtain mercy”; the “clean of heart” shall see God; the “peacemakers” shall be “called the children of God”; and how “they that suffer persecution for justice’ sake,” shall be given the kingdom of heaven.
unify all Christians with God and each other to understand better the truths of Catholicism and come to know God better.93

Sisters of Providence and Workbooks for the Christ-Life Series

Not long after the 1933 publication of the Christ-Life Series, Murray and Michel criticized the Sisters of Providence from Seattle, Washington, for taking liberty with the series by publishing their own workbooks to accompany the series. This situation greatly frustrated Murray. In the first place, she strongly objected to the use of the workbooks because it “throws the whole emphasis on the informational side”94 of learning, rather than the experiential. To Murray and Michel, workbooks were part of the old pedagogy that utilized the Baltimore Catechism as a textbook. Approaching the teaching of religion from the perspective of the Mystical Body of Christ was significantly different for religion classes. Workbooks stressed knowledge and the “mechanical processes of copying sentences out of books, filling in blanks, etc., rather [than] the enrichment of their experience through wider reading and class discussion.”95 Despite all of their

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93Michel, Stegmann, and the Dominican Sisters, Through Christ Our Lord, 240.

94Hackett and a team of novices had actually already drafted workbooks, but subsequently rejected their inclusion in the series. See Murray to Michel, October 21, 1935, Box Z 29:2, SJA MS Coll.

95Murray to Michel, October 21, 1935, Box Z 29:2, SJA MS Coll. In a letter from October 23, 1935, Michel and Stegmann advised Murray to present the sisters’ position to the Macmillan Company and explain their reasons for not favoring the publication of the workbooks. Michel held that if the workbooks were going to be published regardless, “it might as well be Macmillan” that publishes them. If this were the case, Michel and the other authors would remedy the situation by writing articles in Orate Fratres and the Journal of Religious Instruction stating that they did not agree with their philosophy.
efforts, the elementary-level textbooks sold rather poorly. “By April 1937, only 41,515 of
the 159,490 copies printed had been sold, and the total sales could not have exceeded
100,000 books.”

Murray’s Independent Scholarship

Murray helped to disseminate the ideas related to basing religious education on
the liturgy in scholarly venues. As early as the spring of 1933, she was working on a
paper that she would present at the upcoming June meeting for the Secondary School
Section of the National Catholic Education Association (NCEA) in St. Paul, Minnesota.
She asked Michel for his final review of her work, “Making the Study of Religion Vital
and Practical,” since she had structured much of her paper around his ideas. Brother
Majella Hegarty, CSC, of Cathedral High School, Indianapolis, Indiana, was assigned to
discuss her paper. She was nervous, for she did not know Hegarty. However, he had
made a favorable comment on the Descriptive Bulletin of the Christ-Life Series in
Religion, which was used for promotion of the textbooks, so she suspected his acceptance
for basing religious instruction on the liturgy.

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96 Marx, Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement, 237. Due to the poor sales
numbers, as of June 1938, the Macmillan Company did not publish any future textbooks
in the series. This breach of contract left the sisters undeterred. They decided that perhaps
this situation would be for the best since the Macmillan Company was a secular venue for
school textbooks, and a secular publisher of religion textbooks could actually diminish
the appeal of the Christ-Life Series in Religion to Catholic schools. Thus, they were not
opposed to finding a Catholic firm to publish the remainder of the books.

97 Murray to Michel, May 30, 1933, Box Z 29:2, SJA MS Coll. “A few days ago I
finished the paper, and I am enclosing it with the request that if you can find time for it,
In Murray’s paper, she reveals more thoughts on the aims of religious education. She esteemed the *Christ-Life Series in Religion* to be a powerful means for making religion practical, which was a popular endeavor among religious educators in the 1930s. For Murray, the “end of religious instruction is not academic information. Nor is the objective of our classes in religion merely moral righteousness, or a following of Christ as from afar.” Rather, Christ is the source of all life. Therefore, religion “affects more than our intellect; more than our will; it penetrates to the nature in which our faculties reside and fundamentally transforms that nature.” Thus, the purpose “of all education in religion, then, is nothing less than the deepening of the Christ-life in the souls of our students.”

The work of the Christ-life could only come about with the help and intervention of the Holy Spirit in the Church. Murray describes the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ. “In the Holy Mass, the sacraments, the divine Office, the sacramental, and the Liturgical Year, Christ continues His two-fold work of glorifying His heavenly Father and transforming the souls of men.” These five “phases” of Christ’s action in the Sacred Liturgy constitute the life of the Church. Murray argued that the religion class becomes

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99 Ibid., 247.
vital and practical in proportion to how well it is based upon the liturgy, “which is the life-bestowing, life-preserving activity of Christ in His Church.”

Murray also considered the study of religion to be vital through the action, or activity, of students as they participated with Christ, offering themselves through Christ, “our divine High Priest and Victim,” in the sacrifice of the Mass. This would “mean an identifying of ourselves with Christ in the supreme Action of His life.” Murray stressed the communal character of the Eucharist when examined from the perspective of an ecclesiology based on the Mystical Body of Christ. For Murray, the action of the Mass “is not reserved for priests and religious, but is the privilege of everyone who in Baptism received part with Christ.” Students’ understanding of the liturgy would enable them “really to participate in the Sacrifice of Christ,” and she anticipated that they would “respond with an eagerness and generosity, which months of abstract teaching on the holy Mass would not have awakened. Out of their new understanding of the holy Sacrifice is born a desire to share in it, a recognition of their obligation and privilege as members of Christ to participate in His sacrifice, and a growing realization of that basic principle of the Christian life; death to sin and life in Christ.” The child should be transformed in Christ through the liturgy. “Establishing the course in religion upon the liturgical basis by no means entails any minimizing of the importance of Christian


101 Ibid., 248.
doctrine or morals; rather it makes them live, by associating them with the ‘life-
bestowing, life-preserving activity of Christ,’ which is the liturgy.”  

For Murray, the experience of writing the *Christ-Life Series in Religion* opened her eyes to a newly discovered truth that repeated itself over the years:

> The liturgical movement, by intensifying one’s awareness of supernatural reality—of God in Himself, of our coming from God, of our returning to God, our last end, through Christ our Lord and Redeemer—brings one first to the *experience* of more conscious living in the sacramental world of the Church, and then to an ever widening and deepening *vision* of the wholeness of this world.  

She realized that new understandings of the supernatural through the liturgy bolstered almost all areas of humanistic study, including art, fiction writing, history, theology, and philosophy. Humanity’s self-awareness gained through the liturgy resulted in a more acute awareness of “social and civic relationships.” This is a result of the essential “relation of our making and our doing to our being.”

**The Christian Religion Series for College**

Michel wrote two textbooks at the end of his life that he intended to be the third- and fourth-year high school textbooks of the *Christian Religion Series*. However, they were published in 1939 for the college level. He began working on them as early as April 13, 1934. During this time, Murray congratulated Michel on a chapter that he had written

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104 Ibid., 577.
for the *Our Life in Christ* textbook. She had just completed a quick reading of the manuscript, but it was chapter four, “New Creation,” that struck her as “simply a magnificent chapter.” It was “clean and strong and comprehensive of all that is implied in the doctrine of the Mystical Body.”

In *Our Life in Christ*, Michel teaches from the Scriptural basis of the vine and the branches to explain the “rich fullness of the Christ-life” and the supernatural relationship of all Christians to one another in Christ. According to Michel, the intimate union between branch and vine is evident to anyone who observes a vine; however, the common bond between branches is the true treasure of this relationship. “In reality the new-born sons of God form a spiritual fellowship in Christ that is most intimate between all the members.”

According to Michel, “The mystical body of Christ is not merely something imaginary, or a dream-image. It is not a material body but a real supernatural living

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105 Virgil Michel, *Our Life in Christ*, bk. 1, The Christian Religion Series for College (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1939). Michel intended this more advanced book to be included in the *Christian Religion Series* for high school. However, the Liturgical Press published it in 1939 for the college level. Consequently, his college textbooks are analyzed according to the chronology of publication. Murray’s later high-school religion textbooks for the *Christian Religion Series* were not published until 1942 and 1946.

106 Murray to Michel, April 13, 1934, Box Z 29:2, SJA MS Coll. She continued: “It is all beautiful, but I liked this chapter especially. It will be a great day when they are using this in high school.” Unfortunately, her hopes did not come true.

organism, in which all men living of supernatural faith and love are intimately united with Christ.”

This means that on earth, the Mystical Body of Christ is “a constantly growing fellowship of souls, in whom the Christ-life becomes ever more real.” He parallels Christ’s life and actions in His physical body while on earth with His Mystical Body now. “The mystical body is truly the continuation and expansion of Christ here on earth unto the end of time.”

The person united to Christ and His body is constantly realizing His death and resurrection by “offering himself at all times to the love and glory of God.” Members of Christ’s body who want to participate in His glory must accept suffering in this life, which is a sharing in His sufferings and death on Calvary. “Sharing of Christ’s glory by the mystical body is definitely connected with the endurance of sufferings and hardships by the members of Christ.”

Christians are intimately connected as members of Christ’s Mystical Body. They are “‘other Christs,’ because they are filled with the Spirit of Christ.” For Michel, this meant that living as true members of Christ causes Christ’s same spirit to operate in believers. “Our entrance into the Christ-life, our birth into the sonship of God, is possible only through the Holy Ghost.” The union with Christ brought about by this relationship means birth into the Mystical Body of Christ.

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108 Michel, Our Life in Christ, 35.
109 Ibid.
110 Ibid., 37.
111 Ibid., 38.
The *Christian in the World* for college sophomores is packed with ideas and content on the relationship of Christian young adults in the United States to those in the world in the 1930s. Michel opens by examining the Christian life, including how Christians are creatures and children of God, and how they are members of the Church and Apostles of Christ. He then describes the “World of Today,” its lure and power to tempt men away from Christ, and the struggle that is the Christian life. He emphasizes the importance of staying close to the Church of Christ in order to “adhere truly to Christ.” The textbook explores characteristics of the modern world, so that students might learn what they are up against. The author describes new paganism, which is a “complete this-worldliness,” or “the denial of any other world beyond this earthly one, and of any future life beyond this earthly existence.” It embraces *materialism* as its predominant philosophy; it is pagan in nature and favors *individualism*, which in the modern world has often played out in business life using the “doctrine known as economic liberalism.” Michel was greatly concerned with the ways that individualism and selfishness pervaded world culture. He was concerned about the disintegration of the modern family, “one of the most pernicious effects of this individualism.” He asked the students to consider: “How can a family persist if individual selfishness is the supreme

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114 Ibid., 23.
law of the life? If individuals marry only for what each can get out of it from the other, why not break up the marriage at the first sign of inconvenience or sacrifice?\footnote{115}

Michel challenged the students to resist the temptations and lies of the world and to consider Christ’s teachings as a positive alternative: to follow His teaching on being in the world, but not of it. He looked to the early Christians’ response to paganism and “to live the Christ-life so they were as a leaven that gradually spread and grew” in opposition to “their worldly environment.” Instead, they “gradually overcame and transformed it after the manner of Christ.”\footnote{116}

The good news for Christians in the late 1930s was that they were “witnessing the effects of the spiritual recuperation that has gone on in the Church in the past centuries.”

Michel explained that there was

a true Catholic spiritual revival of greatest moment, the two chief expressions of which are the liturgical movement and the movement for Catholic Action. While the liturgical movement aims chiefly at the ‘reflourishing of the true Christian spirit,’ in the words of Pius X, by leading Christians back to an ‘active participation in the primary and indispensable source of this same spirit,’\footnote{117} he notes that Catholic Action is “organizing and inspiring the members of Christ to a full exercise of their office as apostles of Christ in the spread of Christ’s kingdom on earth.”

Michel also points out that there are many injustices in society, such as when a poor person fails to receive a fair judgment in a court of law, while his rich counterpart, even if guilty of the same offense, is relieved of any wrongdoing because he has

\footnote{115}{Michel, \textit{The Christian in the World}, 24.}

\footnote{116}{Ibid., 27.}

\footnote{117}{Ibid., 27.}
expensive legal representation. Michel also alludes to the injustices against people of color when he notes that “With God, then, the universal Creator and Father of mankind, there is equal meting out of justice for all, good and bad, old and young, colored or white, regardless of any worldly honors or power that one may enjoy. Before God there is true equality of all men in this regard.”

Michel explains that the notion of justice, or “the virtue of according to each man his own,” is related to rights because justice is “the virtue of respecting each man’s rights, both negatively by not interfering with them, and positively by according to him what he has a right to ask of us.” He distinguishes distributive justice, “the way in which a superior distributes or deals out justice to his subjects,” from social justice, by which “every member of a group must do his share to keep up the general good of the group, or its common good.” Each person’s contribution to the group should be based upon his or her talents; “if each [member of society] contribute[s] to the whole according to his abilities the demands of social justice are fulfilled.” Michel makes his strongest statement regarding the role of laity in his final sentence on this topic: the “duties of the lay apostle of Christ are specifically duties of social justice” [emphasis added]. This summarizes how he perceived the laity’s contribution to the Mystical Body of Christ and how their duty affects their apostolate.

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119 Ibid., 72. Few actions were taken on behalf of these minorities until the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s.

120 Ibid., 73.
Michel pays special attention to how the family arises out of the Mystical Body of Christ. During a sacramental marriage ceremony, students learn how the ordained priest is only an official witness. The prospective husband and wife are the actual ministers of the sacrament. “They are the ministers of the sacrament by virtue of their participation in the priesthood of Christ through Baptism and Confirmation.” Christ’s power operates through the “Christ-life,” or grace, of the sacrament. Only as full members of “His mystical body and sharers in His general priesthood” will the power of Christ fully affect the sacrament of marriage. This leads to the creation of a Christian family, which arises through the power of Christ acting through two members of His mystical body. In the sacrament, then, Christ Himself, acting through the husband and wife, unites the two in body and soul for the attainment of the purposes of the mystical body, for the increase of Christ here on earth unto the glory of God and the sanctification of men.¹²¹

The graces present in the sacrament and the spouses’ model of unity based on the Mystical Body of Christ would continue throughout their marriage and into parenthood.

The liturgy is thereby first integrated into the family through the sacrament of matrimony. Just as Michel emphasizes the action of the Mass, he also teaches how action takes place within the sacrament of matrimony:

The mutual giving over of husband and wife, each one to the other in Christ, is performed at the foot of Christ’s own altar; the holy action is at once cemented by being merged in the very sacrifice of Christ in the Mass, and further sealed by intimate sacramental communion of husband and wife with the eucharistic Christ.¹²²


¹²²Ibid., 128.
Michel explains how the Church constantly extends its “priestly hand” to its members “in order to help them to live ever more fully of the Christ-life.” Likewise, the “supernatural character of married life is further extended when children are born.” Parents provide for their children as “an intimate service of Christ in His new-born members.” After baptism, it is the actions of the parents that bring the child to Christ, as they “instill the first knowledge of God into the infant mind and direct the child’s will towards God.”

Michel makes one reference to artificial birth control within marriage. He explains that contraception “is in reality the conscious exclusion of God from the life of His mystical body. It is the taking of a holy function in which God has a part of His Own in the possible creation of a spiritual soul, and reducing it to a mere action of animal pleasure.” He is not surprised at the appearance of birth control in his day, describing it as “unchristian,” because he believed that the entire “age has forgotten God and has returned so extensively to a pagan naturalism and selfish individualism.”

The Christian spirit should be achieved by making the liturgy more a part of the lives of the family members. According to Michel, the “restoration of the liturgy to its proper place in the lives of the faithful should make a great difference not only in their active participation in the services of the altar, but also in their daily life and atmosphere at home.” The parish was the source of the “intimate connection between the Christian

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124 Ibid., 128.
125 Ibid., 130.
family” and the rest of the Mystical Body of Christ. “The parish is in fact a supernatural family in miniature just as the entire mystical body is the supernatural family of the brethren of Christ under the common fatherhood of God.” For members to have the parish as the center of their lives in modern times is a constant challenge, as demographics change, families move, and individualism spreads among Catholics who think that religion is mostly an “individual affair.” Likewise, “there is the characteristic of passivity and of minimum essentials in regard to religion, which reduces the Catholic activities of parish members to the least possible denominator—a condition that is happily changing under the inspiration of Catholic Action.” The parish is “the normal institution through which the member of Christ achieves his mission of giving himself over to the glory of God and the sanctification of man. The normal Christian life is participation in the parish life and activities,” and the parish provides the Christian with all of his or her liturgical and spiritual needs.126

Finally, Michel praised the healthy economic life that resulted through the interdependence of people in the first half of the twentieth century, and he criticized the “spiritual separation and mutual distrust that prevents the proper relations between them from being realized in a spirit of Christian cooperation and brotherly love.” Neopaganism had robbed men of the spiritual component of their friendship between the nations. Only a true Christian spirit “can furnish a proper spiritual basis for brotherly relations between all peoples,” which should be the basis for justice, both social and

individual, and only through which “the obstacles to peaceful relations between [all peoples] can be removed.”

Michel covered many additional topics in his book, including the evils of war and the question of whether war during modern times could be morally justified “because of the immense material and spiritual destructiveness” that inevitably results. He discussed nationalism, humanitarianism, and political and economic totalitarianism. He maintained that the ultimate causes of atheistic communism included the unjust distribution of wealth; the dechristianization of public life; general ignorance of Christian truths; and the bad example of Catholics who did not actively participate in their religion. He stated that the ultimate remedy of communism was “a rechristianization of society and in a social order of human life.” He placed the burden of this “gigantic task” on the shoulders of youth who could remedy communism through Catholic Action. He called on them for this important task “that calls for hearty and universal cooperation with all the energies of divine grace entrusted to the members of Christ’s mystical body here on earth.”

The Liturgical Press kept the book under 250 pages by using small font, which undoubtedly contributed to the challenges that students would face in grasping the wealth of information discussed by Michel. Even more than the Christ-Life Series in Religion,

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128 Ibid., 181.
129 Ibid., 230.
the upper-level books of the *Christian Religion Series* bring to life Michel’s conception of the interconnectivity of the liturgy and the Christian life in the modern world. His perspectives required greater maturity of thought than high school students could internalize or appreciate through his explanations of the Church’s teachings. Even so, these advanced-level textbooks are an invaluable resource for Michel’s thoughts on a wide variety of topics and can serve as excellent, largely untapped sources of information for research purposes regarding his contributions.

**The Christian Religion Series for High School**

Murray later wrote two high school religion textbooks for the *Christian Religion Series*. Book one, *Life of Our Lord*, and book two, *Living in Christ*, came out in 1942 and 46, respectively—several years after Michel’s death. However, Murray recognized her indebtedness to him, which she mentioned in the preface of her books. “He was not only a source of inspiration and guidance for her; she clearly carried his influence in her writing.” Following Michel’s death, Murray turned to Rev. Godfrey Diekmann, OSB, who became the leader for the Liturgical Movement, to edit the first two books of the *Christian Religion Series*.

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132 Other consultants included Vincent L. Kennedy, CSB; Hubert P. Coughlin, CSB; and Godfrey Diekmann, OSB.
Born in Roscoe, Minnesota, Diekmann was one of Michel’s fellow monks at St. John’s Abbey. He entered the monastery in 1926 at age seventeen. He first received exposure to the Liturgical Movement through his Novice Master, Rev. Athanasius Meyer, OSB, who was the rector of St. John’s Seminary from 1898-1899. Only later, when Diekmann studied philosophy under Michel, did the latter influence the former. It was Meyer who introduced his novices to the ideas behind the Mystical Body of Christ, which made a distinct impression on Diekmann in later years.¹³³

Diekmann had been described as “a man of principle, an outstanding teacher, a stern disciplinarian, an excellent musician, and a great storyteller.”¹³⁴ As the editor of *Orate Fratres*, he was placed into the seemingly impossible position of filling Michel’s role as consultant for liturgical leadership, and yet he remained unconcerned with the magnitude of this undertaking. In addition to corresponding with Murray, he also responded to letters with questions, large and small, related to the liturgy across the country, and answered them consistently, albeit tardily.

Both Diekmann and Murray loved and respected Michel and regretted his passing.¹³⁵ Diekmann put together a memorial issue on Michel and asked Murray to

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¹³⁴Ibid., 1.

¹³⁵Diekmann’s feeling of loss for his friend and colleague was apparent in a letter to Murray. As he wished her well in the Christmas season, he expressed his hope that Christ might comfort her “in our common loss, and give you the strength to carry on even without Father Virgil’s tangible inspiration in your important work.” He wrote that “[w]e know that Virgil will be able to see our needs far better now in the [Beatific] Vision, and
contribute an article on the elementary-level *Christ-Life Series in Religion*, which was “one of the things [Michel] had most at heart.” Murray wrote to Diekmann on November 30, 1938, expressing “sincere sympathy in your sorrow for Father Virgil’s death! I can scarcely realize that it is true.” Murray was very grateful for the privilege to write about Michel’s work on the *Christ-Life Series in Religion*. However, upon completion of the work two weeks later, she deemed her article to be quite inadequate, considering how difficult it was to write. Diekmann expressed his gratitude for her contribution, and for the way she wrote it from a personal perspective. This “will mean so much more” to the readership. “And I am sure that Father Virgil himself, if he would agree to the memorial issue at all—which I am sure he wouldn’t; he’d say: ‘wasting almost a whole issue, and depriving the readers of the liturgical articles and ideas they are paying for’—would be happy to have you selected” to write this piece.

Between 1938 and 1948, Murray alternated her time between studying, teaching, and writing. It was during this time that she received her own formal training in the ideas that he is sure to assist us more vigorously.” Diekmann understood Michel’s keen intellect and wrote that “I can just visualize how satisfied his active intellect is now in the divine Light; and how his big heart has now finally an adequate Object to fill it.” See Diekmann to Murray, December 20, 1938, Godfrey Diekmann Papers, 1939-1945, 1167, SJA MS Coll.

136 Murray to Diekmann, November 30, 1938, Godfrey Diekmann Papers, 1939-1945, 1167, SJA MS Coll.

137 Murray to Diekmann, December 16, 1938, Godfrey Diekmann Papers, 1939-1945, 1167, SJA MS Coll.

of Thomas Aquinas, much like Michel had done years before at Louvain. In a letter to Diekmann on October 22, 1938, she expressed her gratitude for the opportunity to study at the (later Pontifical) Institute of Medieval Studies in Toronto, Canada. While at this prestigious Institute, Murray audited some lectures. Following one of Michel’s earlier suggestions, she received guidance from Rev. Vincent Kennedy, CSB. He was a professor of the History of the Liturgy, and she enrolled in one of his seminars. She noted that there was a “fine enthusiastic spirit” among the Sisters of Loretto in Toronto for the Liturgical Movement. They were determined to get all available information about it. However, in general, there was very little knowledge of the fa Movement in Toronto. Murray received a licentiate in Medieval Studies with a major in Theology from the Institute. During this decade, she also spent a few years teaching high school, as well as two summers teaching a college course at Marquette University on the “Teaching of Religion to the Adolescent.” These experiences deepened her understanding of the liturgy and honed her skills for transmitting the knowledge of the Catholic religion to teenagers.

Murray’s training at the Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies instilled in her a great appreciation for the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas. “The idea of doing

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139 The Institute is the oldest humanities research institute in Canada and was founded in 1929 under the auspices of St. Michael’s College and the Congregation of the Priests of St. Basil (CSB). As an institution, it admits only a limited number of students on the graduate level with its primary focus on the Middle Ages. Students learn Palaeography, Diplomatics, Codicology, and Textual Editing to equip them with the training necessary to read and to interpret documents and other primary sources. It was granted pontifical status in 1939.

140 Murray to Diekmann, Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, 1939, Godfrey Diekmann Papers, 1939-1945, 1167, SJA MS Coll.
a complete series in Religion for high school persisted, and at some stage in [her] study of St. Thomas, [she] became convinced that the magnificent order in his exposition of sacred doctrine held advantages for high school students as well as for specialists in universities.\textsuperscript{141} Her return to Aquinas’ original sources set her apart in these endeavors. Her ideas gradually became a reality. By planting these ideas in the minds of teenagers, religion textbooks could assist new generations to accept the advancements and innovations of progressive Catholic thinkers.

**Christian Religion Series for High School**

The *Life of Our Lord*, Murray’s book one of the *Christian Religion Series* for high school, is predominantly a study of Christ’s life in the Gospels. Its focus is largely Christocentric, examining salvation history through the life and times of Christ. In this book, Murray emphasizes the importance of Scripture in Divine Revelation. She focuses on God’s revelation in the story of Christ as the Messiah, discussing the mystery of the Kingdom of God through a number of parables.\textsuperscript{142} Murray also highlights the communal nature of the Mystical Body of Christ. “We know ourselves to be members of a living Body, nourished and sustained by the divine life of the Body.”\textsuperscript{143}

\textsuperscript{141}“Jane Marie Murray, O.P.,” *Book of Catholic Authors*, 277.

\textsuperscript{142}It included descriptions of parables such as the seeds that were cast upon the earth (Mark 4:26-29); the Mustard Seed (Mark 31-32); leaven (Luke 13:20-21); and the Pearl of Great Price (Matt 13:44-46), among others.

\textsuperscript{143}[Murray], *Life of Our Lord*, 113.
The students are brought into the communal nature of Christ’s Paschal Supper and death. They are taught of Christ’s sufferings in his final days. They read about his death and the empty tomb, as well as His appearance to His apostles. The sacraments are taught as they emerged in Scripture. The final chapter of the book examines the descent of the Holy Ghost on Pentecost. It stresses a communal ecclesiology in one of its final teachings: “The Catholic Church is the body of all those who are united with God through Christ and with one another in Him. It is the mystical Christ.” She stresses the continuation of Christ’s ministry in the present-day Church through the sacraments, as Christians share the life of Christ together.

The liturgy is apparent primarily in the “Applications” sections of various chapters. For example, in chapter three, “Manifestation of the Son of God,” Murray describes how the purpose of the Church during the liturgical season of Advent is “to prepare us for the coming of Christ.” She then asks the students to consider how various parts of the Mass help to accomplish this end, i.e., the Epistle of the First Sunday of Advent; the Collect of the Second Sunday of Advent; Postcommunion during the Third Sunday of Advent; and the Gospel during the Fourth Sunday of Advent. As a whole, the Life of Our Lord is exactly what the title describes: an overview of the life of Christ.

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144 For example, the establishment of the Sacrament of Penance is taught after Christ’s resurrection, when he breathed on the Apostles and instructed them to receive the Holy Spirit (John 20:21-23). See [Murray], Life of Our Lord, 263.

145 Ibid., 292.

146 [Murray], Life of Our Lord, 79-80.
However, it also emphasizes the important role of the Church in continuing His ministry until the end of time.

By contrast, Living in Christ, book two of the Christian Religion Series, presents Christian dogma, morals, and worship (the Creed, Cult, and Code) through the Church year, to “aid Catholic youth to come to an intelligent and devout participation in the life of the Church.” Murray stressed the important role of the teacher in ensuring that the students did not only learn the facts of the faith, but also that they live liturgically. This would help them develop habits of Christian virtue and an “actual growth in the supernatural life of grace.”

Although the textbook primarily uses ideas to illustrate the author’s points, the book is striking in its incorporation of famous masterpieces. These works of art are designed to increase the experiential nature of doctrine for the students. These images illustrate the book’s lessons through their demonstration of the liturgical year.

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147[Murray], Living in Christ, v.

148One example was the scene of “Christ Appearing to His Blessed Mother,” which was a fifteenth-century painting by Roger van der Weydem. The original first belonged to King Juan II of Castile (1405-1454). It comprised the side image of a triptych, or altarpiece. The scene depicts the moment when Christ reveals Himself to His mother after His death, which is not actually recorded in the Bible but was appropriately included in the chapter on Easter, alluding to what it describes as Christ’s “annunciation” into eternal life. See Juan de Flandes, Christ Appearing to His Mother, ca. 1496, Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/110001940 (accessed March 19, 2012). The original by Weydem was given to the Carthusian monastery of Miraflores, near Burgos, Spain, in 1445. Queen Isabella of Castile ordered a nearly identical copy of the original, which now resides in New York City.
print quality of these images was excellent for the time; in some cases the publisher even used high-gloss color, which makes the paintings more vivid and appealing.

*Living in Christ* begins by establishing the book’s context by teaching the students about the liturgical year. It discusses the fall of man and the life, death, and resurrection of Christ in chapter one; and the work of the Apostles, who brought together the earliest communities of believers, in chapter two. Those who make up the body of the “Living Christ” of the Catholic Church are examined in chapter three. Students are taught how Christ restored His people through Jesus to establish the Mystical Body of Christ. The “Head of the Mystical Body is Christ Himself; all those who are united with Him through Baptism are members of Christ’s Mystical Body.”

The textbook teaches the importance of the Eucharist, highlighting the liturgy’s role in embracing “the whole sacramental system, sacraments and sacramental, and also the official prayer of the Church for the sanctification of the day: the Divine Office.” As an offering to God, this form of public worship “has been defined as the ‘life-dispensing, life-preserving and life-restoring activity of Ecclesia, the mystical Christ.’” Men and women receive God through the liturgy, and “in the liturgy man offers to God the one Sacrifice supremely pleasing to Him: That of His divine son.”

The “chief work of the Church, therefore, is to offer the Sacrifice of Christ. And the chief work of every Catholic is to offer the Sacrifice of Christ with the Church.” This means that the vocation of the

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149 [Murray], *Living in Christ*, 20-21.

150 Ibid., 28-29.
Catholic must be united with Christ not only in the Mass, “but all through the day and through one’s life” as well.\textsuperscript{151}

It examines further the relationship between the Sacrifice of Christ and the Mass. It looks to the Hebrew Bible to understand the “insufficiency” of the sacrifice of the Old Law, and the need for the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, as well as the mystery of the “unbloody” sacrifice in the Mass. “Through the institution of the sacrament of the Eucharist and through the sharing of His eternal priesthood with His apostles and their successors, Christ gave Himself in His Sacrifice to His Church to be her very life.” This makes the Eucharistic Sacrifice “the center and source of the life of the Church.” It is her “supreme work”; it is the reason priests are ordained; it is the “supreme exchange of love between God and man.”\textsuperscript{152}

In a similar vein, students are taught that the Mass is both a “Sacrifice-Oblation” and a “Sacrifice-Banquet.” The first term refers to the offering made by the worshipers in the first half of the Mass, from its beginning to the end of the Creed. This part was known as the “Mass of the Catechumens.” In it, the “oblation of the faithful” is made by the “members of Christ” whose offering to the Holy Sacrifice is symbolized by the offering of the bread and wine. Whether the bread and wine which are used in the Sacrifice are provided directly by the faithful as they once were or indirectly through the offerings of money made by the congregation, the symbolism is the same: the gifts of bread

\textsuperscript{151}[Murray], \textit{Living in Christ}, 33.

\textsuperscript{152}Ibid., 51-52.
and wine stand for the offering which the priest and the congregation make of themselves to God.\textsuperscript{153}

This action depicts the participant’s total dependence on God. To make an oblation of oneself to God means to surrender and “to do in all things the will of God.”\textsuperscript{154} It is necessary for Catholics “to renew our oblation over and over again, for the forces that would turn us away from obedience to God are ever at work: that is, the world, the flesh, and the devil.”\textsuperscript{155} Each day’s intention benefits the individual as well as the community through its connection in the Mystical Body of Christ.\textsuperscript{156}

The students learned that while the “oblations of the faithful” offered at the start of Mass are imperfect and lacking, these are soon turned into the “perfect oblation,” which is Christ, both priest and victim. Thus, the “oblations of bread and wine which symbolize the offering of the faithful to God have been changed into the one infinitely worthy Oblation, Jesus Christ our Lord.”\textsuperscript{157} These mysteries of redemption in Christ are remembered with thanksgiving in every Mass offered

\textsuperscript{153}[Murray], \textit{Living in Christ}, 57.

\textsuperscript{154}Ibid., 58.

\textsuperscript{155}Ibid., 58-59.

\textsuperscript{156}Ibid., 60.

\textsuperscript{157}Ibid., 62.
by the Church throughout the liturgical year. Thus, the “Eucharistic Sacrifice is essentially the sacrifice of thanksgiving.”

Murray teaches the students how reception of the Eucharist, which she refers to as the “Sacrifice-Banquet,” results in several types of “union” for the community of believers. The first is union with Christ, since this “heavenly Food” transforms him who eats it into “Itself.” In other words, it changes men and women into Christ. This means that the “effect of the Eucharist is to deepen and perfect the union of men with God through Christ and with one another in Him.” Thus, the second union brought about by the Eucharist is with the other people who are baptized members of the Mystical Body of Christ. “As the members of the Church feed upon the one Bread which is Christ, they are united with one another by sharing the very same life, the life of Christ.” The result of this unity should be “an unfailing charity among all the members of Christ.” From the “Sacrifice-Banquet,” the “children of God must go forth, therefore, to a life of love in the world, to a charity which is all-embracing for the sake of Christ.” They would receive the “divine energies” that they needed for this life through the Eucharist.

For Murray, the historical development of the Church year across the centuries was central to religious education. It introduced the students to the

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158 [Murray], Living in Christ, 61.
159 Ibid., 65-70.
significance of the feast days. During the first century, she explains, there was only one feast, the “Pasch, which from an early date embraced not only Easter Sunday, but the three days preceding, and likewise extended to Pentecost Sunday.” The forty-day season of Lent was probably instituted around the fourth century. Similarly, the “sacramental celebration of the mysteries of Christ took place at first only on Sunday,” making it “for the early Christians a ‘little Easter,’” which sanctified each week in its entirety.  

Additional feast days were added to the calendar over the centuries “under the guidance of the Holy Ghost,” with Easter at the center. In each yearly cycle, the Church “lives again the saving mysteries of Christ one by one, making them more and more her own.” These cycles allow both Church and members to grow stronger, marking the passage of years like the rings of a tree record the years of its life. The structure of the cycle in the Church year thus revolves around the teachings of redemption, with the “beginnings” of redemption occurring in Advent, Christmas, and Epiphany, in the promise, fulfillment, and manifestation of the divinity of Christ. The middle or “enactment” of redemption is played out beginning with Septuagesima, where the members of the Church experience the burden of sin on humanity. They take on a more intense experience of the life in Christ during Lent, while the passion and death of Christ, along with His resurrection, are experienced in Passiontide and Easter. The manifestation of the community in the Church occurs again at Pentecost. Finally, the third phase of the  

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160 [Murray], Living in Christ, 82-83.

161 Ibid., 84-85.
Church calendar, which is the time after Pentecost, brings growth in charity and the advancement of the Kingdom of God. The remaining four units of the book discuss these seasons and aim at teaching the students to live liturgically throughout the various phases of the year.

**A Review of the *Christian Religion Series***

Catholic religion teachers placed great hope in Murray’s high-school textbooks. One teacher, who wrote under the initials, “S.A.C.,” reported that Murray offered a refreshing change for religion teachers in the early 1940s. The reviewer had experienced the “lean years” of religion textbooks published in the previous decades. According to S.A.C., religion teachers could now rejoice in the start of a new epoch with the release of the *Christian Religion Series*. S.A.C. asserted that the *Christian Religion Series* would usher in the “years of plenty,” flowing from Michel’s foresight as a pioneer leader of social-liturgical thought. “The Christian Religion Series is animated by the spirit of the Catholic Revival, specifically of the liturgical movement.” The author noted how the books emphasized “the vital truths of Christian tradition in their relation both to the

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163 S.A.C., “Living in Christ, A Text for High Schools,” review of *Living in Christ*, by Virgil Michel, OSB, Basil Stegmann, OSB, and the Dominican Sisters, *Orate Fratres* 17 (1943): 422. The reviewer had been a high-school teacher for more than two decades. No one “knew better than we teachers the inadequacy of the training in religion given in our high schools. We strove and experimented to improve it.” The author and other teachers had discarded the catechism method as outmoded; they demanded texts comparable in quality with other subjects. They used visual aids, concentrated on character development, abandoned the “negative approach of stressing forever what Catholics are not allowed to do,” and tried to use salesman techniques to “sell” the personal Christ and religion to students.
worship of the Church and to the daily life of the Christian in this present time.” This was particularly accomplished in book two of the *Christian Religion Series* by presenting how students could *live* the Church year, not just learn it. The Church thereby does more than just tell the laity about their faith:

She celebrates them [i.e., the faithful]. The celebration by the Church of the mysteries of Christ is no mere ‘remembering’; it is more: it is a sacramental ‘remembering,’ which makes the mystery really present to us here and now. The Church’s festivals are like no other festivals on earth, for her ‘remembrance’ of the mysteries of Christ in the Eucharistic celebration brings Christ in His mysteries right into the midst of men. And the life of the Church is the life of Christ, *lived now*.164

The textbook continued the theme of making religion practical. It was part of the objective to teach students to live the love of Christ and God for their neighbors. This arrangement was “like no other teaching plan” to which the teachers of 1943 were accustomed. The lessons were “born of the fact that religion is learned by contemplation and by participation in liturgical action.”165 Supporters of the Liturgical Movement enthusiastically reviewed book one and book two of the *Christian Religion Series*, as well. “In the hands of teachers who have an initiation in the liturgical movement, the books are not only texts for religion classes, but constitute a center around which the religious life of each student and of the entire school can be formed.”166

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165 Ibid., 423-424.

166 Ibid., 424.
Murray’s Contributions to Church and Society

Murray’s wider contributions distinguish her as a significant woman of God who continued to live a vibrant and Spirit-filled existence for the remainder of her life. As she entered her seventies, she became a graduate-level instructor at the Aquinas College Institute of Religious Studies in Grand Rapids, Michigan. In the late 1960s, her focus shifted from education to prison ministry. According to a 1975 interview, Murray told of receiving a letter from California with simply a prison number in place of a return address. “That meant nothing to me until I opened the envelope,” she said. Inside was a letter from an inmate at a federal prison camp who had read one of her religion textbooks in the prison library. The inmate requested more books, which sparked in Murray a new interest in criminal justice. “Of course I knew there were jails and prisons before,” she said in the interview. “Just like I knew there were supermarkets and libraries. They were just there.” She could not have known how forming relationships with criminals would change the focus of her life—in continuity with her former textbook writings and in accord with her notion of the Mystical Body of Christ.

In Murray’s later years, she found a new and very different venue to apply the teachings she learned from the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ. Murray dedicated herself to educating citizens on injustices of the criminal system throughout her retirement years, even holding a five-week criminal justice seminar in 1973 at Aquinas College with cooperation from the county prosecutor, local judges, and authorities from Detroit, including the sheriff. She was eventually appointed to the Michigan Crime and
Juvenile Delinquency Council in Lansing. Her life became a testimony to the intentions of the reformers of religious education both before and after her contributions.

In 1951, Murray reflected on her involvement in the first quarter century of the Liturgical Movement. She had learned so much over the course of those years, from the time that she first met with Michel at St. John’s Abbey during the first liturgical summer school of 1929. As they crafted the *With Mother Church* laboratory manuals, they still relied on the *Baltimore Catechism* and the catechism method. While writing the short lessons based on the feasts of the Church year, they “had no thought or understanding of all that the celebration of the liturgical year means for a person.” The books were nothing more than basic supplements to the catechism. In contrast, the *Christ-Life Series in Religion* elementary textbooks focused exclusively on teaching active participation in the liturgy, while the high school and college *Christian Religion Series* demonstrated the important connection between liturgy, catechesis and social action.

One supporter at the time concluded that Murray and Michel largely succeeded in demonstrating how children could be taught through the Liturgical Movement as they learned to expand their participation in the Latin Mass. However, their textbooks did not necessarily usher in a new pedagogical stage in contemporary religious education pedagogy because they were before their time. It was not until Vatican Council II

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(1962-1965), when *Sacrosanctum concilium* permitted the vernacular in the liturgy that their efforts could be fully appreciated.¹⁶⁹

Between 1946 and 1962, Murray did not stop publishing. She remained sensitive to the theological currents within the Catechetical Movement and the introduction of the “kerygma” (or proclamation of the Good News of Christ) into religious education. She wrote and published another series of high-school textbooks in 1957 and 58 known as the *Christian Life Series*, which will be analyzed in chapter four.

The Kerygmatic Movement continued the mission to unite the liturgy with catechesis. Josef Jungmann, a liturgist in Innsbruck, Germany, wrote *Die Frohbotschaft und unsere Glaubensverkündigung* in 1936. His book, which received a favorable review by *Orate Fratres*,¹⁷⁰ was before its time. Jungmann’s work would not be published in the United States until 1961.¹⁷¹ However, both of these movements would be seen as forerunners for the theological revision of catechetical content after Vatican II, as will be examined in chapter five.


¹⁷¹ Through the kerygma, Christ became “the bearer of grace” and grace was seen “as life in Christ.” See Jungmann, *Good News Yesterday and Today*, 34-35.
Chapter 4

The Core of the Christian Message:
The Catechetical Movement, the Kerygma, and Proclaiming the Good News
(1936-1961)

The Catholic Church in the United States experienced many changes following World War II (1939-1945). During the 1940s, 50s, and 60s, Catholics were no longer defined by the immigrant nature of “ghetto Catholicism,"¹ which had accompanied mass immigration to large cities. Catholics abandoned the separatism that had accompanied their religious identity for generations and established an American Church, whereby “attitudes were altered, values transformed, and priorities rearranged.”² The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (commonly known as the GI Bill) spurred Catholics on to higher education, which led to their success in professions. Many Catholics moved to the suburbs where they built (and funded) “bigger and more impressive churches, colleges, hospitals, headquarters, and motherhouses as well as a variety of Catholic societies, clubs and guilds” to serve as modern counterparts to secular organizations.³ Catholics’ renewed

¹This term is often used to describe a largely urban, ethnic Catholicism, whereby members of the working class were part of a tightly knit community filled with devout households and nearly everyone was Catholic. For a representation of this background, see Leslie Woodcock Tentler, “‘To Work in the Field of the Lord’: Roots of the Crisis in Priestly Identity,” U.S. Catholic Historian 29, no. 4 (Fall 2011): 5.


³Ibid., 80.
identification encouraged attachment to the Church despite their displacement from tight-knit ethnic communities in the inner cities.⁴

Catholic high schools across the nation increased in number by more than sixty percent over the course of the 1950s.⁵ In high-school religion classes, teachers gradually moved away from catechisms, religion books and manuals of Neo-Scholasticism.⁶ Theological currents were changing, and students needed to be taught more than character development and moral actions.⁷ In pursuit of this goal, the Kerygmatic Movement emerged, which was based upon the importance of the “kerygma,” (κήρυγμα in Greek for “preaching”) in the Gospel. “Kerygmatic catechesis” was based on a theology known for being Christocentric, meaning it was focused on the person of Jesus Christ in salvation history. Educators sought to proclaim the essentials of the Christian

⁴Spalding, “Traditional Transitions,” 73-74. Masses for various groups of Catholics and annual retreats were held for every profession of Catholics, including doctors, lawyers, policemen, firemen, and even postal employees. Accordingly, parishes “became even greater beehives of activity, with social clubs, athletic leagues, Scout troops and Cub dens, in addition to confraternities, sodalities, and nocturnal adoration societies.” In addition, carnivals, bingo games, roasts, and bake sales met Catholics’ social needs, while they also helped parishes to achieve their financial goals.

⁵Tentler, “‘To Work in the Field of the Lord,’” 4-6.

⁶Neo-Scholasticism was a modern interpretation of the writings of Thomas Aquinas, while Thomism was a return to the original Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas, OP (1225-1274). The manuals had primarily been used in preparatory seminaries.

⁷Laux emphasized doctrine, apologetics, and the development of students’ character through his Course in Religion for the Catholic high school (see chap. 1). Campion and Horan (chap. 2) based their religion textbooks on Catholic Action.
message and to elicit conversion through the shared faith and conviction of the catechist.⁸ Catechists became concerned not just with the form of presentation (i.e., the method, as was seen in the discussion of the Munich Method in chapter one), but also the content.⁹

Rev. Josef A. Jungmann, SJ (1889-1975), was the prominent theologian who first developed these ideas and focused attention on the kerygma in his 1936 book on catechesis and the liturgy.¹⁰ Although fraught with controversy for its historical treatment of the early Church’s official responses to various heresies,¹¹ this book solidified Jungmann’s role in the wider Catechetical Movement. Through his liturgical work, he “recognized ever more clearly that the summit of Christian life consists in rightly performed divine worship which must carry over into Christian daily life.”¹²

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¹⁰Josef A. Jungmann, Die frohbotschaft und unsere glaubensverkündigung [The Good News and Our Proclamation of the Faith] (Regensburg: Pustet, 1936). The leaders of the Catechetical and Liturgical movements were powerful allies. “The catechetical movement recognized in the nascent liturgical revival a unique ‘means’ of religious instruction and formation,” while “the liturgical leaders were practical enough to realize that the vigorous catechetical movement could lead the youth to the liturgy and thus insure the future of the liturgical apostolate.” See John [Johannes] Hofinger, “Teaching Good News,” Worship 29, no. 3 (1955): 126.

¹¹See chap. 4, n. 27.

Jungmann and the Controversy Surrounding *Die Frohbotschaft*

To grasp the essential nature of the Kerygmatic Movement, it is necessary to examine the background and early history on Jungmann, including his origins, his methods, and the factors that affected his ideas prior to 1936. It is also valuable to recognize his relationship with his amanuensis and student, Johannes Hofinger (1905-1984), who dedicated many years to spreading the ideas of the Kerygmatic Movement.\(^{13}\)

Jungmann was born in the mountains of South Tyrol, Italy. He was known for his South Tyrolean faith and religiosity that made him “creative but disciplined” in his thinking. He had a “sense for history and living tradition, [as well as] the gift of expressing his mind in plain language and good style.” In addition, he was dedicated to quiet, hard work.\(^{14}\) Ordained a priest in 1913, Jungmann developed his interests in religious education while working as a parish priest in Brixen, Germany. These early years had a lasting impact on him. More of a thinker than a man of action, he was concerned with the “fearsome piety” of the people, which he felt adversely affected the

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\(^{13}\)Hofinger was an Austrian Jesuit who influenced Catholic liturgy, catechesis, and missiology by traveling across the globe, spreading Jungmann’s new ideas. Their relationship would prove vitally important for the Kerygmatic Movement, since Hofinger spent most of his career explaining and expounding upon Jungmann’s thinking.

“joyful nature of the good news” of Christ.\textsuperscript{15} His pastoral concerns dominated his later studies.

Jungmann joined the Society of Jesus in 1917. He studied at the University of Innsbruck, Austria, where he later taught liturgy and catechetics from 1925 to 1952.\textsuperscript{16} His academic research focused primarily on the intersection of pastoral practice and scholarship. He believed that catechesis should take a “holistic approach,” modeled on the practices in early Christianity.\textsuperscript{17} He maintained that religious education should integrate the message of God’s favor and mercy within the context of prayer, liturgy, and preaching. He focused on the role the Holy Spirit as the giver of life. He saw it as an essential part of Christian sacraments and the grace-filled lives of believers. He held that catechesis should use narrative to communicate the theological message. In general, he was interested in a return to the classic sources of early catechesis and expressed fidelity

\textsuperscript{15}Michael Horan, CFC, “Kerygmatic Catechesis: An Analysis of the Writings of Jungmann and Hofinger as Reflected in Post-Conciliar Catechetical Documents” (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 1989), 21.

\textsuperscript{16}The only interruption in his career was during the years 1939-1945 when Hitler closed the theological department of the university. Jungmann used those years for intensive research. The result was his widely recognized contribution to liturgical studies, \textit{Missarum solemnia} [Solemnities of the Mass]. The original was published in 1948 and earned him worldwide fame. This work also regained him the trust and respect of the Roman circles that he lost through his work in catechetics a decade prior. Josef A. Jungmann, \textit{The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development}, trans. Francis A. Brunner (New York: Benziger, 1951-1955).

\textsuperscript{17}Mary C. Boys, \textit{Education in Faith: Maps and Visions} (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1989), 93.
to the tradition of the Spirit and the preservation of that tradition in the sacramental practice of the West.\textsuperscript{18}

In contrast to “manual” theology based on Neo-Scholasticism, Jungmann called for a more Biblical and mystagogical (i.e., focused on the mystery of Christ) language. While he appreciated the contributions of scholastic theology, he argued that the “scholastic approach usually lacked the indispensable kerygmatic dimension which could move men’s hearts and change their lives.”\textsuperscript{19} Scholasticism focused on theological questions without any sense of integration. Jungmann generated a less-fragmented approach to theological education—one that stressed the kerygma as the core of the Christian message, where everything else was secondary to Christ at the center.\textsuperscript{20}

Jungmann’s 1936 work Die frohbotschaft und unsere glaubensverkündigung, provided a critical look at catechesis and advocated a renewed adoption of Scripture and the liturgy as foundational to religious education.\textsuperscript{21} Although the book was moderate in tone, it was perceived as a threat to the established authority of the Church, and “it nevertheless aroused some immediate sharp contradiction.” Criticism did not come from German leaders of the Catechetical Movement, for they “rightly saw in Jungmann’s

\textsuperscript{18} Horan, “Kerygmatic Catechesis,” 21.

\textsuperscript{19} Hofinger, “J.A. Jungmann,” 356.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid. Kerygmatic textbooks would be integrated, with elements of all sections of the catechism in every lesson.

recommendations a valuable completion and deepening of their own work.” Rather, criticism came from the leaders of the Roman Curia. Jungmann’s superior, Rev. Ladislaus Ledochowski, SJ (1866-1942), realized the danger of a potential condemnation by Rome and immediately withdrew the controversial book from the market.\(^{22}\)

Prior to its withdrawal, Godfrey Diekmann, OSB, published a favorable review of *Die frohbotschaft* in *Orates Fratres*,\(^{23}\) and acclaimed it as the book of the year:

> It is one of those rare masterpieces that coordinates a thousand and one seemingly disjointed facts into one illuminating, logical unity, and which puts in clear terms many a truth which personal study had led one to but vaguely surmise.\(^{24}\)

Michel also read the book and immediately wrote to the publisher to request permission to translate it.\(^{25}\) However, due to Ledochowski’s withdrawal of the book, it could not be published in the United States.

Despite these setbacks, *Die frohbotschaft* contained “a startling message” in its intellectual context. According to Hofinger,

> Though its reception among European catechists was generally favorable, [the opinions of] many [other] theologians were clearly negative. Apparently they were considerably threatened by Jungmann’s historical analysis, which had shown that not all developments approved by the church were healthy ones. The chapter on ‘Guiding Principles for Devotions’ was particularly offensive in this regard—a chapter Diekmann

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\(^{22}\) Hofinger, “J.A. Jungmann,” 354.

\(^{23}\) See chap. 3, n. 170.


had rated as one of the best. These guardians of orthodoxy, mired in a mentality of an earlier era, viewed his study as a criticism of infallibility and consequently exerted considerable pressure to have it condemned.²⁶

Hofinger further expressed his strong views in opposition to the book’s withdrawal:

Almost all opposition [to *Die frohbotschaft*] came rather from influential people who with good reasons considered Jungmann’s book a devastating blow to their own wrong conservative attitude. In the ensuing controversy it was not really catechetics that was at stake but something even more fundamental. Because of a simplistic understanding of the church’s guidance by the holy spirit and of the infallibility of the church resulting from it, many theologians and many leaders of the church considered any approved religious development within the church to be the result of divine guidance and, therefore, untouchable. Jungmann now showed with clear historical examples that there is a decisive difference between the orthodoxy of the church which is guaranteed by the holy spirit and proclamation of orthodox faith and worship with the church which, for historical reasons, may lose sight of important aspects of the original Christian message and its expression in worship.²⁷

By this assessment, Hofinger (and by extension, Jungmann) held that teaching the entire catechism was unnecessary, because its formulations overemphasized various aspects of Christianity to compensate for false heretical teachings. In particular, Jungmann criticized the Church’s response in the fourth-century heresy of Arianism, which denied the Divinity of Christ.²⁸ Church leaders and theologians had stressed Christ’s divinity and lost sight of his humanity. Hofinger maintained that they lost sight of the importance of


²⁷Hofinger, “J.A. Jungmann,” 354-355. The Church’s response to Arianism demonstrated the Kerygmatic Movement’s concern with doctrinal formulas forming the basis of catechesis.

Christ’s humanity and His role as mediator to the Father. The result was a piety among the people that overemphasized the role of saints as mediators to Christ, which ultimately “eclipses God the heavenly father.”²⁹

From Hofinger’s perspective, such emphases in theological teachings could be easily remedied by admitting the feasibility that the Church could make errors. However, many Church leaders criticized such historical assessments because it threatened the authority of the hierarchy given the conclusions of the First Vatican Council on papal primacy and infallibility. Thus, Hofinger maintained that the Church “blocked the way to a thorough reform” by “resolutely denying the possibility of [the Church making] mistakes.”³⁰ The controversy surrounding Jungmann’s Die frohbotschaft was not a criticism of his approach to catechesis, but of his historical theology, which threatened the hierarchical notion of the Church.

Despite these circumstances, the book was eventually published in 1962.³¹ Prior to publication, Jungmann’s ideas were circulated in North America in the 1950s, largely

²⁹ Hofinger, “J.A. Jungmann,” 355. For purposes of religious education, it also resulted in the enshrinement of this overemphasis in later catechisms of the Church, which were being taught to generations of Catholics across the globe.

³⁰ Ibid. Hofinger later recognized what he saw as a revision of this practice—and a justification of Jungmann’s thought—in Vatican II. In his estimation, paragraph 14 of Sacrosanctum concilium “admitted the faulty tendency of former times when the church—more precisely the leaders of the church—considered the liturgy primarily as the action of the ordained priest for the spiritual benefit of the faithful.” Since paragraph 14 of the original document stated the need for all the faithful to participate in the liturgical celebrations actively, he concluded that this was a disavowal of the previous position.

due to Hofinger’s efforts while at the University of Notre Dame (UND). During this decade, the Kerygmatic Movement influenced Catholic high-school textbooks, which entailed drastically different approaches to religious education. Authors who were influenced by the kerygma focused on the importance of salvation history, the liturgical celebration, the proclamation of the Christian message, and the life of Christ in their textbooks. The kerygma became a popular term among catechists, and religion authors and educators incorporated these new ideas based on Christianity’s biblical and liturgical roots.

**Jungmann and Hofinger on the Kerygmatic Approach to Catechesis**

The Kerygmatic Movement first affected the teachers of religion who should teach their students more than the ability to reiterate the catechism. Religious education involved more than retaining lessons in doctrinal orthodoxy. Students needed to hear the message proclaimed by teachers who had a “deep religious understanding of the Christian message,” which was even more important than training in educational methods like the Munich Method. Catechists were “God’s herald (‘keryx’ being the Greek word for herald).”32 A “solid kerygmatic training” would help teachers to identify the central Christian message as the “good news of God’s saving love which has its center in Jesus Christ.” It would allow them to “see the whole Christian message as an organic unity” and permit them to distinguish properly between “the more and less important elements”

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of the Christian message. Only “by seeing each particular doctrine clearly in the light of God’s loving intention” could the catechist, working as “God’s herald,” be able “to present it to others as good news.” Finally, within this Movement, Scriptures and the liturgy became the source of the fullest expressions of the kerygma “under the special guidance of the holy spirit,” which made them “of greatest catechetical importance.”

The kerygma also affected the training of priests. Advanced theological studies that priests received in the seminary did not prepare them for traditional pastoral roles. Jungmann urged the reform of seminary education because priests “must see the totality as good news” in their roles as pastors. They must “present the particular aspects [of the faith] in such a way that the authentic Christian proclamation would once again challenge people.” If seminaries gave a kerygmatic presentation of the Christian message to the priests, they, in turn, would proclaim the fullness of the faith to the Catholic community. Jungmann held that this adaptation would generate greater appreciation of the dynamism, unity, and gratitude that should characterize the Christian life. These developments would be important for the overall structure of theological training because the

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33 Hofinger, “J.A. Jungmann,” 357. These principles were considered valid for the catechesis of all Catholics—including adolescents, adults, and small children alike.

34 Ibid., 357-358.


36 Ibid.
kerygmatic theology behind the Kerygmatic Movement began with a theological reflection on the lived experiences of the people.\textsuperscript{37}

Jungmann intended catechesis to be “the mature and active faith of the individual Christian, accomplished by the secondary aim of presenting the clarity, unity and beauty of the Christian life as a life of grace, eventuating in an active faith motivated by gratitude.”\textsuperscript{38} It was a “joyfully lived whole-souled faith.”\textsuperscript{39} New believers in Christianity ought to have a relationship with the living Christ, which was so necessary for a conscious Christianity to thrive in dialogue with contemporary culture.\textsuperscript{40} Jungmann, therefore, distinguished catechesis from theology, since the instruction of the faithful necessitated catechetical content that was integrated into the believer’s life.

Jungmann held that changes in the content of the religion course were acceptable. It was not necessary to teach the entire catechism in religion courses, as was attempted earlier in the twentieth century. This was a departure from the Munich Method, which emphasized the content and structure in the catechism, but only required a change in method. He did not hold that traditional Catholic doctrine needed to be changed, nor should it “conform to modern fashions of thought or that it be watered down to the

\textsuperscript{37}Hofinger, \textit{Imparting the Christian Message}, 22.

\textsuperscript{38}Ibid., 44.

\textsuperscript{39}Ibid., 45.

\textsuperscript{40}Ibid., 47.
secularized outlook of modern society.” Rather, he suggested that in any course, regardless of the subject, a teacher selects the

most important points out of the abundance of material at hand. He must be able to present the matter to his students from those angles, which will most clearly make them understand its formative value and consequently make it desirable. He must arrange the topics so that dominant ideas stand out unmistakably, and the important things are recognized as such by the children while less important matters are made to serve for illustration or to bring to life the basic themes.41

He also held that an honest assessment by leaders of the Catechetical Movement would lead them to conclude the inability of the Munich Method to accomplish these goals. He believed that there were “widespread and significant deficiencies in the customary religious instruction” of the day, which “urgently demanded that the catechetical renewal extend its attention to the problem of catechetical content.”42

Jungmann looked to the patristic era for a fuller example of how catechesis and sermons ought to look. In the early Church, teachers of the Christian faith stressed the essentials that were central to Christian doctrine. Catechists could adequately communicate these truths from a point of view “which is intrinsically proper to the proclamation of the Christian message.” If Christian doctrine is what it claims to be, that is, a “‘gospel,’ a glad tidings,” in order to succeed it must present “the Christian religion as something desirable and precious, to be gladly received and experienced as such.”43


42 Ibid., 128.

43 Ibid., 128-129.
This brings about the central idea behind the Kerygmatic Movement, which was the proclamation of the “kerygma,” or “good news” of the Gospel. The ideal teaching of Christian truths must therefore result above all in a grateful awareness of those incomparable gifts that we have received from our loving Father through Christ: the divine life to which we have been re-born in baptism and which increases and grows strong in us through the Church’s sacraments; membership in God’s family which we enjoy by grace and in the community of the Church; and the pledge of eternal beatitude to which we look forward in hope.\(^44\)

Thus, the message of the good news was vitally important not only for the classroom, but also for Christianity as a whole. It was necessary that these teachings be brought forth “in as attractive a manner as possible.”\(^45\)

The kerygmatic approach to catechesis required three emphases: first, the right selection of content material; second, putting it into the right order; and third, “the right ‘spotlight’ on the individual truths of faith,” which were all rightly oriented toward the goal of “building up and fostering of Christian life.”\(^46\) Using this approach, the Kerygmatic Movement encouraged the presentation of salvation history chronologically through the Bible, looking to the Old Testament as announcing or proclaiming the Gospel of the New Testament. This approach portrayed Christ as the herald of salvation and the center of God’s plan.\(^47\) Jungmann maintained that the kerygma should be welcomed, not

\(^{44}\) Hofinger, “Teaching Good News,” 129.

\(^{45}\) Ibid., 128.

\(^{46}\) Ibid., 128-129.

\(^{47}\) Hofinger, Imparting the Christian Message, 38.
“looked upon as imposing a fabric of joyless obligations.” His thought also emphasized “the need for a religious understanding of the Christian message more than an orthodox interpretation of certain doctrines and proper teaching methods.”

Critics of Jungmann’s approach advocated a more scientific study of theology, not less. However, Jungmann contested this thought by distinguishing between the scientific approach of theology, which was necessary to preserve the integrity of the faith in conversation with cultural and philosophical advances, and the pastoral realm of catechesis. The kerygmatic approach to theology and catechesis was not supposed to do away with scholastic theology, nor was it intended to be in direct opposition to it. Rather, supporters of the kerygma “earnestly desired” that dogmatic and moral theology not only formulate the Church’s doctrines clearly, but also provide speculative analysis and sound defense. Catechists and pastors might “bring out prominently the intrinsic kerygmatic element of the matter studied and make the future herald of Christ [i.e., the students and potential converts] aware of it.” For example, in his 1953 work, Katechetik: aufgabe und methode der religioösen unterweisung, Jungmann emphasized not a parallel course in

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49 Horan, “Kerygmatic Catechesis,” 51.

kerygmatic theology in seminaries, but rather “more kerygma in [the] theology” that was already being taught.\textsuperscript{51}

Ultimately, the Kerygmatic Movement presented and emphasized particular aspects of the deposit of faith. Jungmann and Hofinger both wanted the truths of “correct and solid Catholic doctrine” to be “presented in a yet better and more striking manner, so that their true meaning and their intrinsic religious value become more apparent in the light of the whole Christian message.”\textsuperscript{52} This could be accomplished by emphasizing the mystical nature of the Church as the Body of Christ. This meant a greater emphasis on the function of the Mass as the main “Sacrifice of the Church.” Sanctifying grace should be given greater prominence and “praise and thanksgiving [should] be more strongly urged” so that prayer could be explained less as a “means of grace” and more as “the goal of man here on earth and especially in heaven.” Finally, he stressed that the liturgy provided the best means of displaying and learning the truths of the faith.\textsuperscript{53}

Thus, Jungmann demonstrated the intimate connection between the Kerygmatic Movement and the Liturgical Movement when he upheld that the liturgy best fulfills the function of “proclaiming the truths of Christ.” He quotes St. Paul on how the Eucharist “proclaims” [stress in original] Christ’s death until he comes again (1 Cor 11:26), which demonstrates the foundational teaching of the Kerygmatic Movement. To Jungmann, the

\textsuperscript{51}Hofinger, “Teaching Good News,” 131.

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{53}Ibid., 132-133.
liturgy “proclaims not merely by what it teaches (readings and prayers), but even more so and more powerfully by what it does.” On this point, Hofinger stresses: “Whoever embraces the one [movement] and penetrates into its full meaning, cannot long remain indifferent to the other.” The new approach advocated by Jungmann and Hofinger would have significant repercussions on religious education, particularly religion textbooks as they were published on the eve of Vatican II.

The Kerygmatic Movement and Religion Textbooks

The On Our Way series by Sister Maria de la Cruz Aymes, HHS (1919-2009), was one of the best-known elementary textbook series that expressed the Kerygmatic Movement in the United States. It was a landmark in the history of the Kerygmatic Movement and became “a runaway best seller throughout the United States,” with translations in more than twelve world languages. During the late 1950s, millions of copies were also printed in English. The series included many aspects of the Kerygmatic Movement that were formally articulated by the International Catechetical
Study Week in Eichstätt, Germany (1960). These included the “fourfold approach” to
kerygmatic catechesis: Scriptures, liturgy, systematic teaching of doctrine, and the

Aymes had witnessed the persecution of Catholics in Mexico by President
Plutarco Elias Calles (1926-1932). During this persecution, “all churches, seminaries,
convents and Catholic schools were closed. All religious instruction and outward signs of
religion were outlawed under penalty of prison, exile, or death.” Despite these
circumstances, Aymes (then named Maria Margarita Valentina Aymes-Coucke) received
her Catholic religious education, her first Holy Communion and the Sacrament of
Initiation in secret from Archbishop Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores, the Apostolic Delegate to
Mexico, who was hiding in her parents’ home. These formidable experiences shaped her
life.\footnote{Buckley, “Maria de la Cruz Aymes.” Aymes’ childhood experiences in Mexico
and her catechesis influenced her later call to the religious life with the Helpers of Holy
Souls.}

Aymes met Hofinger when she was serving as a temporary supervisor of
catechetics for the Archdiocese of San Francisco Department of Education.\footnote{Ibid.} She had
assembled her own teaching materials for the archdiocese, which were based upon the
doctrinal approach to catechesis. Hofinger, who was visiting San Francisco, asked to see
her work. Upon reviewing the material, he gave his pointed response: "So much work, so poorly done." Hofinger’s criticism was pivotal for Aymes and for the future of the Kerygmatic Movement in elementary religious education textbooks. He later returned to San Francisco to outline the goals and content of a new series of textbooks with her for grades one through six.

Aymes and Hofinger eliminated doctrinal summaries from the *On Our Way* series. Their textbooks present the essence of Christian doctrines by summarizing the story of Christ’s life. Students were taught Christian concepts at the end of each lesson such as “Believe in the power and love of Jesus,” or “Love and obey our Holy Father.” Students were encouraged in general to pray more, to follow God’s will, or to show their “love for others by offering them your help.”

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62 Buckley, “Maria de la Cruz Aymes.” While at UND, Hofinger’s expertise as a theoretician had become well known. He traveled across the country, speaking on the Kerygmatic Movement and sharing ideas with educators.

63 Ibid. Hofinger stayed with the Helpers for one week at the initial visit. The full elementary series took Cruz five years to complete.

64 In comparison, Mother Bolton’s *Spiritual Way* series begins with concrete objects in students’ lives to explain a concept, further examines them through Scripture, and finally culminates in a line from the *Baltimore Catechism*. See chap. 1, n. 27.

65 Maria de la Cruz [Aymes], *Christ our Savior*, On Our Way series, bk. 3, (New York: W. H. Sadlier, Inc., 1959), 37, 57. Practical examples for how to accomplish these end goals are not provided.

66 Ibid., 17. The lessons end with an activity for the students to complete, such as coloring a picture of St. Peter’s Basilica, determining the source of Scriptural quotations, drawing a picture by connecting the dots, or filling in the blanks to complete a few sentences. See Ibid., 14, 58, 82, 102.
Teacher’s guides prepared teachers using the series to proclaim the good news, to become adept at the kerygmatic approach, and to be more evangelical in their lessons. Through these guides, teachers might succeed in testifying about their own Christian beliefs in the classroom. The guides aided them in becoming more adept at the systematic presentation of the kerygma. The guides also explained the intent behind how the lessons told the story of Christ’s life and His role in humanity’s redemption, and provided a Christocentric approach to salvation history. Thus, through the joint efforts of Aymes and Hofinger, the On Our Way series definitively departed from the doctrinal approach of catechesis. Its widespread acceptance instilled the Kerygmatic Movement in the elementary catechesis across the United States.

The Kerygmatic Movement and William H. Sadlier, Inc.

William H. Sadlier, Inc., which began publishing On Our Way in 1957, was known for its support of the Catechetical Movement through its willingness to release some innovative catechetical resources earlier in the twentieth century. In the 1930s, Sadlier first participated in the Catechetical Movement when F. Sadlier Dinger, CEO,


68William H. Sadlier, Inc., “Our History” under “About,” http://www.sadlier.com/about.cfm?sp=history (accessed May 12, 2012). Sadlier’s history dates back to 1832, when it was originally part of D and J Sadlier Publishing. William Sadlier was the company’s namesake; he was the nephew of the two founders originally from Ireland. William died prematurely at age thirty-one, and his wife Annie preserved the press despite being a woman, a mother of three small children, and only twenty-six years of age.
proposed the publication of exercises, explanatory materials, and tests to accompany the *Baltimore Catechism*. Ellamay Horan, PhD, co-author of the *Catholic Action Series* of religion textbooks, wrote these supplementary materials.\(^{69}\) Sadlier's *Baltimore Catechism with Study Lessons* was widely successful. However, by the 1950s, Sadlier would have another opportunity to demonstrate its commitment to the Catechetical Movement when it published some of the most innovative textbook series to hit the market in the United States.\(^{70}\)

The relationship between the kerygma and Sadlier emerged largely through William (“Bill”) J. Reedy (1923-1988), who was an editor at Sadlier. He was one of the leading proponents for the kerygma and an advocate for the Catechetical Movement in the United States. Reedy was a former Christian Brother who taught high-school English, history, and religion for thirteen years at Manhattan Prep in Riverdale, New York. After he was dispensed from his vows, he joined Sadlier where he worked as vice president and director of catechesis for twenty-five years. Reedy was known for “put[ting] the kerygmatic movement on the map in the United States.”\(^{71}\) As co-author of the *ABCs of*

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\(^{69}\)See chap. 2, n. 165.


Modern Catechetics\textsuperscript{72} and the Modern Challenge to Religious Education,\textsuperscript{73} he was a well-known Catholic in New York and was one of the first laymen to receive training for ordination of the permanent diaconate.\textsuperscript{74} Reedy’s job with Sadlier put him in a position of prominence in the field of catechesis.

In 1956, a year prior to the publication of Ayme’s On Our Way series,\textsuperscript{75} Reedy edited the Way, the Truth and the Life,\textsuperscript{76} a revised high-school religion series that reflected the ideas of the Kerygmatic Movement. Rev. Anthony J. Flynn, (1887-1961), Mother Mary Simeon, SHCJ (1894-1971), and Sister Vincent Loretto, SC (1890-1977), originally wrote the first edition,\textsuperscript{77} which stayed in line with the earlier doctrinal approach

\textsuperscript{72}Johannes Hofinger and William J. Reedy, The ABCs of Modern Catechetics (New York: W. H. Sadlier, 1962). This resource outlines the kerygmatic approach to catechesis for modern educators.


\textsuperscript{75}The elementary textbooks were published in 1957; the high-school textbooks in 1956. Since Hofinger and Reedy worked together to publish later books on the kerygma, it seems likely that Hofinger was communicating with Reedy while simultaneously working with Aymes.


to religion. However, the 1956 edition demonstrated the kerygma as articulated by Hofinger, including the Christocentric approach to salvation history that emphasized Scripture, the liturgy, doctrine, and the call to conversion through Christian witness.

Flynn, who was ordained in Rome in 1915, was a Holy Cross priest and a professor of Church history at Rosemont College and Chestnut Hill College in the Philadelphia area. Originally from Smithville, Pennsylvania, he had been president of Immaculata College from 1929 to 1936. He began teaching at Rosemont in 1939 and remained there until 1960, the year before his death. In addition to his textbooks, he was involved in Confraternity of Christian Doctrine classes and was known for his work in Catholic radio.78

Simeon (named “Mary Grace” at birth) was the daughter of Andrew and Josephine Farrington Grace. Simeon was a native of Hildenborough, Kent, where she converted to Catholicism while doing social work among London’s poor. A year after her conversion, she joined the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, which had founded Rosemont College in 1921 for young Catholic women in Rosemont, Pennsylvania—the same school where Flynn was teaching. In addition to high-school religion textbooks, she also wrote a

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reflection on the Gospels and a biography of St. Peter. She suffered ill health for much of her later life.

Loretto, the third co-author, was a member of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Elizabeth in New York. Originally from Ossining, New York, she attended St. Augustine parochial school and Ossining High School before entering the religious life on April 17, 1911. She pronounced her first vows in August 1913. She was assigned to Catholic high schools across the New York region. As a teacher, she had a significant impact on vocations. She was a gifted teacher and historian. Loretto became the assistant principal of Cathedral High School in New York City, where she served from 1935 to 1956. She was also a moderator of a group of Young Christian Students (JEC), which completed

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81For many years, Simeon was unable to walk, her speech was slightly affected, and during the last two years of her life (1970-1971), she had two slight strokes, rendering her incapable of speech. However, she was considered “an exemplary religious: faithful, devoted, hardworking, [and] kind.” See Letter to “Dear Sisters,” written in “The Infirmary, Rosemont, Pa.,” n.d., Society of the Holy Child Jesus Manuscript Collection, Rosemont, Pennsylvania.

82Yolanda [no surname], SC, “Sister Vincent Loretto Mullins,” Sisters of Charity of New York Manuscript Collection, Sisters of Charity Center, Bronx, NY. Sadlier approached Loretto in 1943 to serve on the committee for the preparation of the textbook series. The original four volumes reportedly sold 2,000,000 copies before their revision.

83For background on the Young Christian Students, see chap. 2, nn. 24, 158.
projects such as hosting a Christmas party in 1948 for the orphans of the New York Foundling Hospital.\textsuperscript{84}

The \textit{Way, the Truth and the Life} sought to convey the Christian message through the Kerygmatic Movement. Its aim was to offer “the whole of Christ’s message of salvation” through the “biblical-historical” analysis.\textsuperscript{85} It was intent on “forming Christ in the hearts of youth”\textsuperscript{86} through lessons adapted to the psychology of teenagers. It began “with an appeal to the visual and concrete,”\textsuperscript{87} and its goal was to “insure that religious instruction be not merely the communication of knowledge.” Instead, the authors wanted to “establish religious dispositions and convictions” so they created “an organized series of projects in Catholic Action and in Liturgical life”:

Such activity aims at the development of the whole student, mind, heart, and will in the image of Christ, the Divine Model of Youth. This project method, directed to Christian social living, is in keeping with the appeal for such activity by our Holy Father and is in harmony with the “kerugmatic” [sic.] approach widely and successfully employed today in religious teaching.\textsuperscript{88}

\textsuperscript{84}Cathedral High School Yearbook (New York: Spires Publishing, 1948), 111.


\textsuperscript{86}Flynn, Loretto, and Simeon, \textit{Way, the Truth and the Life}, 4.

\textsuperscript{87}Ibid., 4-5.

\textsuperscript{88}Ibid., 5.
Thus, from the beginning, these textbooks successfully incorporated Catholic Action, the liturgy, projects, and the kerygma to reach the hearts of the students and to present Christ as the model for their lives.

In the introduction to the *Way, the Truth and the Life*, the authors stated that their intent was to give primacy to “Christ Himself and the wonderful message of divine grace.”\(^89\) The authors (and editor) intended to convey the message of salvation through the biblical-historical approach while the “message of divine grace unifies the whole.”\(^90\) They affirmed their attempt to utilize the “kerugymatic [sic] approach” to catechetics, which contributed to the success of the textbooks.\(^91\)

The Kerygmatic Movement is first evident in the textbook’s central outline of the life of Christ, making it wholly Christocentric. In stark contrast to the structure of the catechism, this textbook begins by focusing on the life of Christ and proceeds chronologically, discussing the life of Christ over five units. It covers the “Coming of Christ” and the “Public Life of Christ”; it examines how “Jesus Reaches Out to the World” and looks at the “Last Events in the Life of Our Lord.” Finally, it concludes with the “Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension” of Christ.\(^92\) Each section narrates phases of Christ’s life, placing them in the historical context of Biblical times and

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\(^{90}\) Ibid., 4.

\(^{91}\) Ibid., 5.

\(^{92}\) Ibid., 6.
occasionally taking artistic liberties to help paint the larger picture of catechesis.93 However, these liberties were intended to help students gain an appreciation for the context in which the Jewish people at the time hoped for the Messiah.

The *Way, the Truth and the Life* introduces students to the meaning behind Christ’s life. It integrates Christian living into the historical context of Christ’s life based on the story of salvation. Each chapter concludes with reflection questions to help the student understand and apply the lesson, to deepen the faith of the students, and to translate these truths into their daily lives.94

Scripture citations are abundant throughout this textbook. In addition to the use of narrative language to convey Scriptural stories, the textbook contains five sections on “Readings from Sacred Scripture.”95 These sections cite references to the verses in each of the four Gospels, creating a list of themes related to the topic of that section.96 The life

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93 Flynn, Loretto, and Simeon, *Way, the Truth and the Life*, 13. For example, unit one describes the situation in which Mary and Joseph lived among the Jewish people. It explains the frustration of the Pharisees, who as “separatists,” desired an earthly king as the Messiah to lead them to victory as an independent nation. The Jewish priests are portrayed as the puppets of the Roman Empire; the textbook places great blame on them for their lack of understanding that Jesus was the true Messiah.

94 In place of doctrinal summaries, application questions are utilized throughout the book. The end goal of these textbooks was not to retain the doctrinal formulas of the catechism.


96 Ibid., 206. For example, in a chapter dedicated to Christ’s ascension into heaven, students find that the “Agony in the Garden” is accounted for in Matt 26:30-36, Mark 14:26-31, Luke 22:39, and John 18:1. However, the “World’s Hatred of the Apostles”
of Christ continues to be important in the remainder of the textbook lessons. His earthly life was the center of the first half of the book, and His divinity and its relation to the Church is central to the second half. Christ is of fundamental importance in helping the students to live a Christian life. The textbook revolves around Christ as the focal point. Even the doctrinal content in this latter section leads the students back to Christ as an example and source of knowledge.

The call to conversion becomes apparent throughout the second section of the textbook, albeit subtly. Its tone and general themes urge the students to accept the message of Christ’s life, which would then be made present in the life of the Church. It presents the students with a challenge to believe the Gospel truths and “to come and follow Him!” The call to conversion is also stressed when it explains how all Christians are called to salvation. Furthermore, the textbook instructs the students on some of the

and the “Role of the Holy Spirit” are found only in John 15:17-27 and 16:5-33, respectively.

97Flynn, Loretto, and Simeon, Way, the Truth and the Life, 13. This section is divided into six units, which include, “Our Supernatural Faith”; “God and Creation”; “Jesus Christ: God and Man”; “The Risen Christ”; “The Church Which is Christ”; and “The Final End of Life.”

98Ibid., 77.

99Ibid., 138.
Church’s practical moral teachings, particularly against divorce, which is oddly presented at the same time as the hope for Christ’s Second Coming.  

The liturgy played an important part throughout the textbook series. As the first textbook progresses through the story of Christ’s life, it makes note of related feast days and liturgical seasons. References to the liturgy occur eight times throughout the first text. For example, the chapter on Christ’s passion delineates the meaning behind Holy Thursday and its relation to this liturgical celebration. One section focuses on a comparison of Christ’s death on the cross and the Mass. Another unit explains the deeper meaning of the liturgical year of the Church. Finally, the Mystical Body of Christ is explained by comparing it with youth organizations that the students may join.

The textbooks are visually appealing through the artistic drawings used to explain the logic and process of the liturgical year. Color prints of significant paintings are also used to illustrate the context and times of the life of Christ. Maps display the regions

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100 Flynn, Loretto, and Simeon, *Way, the Truth and the Life*, 136. The lesson relies on the Gospel of Mark, chapter ten, and it demonstrates Christ’s appeal to the people of Judea to seek salvation. It explains how the “same Christ makes the same appeal today.”

101 Ibid., 26, 35, 105, 157, 168-169, 177, 184, 199.

102 Ibid., 177.

103 Ibid., 193.

104 Ibid., 291.

105 Ibid., 105.
surrounding Judea, and landscapes show the countryside in which Christ lived.\textsuperscript{106} These elements present the Gospel message in light of its context. The textbook demonstrates salvation history by presenting how “God’s progressive revelation in history was anticipated in the Old Testament, brought to fulfillment in Christ in the New Testament, and continues in the church.”\textsuperscript{107}

The authors instruct the students in the more traditional matters of doctrine toward the end of the textbook. Contrary to the catechism and earlier high-school religion books, this series intentionally did not present the story of Creation and original sin in the final chapters, followed by Church teachings on the Trinity and the nature of God.\textsuperscript{108} Instead, students were taught how in Christ’s incarnation, death, and ascension they could find the mystery of the Mystical Body of Christ.\textsuperscript{109} This is significant because it signifies a distinct departure from the traditional content of the \textit{Baltimore Catechism}, which was the hallmark of the Kerygmatic Movement.

The three remaining textbooks in the \textit{Catholic High School Religion Series} follow a similar course. The second textbook, the \textit{Triumph of Faith}, primarily presents the Kerygmatic Movement in the first section when it discusses the “Divine Life” of Christ

\textsuperscript{106}Flynn, Loretto, and Simeon, \textit{Way, the Truth and the Life}, 8-9. It also includes references to Church history, the lives of the saints, quizzes, and projects with review sections.

\textsuperscript{107}Boys, \textit{Education in Faith}, 93.

\textsuperscript{108}Flynn, Loretto, and Simeon, \textit{Way, the Truth and the Life}, 234-258.

\textsuperscript{109}Ibid., 291.
made present in the Christian through sanctifying and actual graces, which make the members of Christ’s Church become more fully alive. It also teaches about non-liturgical and liturgical prayer and Christian worship. Finally, it discusses how to perform the corporal works of mercy as instituted by Christ, but it does not draw upon these actions as an extension of the liturgy and does not even discuss social problems, such as concerns for communism or civil rights.

The remainder of the textbook is more traditional in format. It discusses the sacraments instituted by Christ, including those of healing (baptism, penance, anointing of the sick), and those that build up the body of Christ (holy orders, matrimony, and the sacramentals). Special attention is given to the Eucharist. It also canvasses the history of the Church. Students might find it interesting to read the textbook’s examination of the role of the Church in the colonies, the work of the Church in the United States, and the treatment of the modern papacies of Pius X (1903-1914), Benedict XV (1914-1922), and Pius XI (1922-1939). The textbook culminates with an overview of the papacy of Pius XII (1939-1958). It sought to humanize the pope for the students since he was the reigning pontiff at the time of the textbook’s publication.

110 Church history includes a study of early Christianity from St. Peter to Constantine; the Christian empire, including the division of east and west; and the Middle Ages, heresy, and the Inquisition. It then discusses the trials experienced by the papacy during the Renaissance, the popes at Avignon, and the Great Western Schism; the Protestant Revolt in the various countries in Europe; the French Revolution and the rise of liberalism; and the world that Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) inherited.

111 It also examines the role of the missionary Church in India, Japan, China, Africa, and Australia, as well as her role in Russia and the Iron Curtain countries.
The third textbook, *Living Our Faith*, strongly proclaims the good news of Christ and the message of salvation. In particular, it places great emphasis on the liturgy of the Eucharist at the end of each unit, where it provides brief essays on the history of the Mass and its structure. In one of the essays, it stresses the *communal* nature of the sacrifice of the Mass, which was a carry-over from the Liturgical Movement. It teaches some details of the history of the liturgical worship through the Offertory antiphon. For example, the students would have learned that in “early Christian times, it was unnecessary for the ministers to bring bread, wine, and water to the altar, for they remained there from the meal which preceded the Eucharist. This fraternal banquet was called the *agape* or ‘love feast,’ and was a regular dinner held before the divine service.” The agape was discontinued when it fell into misuse, “so as not to confuse it with the Lord’s Supper.” Later, when the laity began presenting their offerings to the priest to offer to God, they did so in an “impressive processional of the people” that was accompanied by the Offertory chant. The authors noted that it was “regrettable that the active role of the laity in the Holy Sacrifice, expressed in the Offertory procession, is no longer in use in our liturgy.”

Thus, the *Catholic High School Religion Series* represents an early attempt to incorporate kerygmatic catechesis into Catholic high-school religion classes. In contrast to the doctrinal approach that would have relied on recitation and memorization, this series is a strong example of how catechists sought to bring students to an encounter with

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Christ. The kerygma is presented through the Gospel: each textbook uses salvation history, the liturgy, and a Christocentric narrative to lead students to a point of internal conversion through the example of the apostles and the saints, with the Scriptures as their foundation.

Five years after the publication of the *Catholic High School Religion Series*, the fourfold approach to kerygmatic catechetics was formally articulated at the 1960 International Catechetical Study Week in Eichstätt, Germany. These textbooks, therefore, anticipated the importance of the fourfold approach, including the prominence of Scripture. The first textbook, the *Way, the Truth and the Life*, succeeded in placing Christ at the center of the Christian message through its renewed Scriptural emphasis. It also stressed the importance of the liturgy through its integration of the liturgical year as related to the life of Christ and the believer. The third textbook, *Living in Christ*, best accomplishes a more in-depth presentation of the historical meaning of liturgical worship.113 Furthermore, the systematic approach to teaching doctrine is Christocentric and at the same time biblical-historical,114 simultaneously providing a “call” to conversion in the students through Christ’s challenge to the world to walk the straight and

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113 The other textbooks simply provide evidence of liturgical rites and explain the meaning behind Holy Days of Obligation throughout the text. However, while the Kerygmatic Movement intended for the lessons to be integrated with all aspects of the Catholic religion in every lesson, the liturgy is often secondary, and almost separate, from its core.

narrow. As the first textbook states: “To the youth of today Christ makes the same loving appeal as, reaching out for the world, He invites them to come and follow Him!”115

**Reedy’s Independent Scholarship**

While Reedy’s connection with Hofinger was instrumental in bringing the Kerygmatic Movement to Catholic high schools in the United States through this textbook series, Reedy also played a valuable role in translating the kerygma to an American audience through his writings and presentations. The year after the Eichstätt meeting, Reedy participated in the 1961 conference for the National Catholic Educational Association. In his presentation, he discussed the history and the general characteristics of kerygmatic catechesis and explained how the kerygma is “not so much a body of doctrines as it is a Person.” Instead, he explained to the participants, “Christ is the kerygma,” the “good news, the gift of the Father to us. He is the central figure in the history of salvation, and the heart and center of the glad tidings that God has called men home to him through, with, and in Christ.”116 To accomplish this end, catechists should attempt to influence students’ lives in their entirety, winning their hearts for Christ and trying to unite them more closely with Him. They wanted to reach their hearts before they tried to influence their intellect or will.117

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117 Ibid., 355.
While the Kerygmatic Movement owed much to the Liturgical Movement and Catholic Action, it was also instrumental in “reorganizing them, completing them, and harmonizing them around the figure of Christ.” This Christocentric emphasis meant that the textbooks of the Catholic High School Religion Series largely departed from primarily teaching the students to seek the advancement of Christendom through their everyday encounters like the Catholic Action textbooks of the 1930s written by Campion and Horan.\textsuperscript{118} Instead, they taught students how to realize the primary place of Christ in their lives, with the liturgy playing an important part in bringing students into direct contact with Christ’s grace. This also meant that the textbooks fell short of addressing social issues that Catholics as young adults might encounter, such as the Civil Rights movement or the Cold War.\textsuperscript{119} Despite these deficiencies, the Catholic High School Religion Series is a prime example of the Kerygmatic Movement’s attempt to stir the hearts of students and to put them in right relationship with Christ. Catechists believed that if students first came to know their unique place in the Mystical Body of Christ, this realization would ultimately guide them in matters of morality and doctrine.

**The Christian Life Series and the Kerygmatic Movement**

Flynn, Loretto, and Simeon were not the only authors in the late 1950s to integrate the Kerygmatic Movement into their religion textbooks. Sister Jane Marie

\textsuperscript{118}See chap. 2, nn. 44-45.

\textsuperscript{119}The Catholic Action textbooks actually did a much better job of addressing students’ roles in the world than the textbooks based on the kerygmatic approach.
Murray, OP, re-emerged. Murray brought her insights from working with Virgil Michel, OSB, and the Liturgical Movement to the *Christian Life Series* for high-school religion. By working with Rev. Thomas Oakley Barrosse, CSC (1926-1994), she succeeded in writing a complete series of cutting-edge textbooks that were published in an era more ready to accept her contributions. These books were later recognized for having their “roots in the kerygmatic movement and [at the same time] present[ing] the Good News from liturgical, scriptural, doctrinal and social perspectives.”

By the 1950s, Murray had grown as an author, a catechist, and a woman religious. She established a relationship with Fides Publisher in 1956 after Pope Pius

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120 Following the death of Michel in 1938, Murray was unable to complete the remaining series of high-school religion textbooks with Godfrey Diekmann, OSB. She had struggled to complete the *Christian Religion Series* for high school. She worked with Diekmann, but she only finished the first two books of the series in 1942 and 1946. By 1950, Murray had begun working on the *Christian Life Series*. For additional background on Murray, Michel, the Liturgical Movement, and religion textbooks, see chap. 3.

121 As discussed in chapter three, Murray began writing religion textbooks in 1929 after meeting with Dom Virgil Michel, OSB, at St. John’s Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota. She first encountered the revival of the Catholic liturgy through the dialogue Mass. She dedicated five years to writing the elementary-level *Christ-Life Series on Religion* with Michel and other leaders of the Liturgical Movement.


124 In a spirit consistent with the Kerygmatic Movement, Murray encouraged a catechesis that de-emphasized method. She feared that pedagogical technicalities might hinder teachers’ love and devotion for the truth. She held that there was no replacement for prepared teachers, and that kerygmatic instruction would increase student participation; it would catch the students’ interest in God and result “in their own deepened convictions of the religious truths presented.” Murray encouraged teachers to
XII promulgated a new rite of Holy Week on November 19, 1955, which was a major
development for the Church and for the leaders of the Liturgical Movement. Fides
Publishers approached Murray following a talk at a liturgical conference in Boston and
asked her (on short notice) to write two booklets, accompanied by teachers’ manuals, for
elementary\textsuperscript{125} and high school\textsuperscript{126} students. These resources assisted students in the
changes of the 1955 Holy Week. It was through this venue that Murray established a
positive relationship with Fides Publishers. Shortly thereafter, Murray presented Fides
with a complete draft of her textbook series and asked if the company would be interested
in publishing it. The answer was a definitive yes.

Murray continued to advance the liturgy in her textbooks. She also recognized the
value of working with Barrosse in the Scriptural sections of her textbooks. Together, they
sought “to present Catholic dogma, morals and worship on the successive grade levels in
such a manner as to contribute to a gradual but sure growth on the part of Catholic young
people.” They aimed for students to grow “in their knowledge and love and service of
God, in their devotion to the Church, and in their readiness to take their places in society
use their own personal zeal for God in their teaching, which could then be shared with the
students. She focused on the hearts of the teachers and encouraged them to have
enthusiasm for the material that was not “frenzied pietism, but the deep contagious loving
knowledge of God.” See Jane Marie Murray, \textit{Teacher’s Guide for Going to God},

\textsuperscript{125} Jane Marie Murray, OP, \textit{One Week of Grace} (Chicago: Fides Publishers
Association, 1956).

\textsuperscript{126} Jane Marie Murray, OP, \textit{The Full Measure of Grace: A Guide to the Celebration
as mature persons and Christians.” To achieve these goals, Murray maintained the importance of an integrated summary of Christian doctrine. She presented a selection of this content from three different perspectives throughout the four textbooks.

In the freshman textbook, *Going to God*, Murray combines the experiential role of the liturgy with her own interpretation of the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas, which seems, at first, to contradict the kerygmatic impulse of her writing. However, she draws from her education at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, Canada, where she studied periodically between 1938 and 1950. At this Institute, Murray was trained in specializations such as palaeography, diplomatics, codicology, and textual editing to equip her to read and to interpret the original documents of Aquinas. Her textbooks provide a more sophisticated selection of the *Summa* than other textbooks published via the *Baltimore Catechism*. Murray sought to motivate students to learn the essence of Catholic doctrine while striving to meet their need for self-realization. Through their experiences, she held that young people could not only become familiar with the mysteries of the faith, but they also could enter into a “celebration of these

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128 Beginning in the 1950s, the Sister Formation Movement sought to professionalize women religious. Consistent with this movement, Murray was the first woman to earn a licentiate in theology from this prestigious Institute. For more on the Sister Formation Movement, see Mary Lea Schneider, OSF, “American Sisters and the Roots of Change: The 1950s,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 7 (1988): 55-72. See chap. 3, n. 139.
mysteries with the Church and, consequently, to a much more intimate knowledge and appreciation of their reality and meaning.”

Consistent with her work in the Liturgical Movement, Murray teaches the Mass as action. She incorporates many of the same ideas that she learned from Michel. She tries to help the students understand not just the prayers that are said, but also the meaning behind those prayers. Murray describes the action of the Mass as Christ being made present through the sacrament of His sacrifice. She also attempts to help the students connect Christ’s intimate love present in the Eucharist with a love of their neighbors, but she falls short of addressing hot-button issues of the 1950s like civil rights.

Teenagers instructed by Going to God would learn that the exterior means of worship emphasized the “social character” of the Mass. This emphasis did not necessarily translate into social activism, but rather to being socially present at the communal table. The community’s active participation should include both internal and external components, which meant more was required than simply being present during

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130 Ibid., 106-108. Murray stresses the action of the Mass by uniting with Christ and one another. The active participation that she describes has both internal and external components, with the interior being of first importance. Mass is not merely a matter of prayer; rather, it is assisting with action. Each person, whether priest or layman, brings something to the liturgy. She quotes Pope Pius XII in his address to the delegates of the International Congress on Pastoral Liturgy in Assisi (September 1956), saying that each person “brings all that he has received from God, all the powers of his mind, and heart and achievements” to the action of the Mass.
Mass. In the Teacher’s Guide for Going to God, Murray expressed her concern for students’ lack of love for the Mass and their lack of understanding. She speculated that this was a result of their having “no realization of what [the Mass] can and should mean in their present lives.” She held that students did not draw enough strength and grace from the Holy Sacrifice, and this could be remedied through the use of her textbooks and careful planning by the teacher each year.

Consistent with her earlier efforts, Murray recommended an approach to teaching that was intimately integrated with the liturgical year. The students could learn to live liturgically, since the syllabus she provided was detailed in its liturgical basis, and the teachers could plan accordingly. The students should grow closer to the ebb and flow of the Catholic year as the class material corresponded directly with the liturgical season.

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131 Murray, Going to God, 113-114. Prayer and meditation to prepare internally would allow them to assist best at Mass. However, interior “participation in the Mass is greatly helped by exterior participation” in the “physical movements of standing, kneeling, genuflecting, etc., with the faithful, according to custom, at the different parts of the Mass.” It also consists in “praying aloud with the congregation those parts of the Mass which it is permitted to the faithful to recite. Still better, it consists in joining in the chant of the Mass, singing all those parts which the congregation of the faithful may sing.” These exterior forms of participation were intended both to help the interior participation and give suitable expression to the exterior devotion of the Mass. While the priest alone offers the Mass, Murray stressed that it is not a private action; rather, people are also essential to the sacrifice.

132 Murray, Teacher’s Guide for Going to God, 3-4.

133 Ibid., 7-8. She stated that the “determining element in deciding on the schedule [of class lessons] is that the study of the feasts and seasons of the Church year should always be made in immediate preparation for the celebration of these feasts and seasons.” Her textbooks required slight adjustment each year depending on the changing date of Easter, for example. This would allow the class to study particular feasts and seasons prior to their celebration.
Although Murray again proffers a systematic and scientific presentation of the entire body of Christian doctrine based on the thought of Thomas Aquinas in *Growth in His Likeness* (book three) and *Catholic in Today’s World* (book four), she strives to convert the students to the new life that they could experience through Christ’s grace. She intersects the Kerygmatic Movement with social activism through the Mystical Body of Christ in part two of her fourth book. She “presents a realistic study of what it will mean for Catholic young men and women to live the fullness of their Catholic inheritance in the world of today.” Book four assesses “the problems and difficulties as well as the challenges and opportunities which Catholics face today in their attempt to live in accord with their high dignity as adopted children of God.”\(^{134}\) As Catholics going out into the world, they would carry Christ with them. The result would be the expansion of the Mystical Body of Christ and the extension of His graces throughout the world.

Rev. Louis J. Putz, CSC, who had been instrumental to the Catholic Action Movement in the 1930s,\(^{135}\) contributed the “Laboratories for the Apostolic Life” to Murray’s textbooks.\(^{136}\) Putz’s efforts in publishing, as well as his contributions to

\(^{134}\)Murray and Barrosse, *Christ in the World*, vi.

\(^{135}\)See chap. 2, n. 159.

\(^{136}\)These laboratories were work sessions intended to provide students with opportunities for group participation and learning-by-doing. They relied more on Catholic Action, but the laboratories did seek a type of intellectual “conversion” in the students. They focused on various themes, such as “Finding of the Child Jesus in the Temple.” Teachers would lead the students through *Consideration, Procedure,* and *Questions,* whereby they would begin by considering an aspect of the historical context surrounding Jesus’ life. They might first learn how Jewish boys reached adulthood at age twelve at the time of Christ. They would consider whether Jesus’ return to the temple in
Murray’s writing, played an important role in the success of Murray’s textbook series.\footnote{137} Putz was the founder and editor of Fides Publishers. His book, the Modern Apostle,\footnote{138} had significant influence on Murray. As a young man, Putz had emigrated from Bavaria to study at the Holy Cross Preparatory Seminary on the campus of UND. Upon completing his secondary studies in 1932, he continued his theology work at the Congregation of the Holy Cross seminary in France. While abroad, Putz was introduced to Catholic Action, which impacted his later work back in the United States. However, when World War II broke out, as a German citizen he became a prisoner of war for three

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\footnote{137}{Louis J. Putz, CSC, The Modern Apostle (Chicago: Fides Publishers Association, 1957), 62. Putz’s role in Murray’s textbooks is important because it demonstrates one source of her approach to the advancement of concepts related to Catholic Action, the Liturgical Movement, and the lay apostolate in the Church. He provides the historical lineage of the lay apostolate in the Catholic Church through the intellectual currents of the Popes from Leo XIII to Pius XII. He also stresses the connection between the theology of the Mystical Body of Christ and the lay apostolate. He describes how various vocational relationships might be developed. Most notably, his work examines how students might live as lay apostles. According to Putz, “There must be a student way of loving God and serving our neighbor, a student way of fulfilling entirely the will of God, of making God’s kingdom come into our life and world.”}

\footnote{138}{Putz, The Modern Apostle, 62. This book is a compilation of essays originally written for the readership of Our Sunday Visitor.}
months. Upon his release and return to America, he initiated a cell of the YCS among the graduate students at UND. As part of this work, he also founded Fides Publishers, which was committed to publishing translations of books for American readers by prominent Catholic authors in Europe.

Barrosse was the co-author of the second and fourth books of the *Christian Life Series*. Originally from New Orleans, Louisiana, he entered the seminary in 1942, began his novitiate in 1943, took his first vows in 1944, and made final vows in 1947. During these years, he studied at UND and graduated in June 1947 with a bachelor’s degree in philosophy. During the years that Barrosse was working with Murray on her textbooks, he was a teacher and prefect for the Holy Cross brothers at UND (1956-1957) and a teacher at Holy Cross College in Washington, DC (1957-1966). It is unclear exactly how

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139 Putz managed to “talk” his way back into the United States, drawing upon his experiences at UND. He eventually became a Holy Cross priest after his return.


he and Murray came together in their project, but they both published books through Fides Publishing House in 1960.

Barrosse was invaluable to Murray in *God and His People*. This textbook approaches Christian doctrine from a historical and scriptural perspective by studying Sacred History through the Old and New Testaments, which was consistent with the fourfold emphases of the Kerygmatic Movement. Barrosse held that the Scripture courses at the high-school level should be distinct from similar college courses because they needed to emphasize “living,” rather than merely “learning.” To this end, he preferred using a historical approach to Scripture study, focusing on salvation history, whereby each “successive divine intervention in man’s history brings that history closer and closer to the realization of one same unchanging divine goal,” i.e., Christ.

Barrosse asserted that the high school should strive to equip the student with principles and habits that “will guide his adult living.” The religion course is more than a

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143 Barrosse served as the Superior at the Collegio in Rome from 1966 to 1969. He had a successful career as Master of Novices in Bennington, Vermont, from 1969 to 1974, and he was the Superior General of Holy Cross from 1974 to 1986. Barrosse remained in this position until 1986 before serving the remaining years of his life as a theology professor at National Major Seminary in Dhaka, Bangladesh. He died on June 14, 1994.


study of Christian morality and more than being drilled in formulas of the faith. Rather, classes need to give students “explicit and direct encouragement to live up to Christian ideals.” Barrosse stated that the kerygma was a truer method of teaching than other approaches. “Christianity is a message of salvation.” Students should be taught religion by proclaiming the Gospel to elicit some response in belief. He appealed to the ideas of the Kerygmatic Movement because they did not simply require mental assent, but rather called on “the whole man for a commitment.” He did not discount the ability of the scholastic (doctrinal) method to influence a student’s living; rather, he felt that it might be more easily grasped with this new method.

In the first part of book four, *Christ in the World*, Barrosse’s influence is particularly evident in a section on the Gospels. This lesson differentiates the time of oral tradition when no written text was needed by the Apostles as they fulfilled the Great Commission (Matt 28:19-20), from the age of the written Gospels, which were penned by the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Barrosse also explains the literary form of the Gospels and their meaning for religion, stressing that the Gospels were not written to be apologetic in nature; rather, “it was a testimony to these facts [that Christ lived and was the Son of God] and a proclamation to them. The oral gospel did not set out to prove that Jesus was the Son of God in the fullest sense of the term and

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147 Ibid.

therefore divine. Rather it revealed this fact.” The written Gospels, as well, were not the work of apologetics; rather, they were “proclamations and explanations of the ‘good news.’”\(^{149}\)

Murray captured the spirit of the Kerygmatic Movement with the help of Putz and Barrosse in her new high-school religion textbooks by aiding Catholic students in their experience of Christ. She attempted to put the doctrinal teachings of the Church into an attainable format, wherein her primary goal was to cooperate with divine grace to yield “the Christian formation of youth,” which was ultimately the call to conversion so significant to the Kerygmatic Movement.\(^{150}\) The Christian Life Series, which would be Murray’s final religion textbook series, was published between 1958 and 1960—nearly the same time that Reedy was editing the revised edition of the Catholic High School Religion Series. This indicates the popularity of the kerygmatic approach just prior to the 1960 International Catechetical Congress in Eichstätt, Germany, which will be examined in the next section. These textbooks equipped students with a liturgical, doctrinal, and socially oriented religious education.

\(^{149}\)Murray and Barrosse, \textit{Christ in the World}, 41-42.

\(^{150}\)Ibid., v.
The First International Catechetical Study Weeks (1959-1960)

Catholic educators and Church leaders alike gathered in Eichstätt, Germany, in 1960, united as part of the first major International Catechetical Study Week. This gathering, and the others that followed (Bangkok 1962, Katigondo 1964, Manila 1967, and Medellín 1968), represent “key moments in the evolution of catechetics.”¹⁵¹ Attendees at these gatherings discussed the missionary character of catechesis in an international context. Evangelization in catechesis had otherwise been largely ignored in the doctrinal approach, so these study weeks made conversion centrally important to catechesis.¹⁵²

Hofinger organized these meetings outside of the formal authorization of the Roman Curia. He chose the title “Study Weeks” as a means of avoiding an interdict that was threatened against any international catechetical meetings or national congresses not explicitly authorized from the Curia.¹⁵³ The 1960 meeting followed a preliminary liturgical study week held in 1959 at Nijmegen, in the Netherlands, which focused on “Liturgy and the Missions.” Each study week set the course for the next, with the first finding that “evangelization and catechesis could not be separated from questions of


¹⁵² Ibid., 24.

¹⁵³ Marthaler, “Church Assembled,” 233.
liturgical renewal and the adaptation of language.”

This meant that the meeting at Eichstätt stressed not only that catechesis should be broadened beyond the classroom experience to include all aspects of pastoral ministry, but also emphasized kerygmatic theology and defined this phase of the catechetical movement.

On the American front, Rev. Joseph B. Collins, SS, attended the Eichstätt Study Week. He was a professor of theology and catechetics at The Catholic University of America and the director of the bishops’ National Center of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (1942-1967). He published an article in the *Catholic School Journal* that defined the kerygma succinctly:

The Kerygma, or message, was that first announcement of Christ’s teaching to unbelievers by the Apostles; it was the Good News of salvation that was preached with joy and witnessed even to the shedding of their blood. The original nucleus of the Christian message, the mystery of Christ, is found in the writings of St. Paul and in the sermons recounted in the Acts of the Apostles. It contained the essentials of the story of God’s dealings with man, of His creative act of love, of the mission of Jesus Christ, God’s son, His Mystical Body which is the Church, of the sacraments giving the divine life of grace to men; and finally it summoned men to respond to God’s love in terms of loving and loyal obedience to His laws and precepts. The fruit of the Kerygma was exultation and acceptance of the teachings of Christ, especially the commandment to love

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155 Collins was also known for advancing the Catechetical Movement in earlier decades. For example, in 1939, he translated and simplified the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas to make it more accessible to the laity. He also worked to advance CCD and published a teachers’ training guide. See Joseph B. Collins, SS, *The Catechetical Instructions of St. Thomas Aquinas* (New York: J. F. Wagner, 1939); and Ibid., *Confraternity teacher's guide: a textbook for the training of teachers in CCD schools of religion* (Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing, 1960).
one another as brothers in the one communion of worship and prayer.\footnote{156} Collins supported a return to the “heart of the first Christian catechesis” that was a “body of essential truths, unified and harmoniously centered around the Person and teachings of Christ.” He emphasized the descending chain of revealed doctrine (“God, Christ, the Church, divine life through the sacraments, and the ascent of the Christian to union with God through loving adherence to his precepts”)\footnote{157} as fundamental to the joyfulness of the message.

Despite Collins’ support for the Kerygmatic Movement, which advocated a revision of content, he maintained the central importance of catechisms (be they French, English, German, or Baltimore texts). He saw them as necessary for the teacher and textbook author to selectively choose content and to restructure it for the needs of individual classes. At the same time, he held that the “bare question and answer catechism should never be placed in the hands of the pupils; rather use should be made of the graded pupils’ books amply illustrated and supplemented with material from the Bible and liturgy” that included exercises to help students assimilate Christian teachings into


\footnote{157}{Ibid.}
their lives. Collins’ support for the kerygma through his article further demonstrates the importance of the Kerygmatic Movement in the United States in the early 1960s.

**Conclusion**

The Kerygmatic Movement represents one significant segment in the historical development of religious education in the twentieth century. Following its uncertain beginnings, it eventually circled the globe as catechists sought to make religious education more integrated through liturgical, systematic, and Christocentric approaches that were focused on Scripture and salvation history. Despite its widespread popularity and success, the kerygma did not continue to dominate the catechetical scene throughout

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159 A year after publishing this article, Hofinger wrote to Collins to request his endorsement of his book *Teaching All Nations: A Symposium on Modern Catechetics* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1961), which contained important articles related to the Kerygmatic Movement and was going to be sent to all the bishops of the United States following its publication later that year. This compilation of articles written by catechists and theorists from across the nation discussed all aspects of missionary catechesis and anticipated the future of the Catechetical Movement, which will be seen in chapter five. Hofinger requested Collins’ endorsement of the book, since Germany’s hierarchy had complied with a similar request. It is clear that Hofinger felt confident that Collins would allow the CCD to endorse this book. In response, Collins spoke with great appreciation of the work accomplished through Eichstätt; however he declined the endorsement. Although he supported the Kerygmatic Movement, his hands were tied since “it is the policy of the National center [of CCD] not to issue formal statements on any texts or materials, since the Center is essentially an office of the Bishops’ Committee of the CCD and any recommendations of books would have to be cleared through His Excellency Bishop Greco, chairman of this Committee.” While Collins hoped that Hofinger would understand the particulars of his situation, his response demonstrates the challenges proponents of these ideas faced. See Hofinger to Joseph Collins, May 17, 1961, NCWC/OGS, 77:23, "Organizations: Religious: Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, 1956-1986,” Archives of The Catholic University of America (hereafter ACUA), Washington, DC.
the 1960s. As will be seen in chapter five, the Kerygmatic Movement experienced a noticeable decline in its popularity and acceptance among educators. By 1962, in the context of Vatican II, the anthropological approach emerged in catechesis, and Catholics began to understand Revelation in light of human experience. While the kerygma was tied to a rich theological inheritance and constantly called Catholics back to Scriptures and the liturgy, the anthropological approach focused on humanity’s role in salvation as recipients of Revelation. Insightful catechists saw in the anthropological approach a progression of the kerygma. While the Eichstätt study week had stressed the Word of God from a theological perspective, supporters of the anthropological approach would emphasize the important role of humanity in the process of understanding God.

As will be seen in the following chapter, between 1964 and 68, several notable factors changed the catechetical landscape. Most notably, an increasingly globalized Church brought the political phase of the Catechetical movement, which emerged in the context of the later sessions of Vatican II and Liberation Theology in Latin America. These changes further influenced American catechesis as global concepts spread and heightened the influence of the Catechetical Movement in the United States.

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161 Ibid., 92-93.
Chapter 5

Beyond the Kerygma:

Following the close of World War II, the United States emerged as a world player through the Cold War (1947–1991), the Civil Rights movement (1955-1980), and the Vietnam War (1955-1975).¹ Within the American Catholic community, a long process of “internationalization” and “globalization” began. Catholics no longer identified as strongly with their European-American immigrant identities. The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) and scholarly exchanges at global meetings brought Catholics new ideas from international perspectives. Their perspectives changed on culture, politics, the economy, and society as they embraced the “global context” of a “world Church”² in the 1960s.

Within religious education, the International Catechetical Study Weeks (1959-1968), particularly those held between 1962 and 1968, made significant contributions to the process of globalization. These gatherings explored the pre-conditions for conversion. They also promoted anthropological and political approaches to catechesis from a

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missionary perspective. In this context, educational leaders in the United States guided the Catechetical Movement in new directions. Catholic publishers of religion textbooks introduced these trends into their high-school religion textbooks.

To provide perspective on these influences, this chapter first outlines the changing context of the global Church, beginning with the documents of Vatican II and the findings of the Study Weeks. It then analyzes the revised edition of *Living with Christ*, a high-school religion textbook series published by St. Mary’s College Press in the 1960s to demonstrate how the Christian Brothers responded to these intellectual currents and adapted their approach to religious education.

**Vatican Council II and Religious Education**

When the Council Fathers assembled in Rome for the first session of the Council in 1962, the vast majority rejected the traditional parliamentary documents prepared during the preconciliar period. The second session marked the beginning of the *aggiornamento*, or updating of the church. Historian John W. O’Malley, SJ, makes distinctions between the rhetoric of previous councils and those of Vatican II. The language developed from commands to invitations, from laws to ideals, from threats to persuasion, from coercion to conscience, from monologue to conversation, from ruling to serving, from withdrawn to integrated, from vertical and top down to horizontal, from exclusion to inclusion, from hostility to friendship, from static to changing, from passive acceptance to active engagement, from prescriptive to principled, from defined to open ended, from behavior modification to conversion of heart, from dictates of law to
the dictates of conscience, from external authority to the joyful presence of holiness.³

O’Malley also emphasizes that the documents of Vatican II “were not a grab-bag collection of ordinances. They cohere with one another.”⁴

The Second Vatican Council released *Gravissimum educationis*⁵ to address the Christian education of young people. This document dealt generally with Christian education in modern times, focusing primarily on the important role of parents and Catholic schools in the educational process. It did not present ideas that would have a significant influence on the writing of religion textbooks. However, many of the other constitutions promulgated by the Council both affirmed the efforts of earlier movements, including the Liturgical and Kerygmatic movements, particularly the latter’s stress on Scriptural studies, while they influenced the content, aim, and structure of religion textbooks in the 1960s.

*Sacrosanctum Concilium*

At the first and second sessions of the Council, Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan (1911-1968), of Atlanta, Georgia, was the North American representative to the

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⁴Ibid., 30.

Liturgical Commission, the assembly of Council Fathers and their periti (expert theologians) responsible for orchestrating the revisions of the schema on the liturgy. Hallinan was a driving force behind the progression of *Sacrosanctum concilium* as he sought to prevent delays within the commission. He persuaded members to accept amended procedures to reduce the time allotted to debates, and he worked to keep deliberations alive. At the first session, his efforts ensured that the bishops did not go home empty handed. He was instrumental in bringing the first chapter of *Sacrosanctum concilium*, which contained the core of the document, to a vote before the first session ended. He also utilized his shrewd political sense to seek more extensive use of the vernacular in the administration of the sacraments.  

This Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy is remembered for allowing the use of the vernacular into the Mass and for seeking greater participation of the laity in the Eucharistic celebration. It stressed the communal nature of the Eucharistic celebration.

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8Paul VI, *Sacrosanctum concilium*, par. 48. The laity should not attend Mass “as strangers or silent spectators.” Rather, with a “good understanding of the rites and prayers,” they should take part “conscious of what they are doing, with devotion and full collaboration. They should be instructed by God's word and be nourished at the table of the Lord's body; they should give thanks to God; by offering the Immaculate Victim, not only through the hands of the priest, but also with him, they should learn also to offer
and emphasized the role of the laity as the Mystical Body of Christ, who should assist the priest with the Eucharistic celebration. It also emphasized that the “liturgy is the summit toward which the activity of the Church is directed” and “the font from which all her power flows.”

*Sacrosanctum concilium* sought to simplify the liturgy to make it more accessible to the congregation. It considered the liturgical reforms a “restoration” and confirmed the Liturgical Movement’s efforts to seek the active participation of the laity in the celebration of the Mass, especially through the use of vernacular languages.

themselves; through Christ the Mediator, they should be drawn day by day into ever more perfect union with God and with each other, so that finally God may be all in all.”

9Paul VI, *Sacrosanctum concilium*, pars. 7, 26, 30. “To promote active participation, the people should be encouraged to take part by means of acclamations, responses, psalmody, antiphons, and songs, as well as by actions, gestures, and bodily attitudes” (par. 30).

10Ibid., par. 10.

11Ibid., pars. 21, 50. The “rites are to be simplified, due care being taken to preserve their substance; elements which, with the passage of time, came to be duplicated, or were added with but little advantage, are now to be discarded; other elements which have suffered injury through accidents of history are now to be restored to the vigor which they had in the days of the holy Fathers, as may seem useful or necessary” (par. 50).

12Ibid., pars. 14, 21. “In this restoration, both texts and rites should be drawn up so that they express more clearly the holy things which they signify; the Christian people, so far as possible, should be enabled to understand them with ease and to take part in them fully, actively, and as befits a community” (par. 21).

13Ibid., pars. 36.1-36.4.
Sacrosanctum concilium constitution revised the liturgical calendar\(^4\) and encouraged sacred music that was befitting the sacred nature of the liturgy.\(^5\) Within catechesis, it restored the catechumenate for adults.\(^6\) It also revised the baptismal rite for infants and adults\(^7\) and the sacraments of confirmation, penance, Extreme unction (“anointing of the sick”), marriage, and ordination.\(^8\) It provided guidelines on sacred artwork and encouraged the veneration of a moderate and rightly ordered number of images.\(^9\)

Sacrosanctum concilium instructed seminaries to emphasize the liturgical formation of future priests, and encouraged current secular and religious priests to strive to understand the significance of the liturgy. The document included revisions to the

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\(^4\)Paul VI, *Sacrosanctum concilium*, pars. 102-111. “The liturgical year is to be revised so that the traditional customs and discipline of the sacred seasons shall be preserved or restored to suit the conditions of modern times; their specific character is to be retained, so that they duly nourish the piety of the faithful who celebrate the mysteries of Christian redemption, and above all the paschal mystery” (par. 107).

\(^5\)Ibid., pars. 112-121.

\(^6\)Ibid., par. 64. “The catechumenate for adults, comprising several distinct steps, is to be restored and to be taken into use at the discretion of the local ordinary. By this means, the time of the catechumenate, which is intended as a period of suitable instruction, may be sanctified by sacred rites to be celebrated at successive intervals of time.”

\(^7\)Ibid., pars. 66-70.

\(^8\)Ibid., pars. 71-78.

\(^9\)Ibid., pars. 122-127. Artwork is a “sacred imitation of God the Creator.” It should be edifying for use in Catholic worship, and foster the laity’s “piety and their religious formation” (par. 127).
Divine Office, or daily prayers of the priests, and granted the power to enact liturgical reforms to the bishops, which it stated should be carefully investigated according to “theological, historical, and pastoral” norms. The constitution stressed the preservation of the Latin language in the Latin rites and acknowledged the need for vernacular in the readings, and some prayers and chants. At the same time, it allowed for bishops to petition the Holy See for permission to include translations in worship, which was done with widespread popularity and became the new norm to aid in the active participation of the congregation. Sacrosanctum concilium also provided norms for adapting the liturgy to the culture and traditions of peoples, and it made provisions for the priests to concelebrate the Mass.

Although Sacrosanctum concilium makes only one reference to the altar in its section on the “material things” involved in sacred worship, it led to one of the most

20Paul VI, Sacrosanctum concilium, pars. 81-101. At their 1963 intersession Chicago meeting, the U.S. bishops expressed their dissatisfaction with retaining the Latin in the Divine Office. However, Hallinan reported that the provision was necessary to get a two-thirds majority vote from the Council Fathers on the vernacular in the Divine Office. See Shelley, “Sacrosanctum concilium,” 48. The end result was paragraph 101, which states: “In accordance with the centuries-old tradition of the Latin rite, the Latin language is to be retained by clerics in the divine office. But in individual cases the ordinary has the power of granting the use of a vernacular translation to those clerics for whom the use of Latin constitutes a grave obstacle to their praying the office properly.”

21Ibid., pars. 22.1-23. “Therefore no other person, even if he be a priest, may add, remove, or change anything in the liturgy on his own authority” (21.3).

22Ibid., pars. 36.1-36.3.

23Ibid., pars. 37-40.

24Ibid., pars. 57-58.
significant changes in worship following the Council. On April 3, 1969, in the apostolic constitution *Missale romanum*, Pope Paul VI allowed for the reconstruction of altars away from the wall. The Roman Missal of 1970 permitted priests to face *versus populum* ("toward the people"), as opposed to *ad orientem* ("towards the east"). This reform marked a high point in the Liturgical Movement and signified a change in the theology of the Mass, which stressed the communal nature as a meal shared around a table between the priest and the congregation. It was also a part of the tumultuous and uncertain time after the close of the Council when the laity experienced the unsettling effect of Vatican II as they “witnessed many things begin to change in a supposedly unchangeable church.”

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26 The argument in favor of this practice was “simply to end the practice of the priest ‘turning his back to the people.’ The argument ran that the people should have a clear view of everything happening at the altar. The new direction was to link people more intimately to the ceremonies and to the priest.” See Laszlo Dobsza, *The Restoration and Organic Development of the Roman Rite* (Great Britain: CPI Antony Rowe Ltd., 2010), 90-91. For a historical discussion of *ad orientem* worship, see Uwe Michael Lang, *Turning Towards the Lord: Orientation in Liturgical Prayer* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2009).

27 Shelley, “*Sacrosanctum concilium*,” 53-54. One of the distinct challenges occurred in “the proliferation of ‘experimental liturgies’ as some individuals, unhappy with the slow pace of liturgical reform, took it upon themselves to devise their own form of celebrating Mass with sometimes bizarre results.” For more on experimental liturgies, also see Shelley, “Slouching toward the Center,” 38-39.
Lumen Gentium

Lumen gentium\textsuperscript{28} underwent four revisions before it was promulgated at the third session of the Council on November 21, 1964. Similar to Sacrosanctum concilium, the Council Fathers expressed their displeasure at the first session with the original draft written by the preconciliar doctrinal commission. They held that the original draft over-emphasized the institutional Church, focusing on authority and hierarchy rather than the Church as a community.\textsuperscript{29}

This view was replaced in a later version by an emphasis on the People of God, which highlighted the expression of the mystery of God’s love at work in the lives of the people.\textsuperscript{30} The Constitution connects the common priesthood of the faithful with the ministerial or hierarchical priesthood.\textsuperscript{31} It also emphasizes the communal nature of the Church and salvation:

At all times and in every race God has given welcome to who so ever fears Him and does what is right. God, however, does not make men holy and save them merely as individuals, without bond or link between one


\textsuperscript{30}Paul VI, Lumen gentium, ch. 2. This ecclesiological model would later be used for the development of Liberation Theology, which included the promotion of justice and the integration of human liberation.

\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., par. 10.
another. Rather has it pleased Him to bring men together as one people, a people which acknowledges Him in truth and serves Him in holiness.\footnote{Paul VI, \textit{Lumen gentium}, par. 9.}

It focuses on how Christ calls both Jew and gentile to be “the new People of God” in the New Covenant.\footnote{Ibid. The constitution also discusses the idea of collegiality among the bishops (chapter three); the priesthood of the faithful (chapter four); and the Universal Call to Holiness (chapter five). It concludes with a chapter on Mary (chapter six).}

\textit{Lumen gentium} presents a positive and open discussion of the nature of the Church of Christ. It focuses on the entire church, not just a section of it. In what is clearly an ecumenical effort, the constitution foregoes discussion of the Catholic Church’s claims to be the sole Church of Christ. Instead, the document provides a positive acknowledgment of the existence of the Church of Christ in the Apostle’s Creed while maintaining that it “subsists in” the Catholic Church. It acknowledges that

the sole Church of Christ which in the Creed we profess to be one, holy, catholic and apostolic, which our Saviour, after His Resurrection, commissioned Peter to shepherd, and him and the other apostles to extend and direct with authority, which He erected for all ages as 'the pillar and mainstay of the truth.' This Church, constituted and organized as a society in the present world, subsists in the Catholic Church, which is governed by the successor of Peter and by the bishops in communion with him. Nevertheless, many elements of sanctification and of truth are found outside its visible confines.\footnote{Ibid., par. 8. The words that are most important to the ecumenical movement in this passage are “subsists in.”}
In paragraph eight, the Constitution also stresses that the Church is a community of faith, hope, and charity, and not just a hierarchy. It also calls for greater collegiality and cooperation among the bishops of the world.\(^\text{35}\)

*Dei Verbum*

On the eve of the Council, many Catholic theologians, educators, and (predominantly biblical) scholars agreed that the Church’s teachings on Divine Revelation had been reduced by intellectualism “to the communication of a system of ideas rather than to the manifestation and self-giving of a Person [Christ] who is Truth.”\(^\text{36}\)

A renewed understanding of Revelation with greater fidelity to Scripture and tradition was needed for the Church in modern times.\(^\text{37}\)

Following the discussion on the renewal of the liturgy, in the early phase of the first session, the Council Fathers considered (and later rejected) a schema on Divine Revelation that affirmed an overly intellectualized interpretation of Divine Revelation, which was the result of anti-modernism currents that stemmed from the late-nineteenth century.\(^\text{38}\)

The original draft carried the title “The Sources of Divine Revelation.”


\(^{37}\)Ibid., 928.

\(^{38}\)The debate surrounding *Dei verbum* is best understood in light of the Modernist Crisis. Theologians at the end of the nineteenth century sought to avoid being labeled as having modernist tendencies, which would reduce Revelation “to a vague religious experience,” with religions representing “the emergence of this experience into the consciousness of individuals.” Following the encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis* and the
Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani (1890-1979), president of the theological commission and representative of the conservative minority voice at the Council, was in charge of the preparatory commission responsible for the schema, which affirmed the fact of Divine Revelation upheld by Vatican Council I (1869-1870), but it “held fast to a somewhat narrow, scholastic and manualistic attitude concerning the study and interpretation of Sacred Scripture and Tradition.” The original draft made little room for the contributions of aggiornamento at Vatican II. It was rejected by a majority of bishops and sent to a mixed commission by Pope John XXIII for further revision.

The rejection of this original draft marked a turning point for the Church and the Council. According to Yves Congar, that date will be recognized in the history of the Church as marking the definitive close of the counter-Reformation, because on that day the Council Fathers by a majority vote rejected a document that was too little ecumenical and too inspired by an anti-Protestant Catholicism.

decree *Lamentabili sane* in 1907, theologians and church leaders became more concerned with protecting and defending orthodoxy than creating and renewing Church teachings. Thus, Revelation was reduced to its essentials. For more on the Modernist Crisis, see Latourelle, “Revelation,” 927-928.


40 Ibid., 95-96.

41 On Tuesday, November 20, 1962, the Council Fathers voted 1,368 against (*non-placet*) the original schema and 822 votes in favor (*placet*) of revising the original.

The pre-conciliar notion of the doctrine of Revelation was based upon the “deposit of faith” that was guarded and handed down through the generations by the authority of the Church. The Church’s identity “flowed from the pope through the bishops to the priests and finally the laity.”

It would take six drafts and the remainder of the conciliar sessions for the Council Fathers to promulgate *Dei verbum* in November 1965. This constitution marks a transition to a personalist, historical, and Christocentric conception of Revelation. It stresses the incarnational component of Revelation, in the sense that the Son of God comes to humanity, while at the same time stressing its historical development in time. It is original in its presentation of Christ as the Revealer and as the Sign that reveals Himself. In paragraph four, *Dei verbum* references John 14:9 when it states: “To see Jesus is to see His Father.” The being and the action of Christ together establish a “divine testimony” with Christ as the “perfected revelation.”

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46 See *Dei verbum*, par. 3, which discusses the nature of Revelation in the history of salvation.

47 Thus, the “signs of revelation are not external to Christ. They are Christ himself in the radiance of his power, holiness, and wisdom.” See Latourelle, “*Dei verbum II*,” 222.
Gaudium et Spes

This pastoral constitution was not among the Council’s preparatory documents; it emerged from the floor and signified a significant change in the Church’s relationship to the modern world. “In Gaudium et spes, the Council described the Church as a participant in the joys and hopes, griefs and anguish of all men and women. While it repudiated a merely private and individualistic notion of religion or morality, it saw the Church as engaged in a critical dialogue with the modern world, having both something to give and something to receive.” The document also indicated a departure from the worldview of Christendom and the withdrawal of the Church’s pessimistic attitude toward modernism.49

The schema had a long and tortuous history. Initially known as “Schema XVII,” (later renamed Schema XIII), this constitution would be influenced by John XXIII’s final encyclical, Mater et magistra.50 Cardinal Josef Suenens (1904-1996), who initially proposed the plan for this document at the first session, circulated a parallel text known as the “Malines text.”51 Karol Wojtyla, archbishop of Cracow in Poland, (later Pope John

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Paul II) also submitted an alternative schema on behalf of the Polish episcopate in the second intersession.\textsuperscript{52} The mixed commission in charge of writing the schema was divided between those who wanted a theological approach and those who desired an anthropological methodology. Karl Rahner\textsuperscript{53} (1904-1984), the German Jesuit, was among the former group. French Dominican Yves Congar\textsuperscript{54} (1904-1985) was in the latter group, which would have a lasting influence upon the final document.\textsuperscript{55}

*Gaudium et spes* addresses the problems faced by the human person in the modern world. It begins with a description of the present state of humanity (paragraphs four to ten), and acknowledges the challenges that Christians face as they seek to understand the world in light of human progress. This document makes several

\textsuperscript{52}In a 1995 speech, Pope John Paul II reflected on his involvement in *Gaudium et spes*. It “brought to light the perennial human search for meaning: our origins, our goal in life, the presence of sin and suffering, the inevitability of death, the mystery of existence and from here all the other questions that we cannot elude (CFR GS, 4, 10, 21, 41). In every time and place these kinds of questions spurred the human heart and pushed it to find a full and definitive response. *Gaudium et Spes* underlines with strength that that response is found only in Jesus Christ, who is ‘the key, the censer and the end of all of human history’ (GS, 10).” See Pope John Paul II, “*Guadium et spes*: The Council Took Place, Hope for the World,” *Jubilee 2000* no. 2 (1997): par. 5.


\textsuperscript{55}Tanner, *The Church and the World*, 10.
juxtapositions between the positive and negative sides of human progress. These include wealth and poverty; freedom and enslavement (including “domination,” oppression, and “tyranny”); a desire for “universal solidarity” that is limited by “political, social, economic, racial and ideological” rifts, and war; ideological differences in words, and an elaborate organization of society, but a lessening of spiritual growth.

The reception of the schema by the Council Fathers was generally favorable over the course of the third and fourth council sessions, although it was not without criticism. In particular, the Latin American bishops had a lasting influence on *Gaudium et spes* through their requests that greater attention be given to poverty throughout the world. Lándazuri Ricketts (1913-1997), Archbishop of Lima, one of the most prominent churchmen in Latin America during this time, spoke to the Council on wealth inequality.


57Ibid., par. 90.

58Ibid., par. 4.

59Ibid., par. 77.

60Ibid., par. 4.


62Ricketts was later Acting President in the 1968 Medellín Conference, which held that the Church should side with the poor.
and hunger. As will be seen in the revised edition religion textbooks released by St. Mary’s College Press, the theological interpretations of these Vatican II documents had many significant influences on post-conciliar religious education.

**Conclusions of the International Catechetical Study Weeks**

After kerygma reached its height in the 1960 Study Week held in Eichstätt, Germany, a shift occurred that influenced the global Church. Although Hofinger initiated the International Catechetical Study Weeks held between 1962 and 1968, he did not direct the outcomes of these sessions. Instead, each Study Week stressed a new emphasis within religious education that had worldwide consequences due to the trends of the global Church. In the context of the battle with communism and the exchange of ideas at Vatican II, these Study Weeks enhanced the transition to a global Church, or what Joseph Chinnici has called the “global network of horizontal exchanges between local churches.”

Hofinger invited catechetical leaders from across the globe to participate in these sessions held in the context of Vatican II. Attendees included bishops and *periti* (experts)

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64 For more on the global Church, see Chinnici, “Cold War and American Catholicism,” 1-24.


of the Council. Hofinger “gave them the opportunity to study, discuss, affirm or reject
premises of catechetical renewal.” As these Church leaders brought the theological and
pastoral insights of the Council to the Study Weeks, they returned to the Council with the
catechetical insights of the Study Weeks.67 These sessions “represented an evolving
series of focuses, each building on the insights of those preceding.”68 They stressed a
missionary emphasis and sought to share ideas internationally. They would aid Catholics
in reaching potential converts by making the Christian message more applicable to their
lives.69

The Pan-Asian Study Week, held at Bangkok, Thailand, in 1962, affirmed and
expanded upon Eichstätt. According to Mary C. Boys,

If the kerygma was in fashion in 1960 at Eichstätt, ‘pre-evangelization’
was the word of the week in Bangkok. [At Eichstätt,] The history of
salvation included human response as well as divine revelation; now the
discussion moved to ‘preparing the ground’ and adapting to the special
needs and situations of the various cultures: ‘The guiding principle of pre-
evangelization is anthropocentric, because we must start with man as he
is.’ As Alfonso Nebreda asked in the title of his book: is the Kerygma in
Crisis? This was the era in which themes such as ‘values,’ ‘experience,’
and ‘exploration’ became predominant in the literature.70

67 Anne Marie Mongoven, The Prophetic Spirit of Catechesis: How We Share the

68 Ibid., 26.

69 Michael Warren, “Introductory Overview,” in Source Book for Modern
Catechetics (Winona, MN: St. Mary’s Press, 1983), 27. These Study Weeks advanced
concepts that many perceived as new, although elements of these approaches can be
traced to earlier decades of the Catechetical Movement.

70 Boys, Biblical Interpretation, 95.
Bangkok explored the *anthropological* approach to catechesis, which encountered man “where he is,” rather than seeing the Word of God descending vertically to humanity below.71 Through its mission orientation, this session also recognized a precatechumenate phase. Catechists needed to recognize an earlier stage in the conversion process that included pre-evangelization followed by evangelization. *Pre-evangelization* stressed the need for catechesis to begin with humanity and its context. Catechesis could work its way up to God after recognizing the circumstances of human beings.72 In light of the missionary emphasis of all the Study Weeks, the catechetical approach that emerged out of Bangkok stressed that the catechism was not to be given to the inquirer. It was to be reserved for catechesis proper.73

Following Bangkok, the work of Pierre Babin, OMI, (1925), a pioneering French pedagogue,74 became predominant in catechetical literature. Babin sought to evangelize adolescents by transmitting “a direct and personal message to the whole person, to the


73 Ibid., 47-49.

74 Babin studied at the University of Lyon where he was introduced to the thinking of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, who ignited Babin's investigations into the "all holy" in creation, preparing the ground for the “Symbolic Way” of communicating the faith.
heart and not just to the intelligence.” He emphasized heart, emotions and feelings in catechesis. In his works, *Crisis of Faith* (1963) and *Faith and the Adolescent* (1964), he popularized catechetical concepts such as “values,” “experience,” and “exploration.”

The 1964 Pan-African Study Week, which took place in Katigondo, Uganda, continued to advance the anthropological approach of catechesis put forth at Bangkok. It called for the increased catechetical training of priests and for ecclesial permission to share the work of translating Scripture into native African languages with Protestants. It also sought the development of suitable textbooks for the Africans. Although these adaptations were largely focused on mission lands, given the nature of the global Church, they also influenced the content of American religion textbooks.

The anthropological approach reached its height at the 1967 Catechetical Study Week in Manila, Philippines. By building upon the categories generated by Bangkok, the leaders at Manila rethought the “purpose of the mission apostolate.”

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75 Boys, *Biblical Interpretation*, 95. Babin was clearly influential on the thought of Gabriel Moran and other catechetical leaders in the United States during the 1960s. For an overview of Babin, see Angela Ann Zukowski, “Pierre Babin” (La Mirada, CA: Talbot School of Theology, n.d.), [http://www2.talbot.edu/ce20/educators/view.cfm?n=pierre_babin](http://www2.talbot.edu/ce20/educators/view.cfm?n=pierre_babin) (accessed September 6, 2012).

76 Katigondo pointed out how religion textbooks published in the West often advanced the catechetical training of Catholics who were already baptized. They did not serve the needs of neophytes in foreign lands.


incorporated many of the implications of Vatican II, and the assembly focused on calling the Church members out of their “ghetto” mentality.\textsuperscript{79} Given the missionary context of the Philippines, cultural separations had hindered the efforts of priests and missionaries at evangelization. Following Manila, catechists across the globe were encouraged to include local cultures in their ministries to reach the modern world with Christ’s message more effectively. The Church should share in the hopes and anxieties of all people and collaborate with “all people of good will for the building of human communities of fraternity, equality, justice and peace.” Manila encouraged this outreach as a means to translate Christianity to the “people of our times.”\textsuperscript{80}

Finally, the 1968 International Study Week at Medellín, Columbia, brought the political phase of the Catechetical Movement to fruition. Latin America provided an increasingly secularized context that was changing economically, demographically, socially, and culturally. Medellín marked the most significant shift away from the four-part approach upheld at Eichstätt. Since 1960, the anthropocentric emphasis of the Bangkok, Katigondo, and Manila Study Weeks had “sensitized participants to the necessity of ridding ‘salvation’ of its other-worldly connotations; faith was not to be

\textsuperscript{79} According to Boys, the sessions’ concern with the “positive values of non-Christian religions gave some hint of an emerging interest in religious pluralism and in reappraisal of the social structure.” See Boys, \textit{Biblical Interpretation}, 95.

viewed as a purely spiritual commodity, but as a virtue with social and political aspects.”

In light of the evolving challenges stemming from poverty and social injustices that catechists faced in their efforts to spread Christianity, the “history of salvation and human history were now viewed on one continuum.” These circumstances called for a new, progressive understanding of Divine Revelation—one that “moves always to the rhythm of newly emerging individual and collective human experiences” that would be more dynamic given the “technical and democratic” thinking of the twentieth century. Catechists were called upon to express the Christian message of salvation in new forms. They should be “open to the action of God, which demands that catechists walk to the same rhythms and at the same pace as the catechized, sharing as much as possible their lives.”

Medellín initiated a significant transition within religious education. As catechists sought to remedy the exploitation, injustice, and lack of freedom experienced in many

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82 Ibid., 95-96. Boys sees in Medellín a “reformulation of the kerygmatic approach” that stemmed from “dissatisfaction with a certain naivete” in the earlier years of the movement. She holds that the ideas out of the Medellín Study Week could be traced to the *Heilsgeschichte*, or salvation history, in the kerygma. However, Liberation Theology, which was a significant contributor to the context of these developments, symbolizes a complete departure from the kerygma.

83 “General Conclusions of the Medellín International Study Week: 1968,” in *Source Book for Modern Catechetics*, ed. Michael Warren (Winona, MN: St. Mary’s Press, 1983), 69. This ongoing interpretation of Revelation would be echoed in Moran’s work in the United States and will be presented in the next section.
historically Christian South American countries, they realized that the “collection of ideas and rites mechanically learnt and performed” were “without practical application in everyday life” and had “no connection with the main problems posed by it.”

Through Medellín, humanity became not just the subject of Revelation, but also the content. Revelation could be found in daily living, “in revolution and in war, in the struggles of youth, in the emancipation of men and women, in the common work of building the city.” This shift in emphasis stemmed from a “new appreciation of the meaning of Christianity.” No longer was it “merely a ‘religion.’” Instead, it became a “historical movement, started by God, toward the liberation of humankind.”

Liberation Theology

A week later, the Latin American conference of Roman Catholic bishops, Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano (CELAM), carried forward the themes of the 1968 Study Week at its own conference at Medellín. CELAM was a progressive force in the global church in the years leading up to and following Vatican II. Of central importance to the Latin American bishops were "base ecclesiastic communities" and Liberation Theology, which had first been articulated by Gustavo Gutiérrez at a meeting of priests and laity in

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85 The impact of these catechetical trends will be seen clearly in the revised edition of Living with Christ for high schools. See Ibid., 101.

The Medellín conference, considered by sociologist François Houtart as “the most important event in the history of the Latin American Church,” confirmed two significant developments: Liberation Theology, and the affirmation of the base community where committed Christian members (generally animated by Scripture), took action to resolve social problems, and then reflected on the particular passage of Scripture, followed by more reflection and further action. Medellín echoed *Gaudium et spes*: “To carry out such a task, the church has always had the duty of scrutinizing the signs of the times and interpreting them in light of the Gospel.” When Medellín affirmed Liberation Theology, it had only a general grasp of “theological insights . . . and the dominant insight [of salvation] was redemption or liberation from captivity.”

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88 *Gaudium et spes*, par. 4.
In light of *Gaudium et spes*, the “church has always had the duty of scrutinizing the signs of the times and interpreting them in light of the Gospel.” A few years later, this theology was not *about* liberation but *for* liberation. It was not an abstract reflection on revealed truth so much as analyses of injustice in which God ‘took the side of the poor.’ The image of God changed . . . The God of liberation theology was the God of Exodus, with his people in their oppression leading them out of it to the promised land.\(^89\)

The widespread support for Medellin’s endorsement of Liberation Theology meant that “The Latin American church was now an active agent of its own transformation and the universal church was beginning to learn from its original experience.”\(^90\)

**Catechesis, the Laity, and Divine Revelation**

Some of the advancements at Medellin were anticipated on American soil beginning in 1965 when educators at The Catholic University of America first explored a transformative interpretation of Divine Revelation. Gabriel Moran was a doctoral student of Rev. Gerard S. Sloyan, (1919), \(^91\) a renowned catechetical leader in the United States.

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\(^89\) Hebbelthwaite, “The Vatican’s Latin American Policy,” 53-54. Although the preferential option for the poor is still operative in many spheres of the Church, for many years the ecclesiological foundation of Liberation Theology has been considered heterodox.

\(^90\) Ibid., 57.

\(^91\) Sloyan was the head of the Department of Religious Education (1957-1967) before he resigned to become one of the first priest professors at a secular state university. He later returned to the University as a Scripture scholar. See Annette Pelletier and Patricia Panganiban, “Gerard S. Sloyan,” Talbot School of Theology, http://www2.talbot.edu/ce20/educators/view.cfm?n=gerard_sloyan (accessed August 2, 2012).
In his doctoral dissertation, Moran studied the nature of Divine Revelation. According to his interpretation, the role of the hierarchy should be de-emphasized in favor of the role of the laity, who could know God and His Revelation through their personal encounters. In the process, Moran expressed the limitations of salvation history and departed from the highly popular Kerygmatic Movement.

Although the Church had traditionally taught that the time of Revelation closed with the death of the last apostle, Moran saw this “insistence upon the closing of revelation” as being “committed to the past over the present,” and “not taking history seriously.” Although these teachings were “usually joined with the statement that the call of God does not cease and that Revelation remains in its efficacy and truth,” this explanation was insufficient for Moran, since that conception of Revelation was “precisely” what Catholic theology was “trying to escape from”: “Revelation that is a

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92 Gabriel Moran, “Contemporary Theology of Revelation and Its Effect upon Catechetical Theory,” (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 1965). Moran was originally from Manchester, New Hampshire. He attended Catholic grammar and high schools before beginning his undergraduate studies at the University of New Hampshire. He later transferred to The Catholic University of America where he took vows as a Christian Brother and received his bachelor’s degree in philosophy in 1958. He soon began his teaching career and returned a few years later to his alma mater to earn his master (1962) and doctoral (1965) degrees in the field of religious education. It was during this time that his consideration of Divine Revelation from a theological perspective began.

collection of truths, teachings, and historical facts.”¹⁹⁴

Moran saw the Catechetical Movement as “a main impetus in the development of a theology of [ongoing] revelation.”¹⁹⁵ He traced its development back to Jungmann’s call for catechetical renewal. Even though Jungmann specifically said that he did not want to develop a separate theology and preferred “special rules for preaching in light of theology,”¹⁹⁶ Moran maintained that the kerygma’s emphasis on the need to be selective in catechetical content would inevitably lead the catechist to recognize the aridity of dogma. Although Moran recognized that some catechists and theologians had successfully integrated dogma and the kerygma, he saw these two components of Catholicism as fundamentally opposed to one another. By reflecting on the foundations and methods of Christianity, catechists would be forced to re-examine the central interpretation of Christian Revelation.¹⁹⁷ This realization would lead them to the need to redefine Divine Revelation.

For Moran, if Revelation is tied explicitly to the experiences of human beings alone, the Revelation of God to the Hebrews that culminated in Christ is in the past and therefore “is no longer with us because their experience has ceased.” By contrast, a


¹⁹⁵Ibid., 36.


Revelation that “consists of truths not irrevocably tied to temporal events but communicable through propositions from one generation to another” fails to be applicable in the present day. He saw the “key to a personal revelation in the twentieth century . . . in the emergence of a human consciousness that is entirely receptive to God revealing and that remains among men [and women] to continue that Revelation.” That consciousness is Christ.  

Between 1964 and 1968, Moran’s ideas were circulated throughout the Christian Brothers’ community. He was a regular speaker at events and retreats. In October 1965, he taught four graduate courses and a pastoral course at Manhattan College. The same year, he authored the District Council “Position Paper,” writing on the topic of decentralization. In 1965, Moran taught a fourteen-week course at Fordham University. A year later, he was the head of the theology department at Manhattan College. In 1968, he co-chaired the Long Island-New England District Religion Committee with Brother Aquinas Kevin, who directly contributed to the discussion questions in the third book of Living With Christ (rev. ed.).

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98 Moran, Theology of Revelation, 55-56. Moran continued to explore the significance of this Christ-centered Revelation in the remainder of this work and throughout his lifetime. He also wrote a sequel, Catechesis of Revelation (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966), which explores the impact of this new understanding of Revelation on catechetical teachings.

99 Amy Surak, Manhattan College Archives, email message to author, August 13, 2012. Moran also wrote several books during this time, including Vision & Tactics (1968), Catechesis of Revelation (1966), God Still Speaks (1966), Theology of Revelation (1966), and Experiences in Community: Should Religious Life Survive? (1968, with Maria Harris).
The Early Years: St. Mary’s Press and Living with Christ (first ed.)

Catholic publishers, like St. Mary’s College Press (later St. Mary’s Press) brought the Catechetical Movement into the classroom. As a highly motivated religious congregation dedicated to the apostolate of catechesis, the Christian Brothers focused primarily on teaching teenage boys who attended their Catholic high-schools across the nation. The Christian Brothers’ efforts to strengthen religious education began with the founding of the La Salle Catechist (hereafter Catechist). This academic journal represents one of the order’s earliest efforts to improve catechetical training. It established the groundwork for St. Mary’s College Press by spreading the ideas of the Catechetical Movement within the order. In the early days, the Catechist focused on making religion practical. Many articles sought to instill “principles of morality” in the

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100 The same religious ferment that influenced Jane Marie Murray, OP, Rev. Raymond J. Campion, and other religious educators also touched the Christian Brothers.

101 Known as the Journal of Arts and Letters after 1949.

102 In addition to the La Salle Catechist and McMahon’s outlines, the Christian Brothers’ annual retreats were also important for instilling ferment for the advancement of religious education in Catholic high schools.

103 From the beginning, the Catechist was “committed to promoting the cause of religious education and did not hesitate to challenge the long-established question-answer method of traditional catechisms or any other practices that failed to make the study of religion vital to each student’s life.” Early articles within its pages reveal “a widespread dissatisfaction with what had been going on in religion lessons for decades.” See H. Raphael Erler, FSC, Beginnings: The Founding of Saint Mary’s Press (Winona, MN: St. Mary’s Press, 1993), 29.
students to inculcate right conduct\textsuperscript{104} and to prepare students to live their faith in all contexts.

In 1933, the Christian Brothers opened St. Mary’s College in Winona, Minnesota. Lucian Alphonsus (Raymond Jacob) Pluth, FSC,\textsuperscript{105} who was encouraged by an older generation of Christian Brothers,\textsuperscript{106} became a driving force behind the eventual establishment of St. Mary’s College Press\textsuperscript{107} through his ability to translate inspirational rhetoric into practical action. Brother Alphonsus inherited a wealth of information and guidance from the previous generation of Christian Brothers. He had a vision and a passion that were unmatched. He began his efforts to reform catechesis by creating a group of student brothers who called themselves the Crusaders. In a cooperative effort, these brothers compiled “summaries of biblical studies, extracts from discussions of events and parables, quotations suggesting authentic interpretations, and other pieces of information.” The Crusaders created teaching outlines called \textit{Gospel Units}, which

\begin{flushleft}\textsuperscript{104}Erler, \textit{Beginnings}, 31. See “Importance of the Reflection,” \textit{La Salle Catechist} 1, no. 1 (January 1934): 13; and Robert Lambert, “Catechism Lesson on Vacation,” \textit{La Salle Catechist} 1, no. 5 (May 1934): 2.\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}\textsuperscript{105}William Crozier, St. Mary’s University of Minnesota Archives, email message to author, February 2, 2012. Brother Alphonsus entered the Christian Brothers on June 15, 1933. Brothers in the Midwest (St. Louis) District took religious names beginning with the letters HIJKL.\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}\textsuperscript{106}John Joseph McMahon was the primary source of inspiration. For background information on the spiritual grandfathers of St. Mary’s Press, see Erler, \textit{Beginnings}, 35-51.\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}\textsuperscript{107}Known as St. Mary’s Press after 1978.\end{flushleft}
provided a basic structure and uniformity for their religion classrooms across the country. Their work was an important component in the later development of textbooks.\footnote{Erler, \textit{Beginnings}, 49-59.}

In 1942, Brother Alphonsus began the arduous task of organizing the freshman and sophomore textbooks for the first edition of \textit{Living with Christ}. He edited the work of many brother contributors to the series. They expanded McMahon’s \textit{Religion Outlines} in an effort to have even more developed resources available for teaching the catechism in their religion classrooms. Despite being selected for this fulltime task, he initially was given no reprieve from his teaching duties by the Fratres Scholarum Christianarum (FSC) Catechetical Commission, which oversaw the order. In a letter to McMahon, Brother Alphonsus described the weightiness of this undertaking. For him, the creation of the textbook series was about “doing or dying.” The job desperately needed to be done, and according to Brother Alphonsus, “somebody’s got to be the goat.”\footnote{Alphonsus Pluth to John Joseph McMahon, May 26, 1942, cited in Erler, \textit{Beginnings}, 77-78. The permanent location of these letters is unknown. Erler did not properly cite his archival sources, and the published version of \textit{Beginnings} excluded his bibliography. Neither the archives at St. Mary's University of Minnesota nor the Christian Brothers’ University in Memphis, where the order’s official archives are maintained, kept any of Brother Alphonsus’s correspondence. Hence, Erler’s book is quoted as authoritative.} Thus, at first, Brother Alphonsus decided to sacrifice his own time to the project that would otherwise be dedicated to summer graduate studies. With McMahon’s support and advice,\footnote{McMahon to Brother Alphonsus, June 4, 1942, cited in Ibid., 80. The author presumes that these letters are contained in a private collection of the Christian Brothers.} he explored the possibilities for modernizing the expository style of earlier catechisms. He
also sought McMahon’s opinion on the possibility of using “an interesting, continuous paragraph presentation with the questions covering the major points at the end of each chapter.” Despite McMahon’s own limited experience with this approach, he provided a sketch of the pedagogy that Brother Alphonsus would eventually employ in writing *Living with Christ* (first ed.).

Brother Alphonsus worked on *Living with Christ* (first ed.) between 1945 and 1958. These four textbooks (and their editor) had the benefit of time and classroom experience to gain perspective on effective means of reaching Catholic high-school students. As a whole, their primary objective was to present a summary of being Catholic in an attractive and accessible format, and to leave the students with an ability to think critically about moral challenges they would face throughout life.

Brother Alphonsus discussed the textbooks in an article for the *Journal of Religious Instruction*. Beginning in 1940, Brother Alphonsus and “more than half of the teachers” in his district had been writing cooperatively by correspondence,

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112 Ibid., 82.

113 The first edition utilized elements of many of the catechetical developments examined in the previous chapters. It incorporated much of Catholic Action, the Liturgical Movement, and the Kerygmatic Movement in a format that selected the best that these movements had to offer. All four textbooks stressed making religion relevant to the lives of the students, while at the same time emphasizing the Mystical Body of Christ. In addition, the textbooks sought to be Christocentric and to utilize salvation history, which provides evidence of the influence of the Kerygmatic Movement.

Brother Alphonsus serving as a guide for content through his role as editor. By drawing from the wide range of specialties of the Christian Brothers, Brother Alphonsus was able to assemble textbooks with a great deal of depth and detail. This unique arrangement would allow the textbook to tap into the wealth of experience and knowledge within the Christian Brothers.

St. Mary’s College Press was established to publish the first edition of *Living with Christ*.\(^\text{115}\) The freshman textbook of the first edition conveys to the students the doctrinal understanding of God’s nature in Divine Revelation as revealed through reason.\(^\text{116}\) It rejects doctrinal formulas within religious education\(^\text{117}\) in favor of a narrative about Jim, a high-school freshman.\(^\text{118}\) It also helps the students to learn about Christ and salvation by pairing stories with Christian teachings.\(^\text{119}\) The sophomore textbook was centered on the

\(^{115}\) A brief summary of the first edition follows to allow for a comparison of their later efforts.


\(^{118}\) Christian Brothers, *Living with Christ*, 1st ed., course 1 (Winona, MN: St. Mary’s College Press, 1945), 7. Jim is a “regular guy”; his mother and father are described as “swell.” He has three siblings, an Uncle Charlie who captains a ship, and two close friends, Mac and Barney. The textbook tells their stories and the students learn life lessons from the characters’ experiences.

\(^{119}\) In chapter seventeen, Jim recalls when he was eleven years old and nearly drowned after a family picnic by the lake. His older brother, Ed, heard his cries for help and dove underwater to save him. “Whenever Jim sees a river or a lake he can’t help thinking of his rescue and of the fun he would have missed in life if his brother hadn’t been there on that summer afternoon. In a much more important way Jim would never have had a chance at far greater fun and happiness if it weren’t for another rescue—and
doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ. It focused on the communal understanding of the Church and the Ten Commandments. It also examined the human life cycle to signify the students’ spiritual lives.

There was a significant delay following the publication of the sophomore textbook. After literally years of debates, Brother Alphonsus based the junior textbook on the life of Christ, while the senior textbook addressed topics about Church history, missions, American Catholicism, Protestantism, and the lives of the saints. The senior textbook represented a high point in the history of St. Mary’s College Press. Although it took several additional years to be published, it was one of the most popular textbooks of that by Christ himself.” See Ibid., 222-223.

120Erler, Beginnings, 116.

121This book takes the students on a journey that begins with baptism (birth); grows through confirmation; and is nourished by the Eucharist. The lessons on penance are accompanied by information on the commandments, since this sacrament is both “a remedy and a tonic.” Afterwards, the students learned how matrimony and holy orders are the two general divisions of life activity. The book culminates with end-of-life issues, particularly extreme unction, the four last things, and the beatific vision as an eternal reward. A summary of the sophomore textbook is included in Brother Alphonsus [Pluth], “Catechetics by Mail,” 391.

122Erler, Beginnings, 117. The delay was due to disagreement about what should be included in the junior and senior textbooks.

123Christian Brothers, Living with Christ, 1st ed., course 3 (St. Mary’s College Press, 1953). Consistent with the kerygmatic approach, students learn directly from the New Testament. The textbook introduced background on the Old Testament, provided structure to the lessons, and included questions for reflection.
This book also focused on the in-depth analysis of moral problems. The book’s discussion of social issues was limited to Communism and the injustices inflicted on men and women behind the Iron Curtain (equating a denial of personal property with slavery, but making no mention of social or human rights).

Brother Alphonsus had put years of his time, energy, and resources into making the textbook series vital and relevant for high-school students. The publication of the fourth book marked a climax in the press’s early history and ended an era. Almost immediately after its publication, attention turned to the revision of the freshman textbook, since more than a decade had passed since it was originally released.

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124 Erler, *Beginnings*, 128-129. In 1958, St. Mary’s College Press sold 8,204 copies of the senior textbook (500 more than the freshman book), which demonstrated a positive, rather than a negative, approach to moral obligations. “Instead of stressing how to avoid sin and how far one could go without falling into mortal sin,” this section “centered on living a virtuous life.” It sought to accomplish this without denigrating the traditional notion of avoiding the reality of sin. “Morality thus became a guide to virtuous living rather than a means of evading sinfulness.”

125 Students examined tough moral problems for each unit of their senior year to consider gray areas in moral matters. They considered topics related to praise (moral obligations for Mass attendance and being free from servile work, according to the third commandment) and life (indirect and assisted suicide, abortion, murder, and self-defense). They also discussed love (contraception, natural means of family planning, divorce, the challenges of mixed marriages). They researched honesty and dishonesty related to material possessions, and the positive and negative characteristics of wealth. The students also studied speech (lying, truthfulness, and calumny), preparation for the sacraments, and fasting.

Living with Christ, Revised Edition

As Brother Alphonsus learned about the Catechetical Movement in Europe, he became convinced of the importance of incorporating its findings in the new materials. He was the primary advocate for the new catechetical approach in the revised edition. He completed this new series with the help of a team of graduate students and professional writers.¹²⁷

The first course of Living with Christ (rev. ed.) demonstrates the anthropological approach to catechesis that was highlighted at the 1962 (Bangkok) and 1964 (Pan-African) International Catechetical Study Weeks.¹²⁸ Not only is its overall format strikingly different from the first edition,¹²⁹ but the course also emphasizes how Christ meets the students “where [they] are now.”¹³⁰ In contrast to the first edition, the revised edition does not begin each chapter telling about the relatable life experiences of a young man. Rather, it focuses on Christ’s story. Through the anthropological and kerygmatic approaches, it places great emphasis on Christ’s humanity while striving to instill in the

¹²⁷ Erler, Beginnings, 114-115. This change was due to pressure placed on St. Mary’s Press to have the subsequent course materials available immediately after the freshman course was released. When the publisher relied exclusively on the brothers to write and teach simultaneously, it was not possible to write books quickly.

¹²⁸ See chap. 5, nn. 65-85.

¹²⁹ Each chapter is represented as its own booklet. These sixteen booklets are contained within a boxed sleeve, and the lessons within each are divided by numbered paragraphs to make finding specific selections easier for teachers and students.

students an active practice of the faith. It is Christocentric and integrates Church doctrine throughout all of its lessons. The course also incorporates other elements of the Kerygmatic Movement, including salvation history. It teaches that the Old Testament contains prophecies that mark the beginning of God’s plan for humanity’s salvation. It shows how Christ fulfills that plan, and continues it in the Church. It also stresses the importance of how Holy Scripture translates God’s Word into human language.

The freshman course also presents some mysteries of Catholic doctrine, including original sin, the Trinity, and how God is love. Vatican II’s emphasis on ecumenism is evident as it presents the mystery of the Church and the possibility of salvation to baptized members of Christian churches who follow their religion observantly.

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133 Christian Brothers, “God’s Word in Man’s Language,” *Living with Christ*, rev. ed., course 1, chap. 5 (Winona, MN: St. Mary’s College Press, 1964), 1. This chapter studies the Scriptural canon as well as the literary styles and emphases of the authors of the Gospels.

134 Christian Brothers, “The Mystery of God and Man,” *Living with Christ*, rev. ed., course 1, chap. 6 (Winona, MN: St. Mary’s College Press, 1964). Chapter six also examines topics such as original sin, love, Christ’s dual natures, and His role as mediator between God and man.

135 This section recognizes a mutual baptism among all Christians, but likens non-Catholics receiving salvation to hitchhiking across the country compared to taking a jet to the same destination for those in full communion with the Catholic Church.
underscores the liturgy, so central to the Kerygmatic Movement. The book emphasizes the importance of lay participation in the Mass. Overall, the freshman course provides the students with a thorough selection of catechetical content and incorporates much of the kerygmatic approach that was at the height of its popularity at the beginning of the 1960s. It also succeeds in relating the core doctrinal content of Catholicism without the requirement to memorize doctrinal formulas.

In comparison, the sophomore course is completely different. It asks the students to read three books. Using the anthropological approach endorsed by the Bangkok Study Week (1962) and present in Gaudium et spes, the first book attempts to meet students “where they are now.” The second book focuses on teaching some fundamentals of the new interpretation of Divine Revelation. The final book presents an anthology of readings so that the students could explore how Revelation might be found in human experiences.

Students begin the course by reading a full-length novel that tells the story of a young man named Adam on a journey of self-discovery as a Catholic teenager in the post-Vatican II Church. This coming-of-age story shows students how Adam’s life experiences deepen his faith on his journey toward adulthood. His stories demonstrate how a young man in high school might struggle with his own self-discovery in the midst of a changing Catholic identity. The students meet Adam in his parish sanctuary as the

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narrator describes the scenes of his life in great detail, signifying a changing Church. Adam looks at a calendar in the vestibule that reminds him that abstinence from meat on Fridays is no longer required. After he finds a seat, his mind drifts to his childhood filled with memories related to his religion. A visiting priest delivers a homily about God’s love. Adam learns from this homily that psychologists have found that a person must first love him or herself before being able to love others. Adam reflects on the experiences of Jeanie, his older sister and only sibling, when a young man named Tom proposed marriage to her. Jeanie was twenty years old at the time and uncertain if she was ready for marriage, or if she really felt ready to be both a student and a wife as the two went through college together. Her uncertainty parallels Adam’s. Later in the novel, he sees his reflection in the mirror at night and wonders, “Who are you?”

A few days later, Adam takes a girl named Judy on a date. Although they do not have a car, their friends see them walking to the bus and convince them to come to the drive-in movie that evening, which was contrary to their original plans. Adam and Judy agree to go, although it leads them to an uncomfortable first date, with Adam and Judy sitting in silence in the back of the car as their friends become intimate in the front seat. Adam must struggle with mixed emotions in response to this situation.

The latter half of the book conveys the deep impact that the death of Adam’s father had on him. As he matures through this experience, he begins to be able to identify

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139 Ibid., 90-116.
people who are genuine. Following his father’s wake, Adam’s friend Howie expresses his thoughts on school subjects. The educational system in the 1960s irritated Howie, who quit school after he got caught starting a fire in the boys’ room at school. Most of the teachers “only wanted” him “to put on the same old broken record—just play back their opinions and the crap in the textbooks.” He lets loose a diatribe against the teachers, saying to Adam that

> There are wars every few years. Negroes are rioting in the streets, killing other Americans and themselves. Russia, China, America, Cuba, Germany, Japan [and] France. Always big powers blowing themselves up and the teachers want us to sit there and make us recite what happened. The hell with that! The way I see it, people, people that know the score, are writing books to find out what to do to help the world. They’re looking for the real problems, and real solutions. That’s what we should be doing, not studying for true and false tests while the stupid TV is showing pictures of South Vietnamese killing North Vietnamese.\(^{140}\)

After he enlisted with the army and made it through basic training, Adam and his friends visited him on base. He had matured and was thriving because the system made sense to him. The army would end up making Howie into a man, and he interpreted that the people were “real.”\(^{141}\)

The story nears its completion when Adam speaks to the priest who is also the religion teacher at his Catholic high school. The priest was to be transferred to another

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\(^{140}\) Christian Brothers, *Adam*, 176. Howie’s speech is one of the first times that war and civil rights are mentioned in the high-school religion textbooks examined in the present study.

\(^{141}\) Ibid., 223-229.
school at the end of the school year. In his parting words to Adam, he conveys the heart of what the novel is all about:

You’ve grown this year, Adam. And I’m not talking about height . . . . When we discussed revelation in class, we weren’t talking about a religion subject as some people might look at it. We were talking about life. That’s what religion has to tackle—life! We learn from other people and ourselves. That’s revelation. And when we track it down to see what’s in back of it all, what keeps nudging us along—it’s God, Adam. His invitation to be ourselves.¹⁴²

In contrast to doctrinal textbooks, the priest in this story teaches Adam to find revelation in people. God is being revealed to Adam through his personal experiences. In this example, the textbook advances Moran’s interpretation of Revelation. Revelation is life; religion must tackle life as people learn from themselves and each other. Then the students might begin to know a higher consciousness, which is the presence of God in them.¹⁴³

The next book in the sophomore religion course focuses even more specifically on helping the students become aware of particular instances when God might be revealed in their personal interactions with others. The textbook uses a narrative style to describe the interactions among people in three specific situations. These case studies explain Revelation as a “personal, gradual encounter with another being that continually invites deeper understanding. Given enough time, richer and richer Revelations can occur” between people to bring people closer to God. “The important thing in revelation is not

¹⁴² Christian Brothers, Adam, 236.

¹⁴³ See chap. 5, nn. 91-99.
learning more facts about a person, but of knowing the person in ever new and deeper ways.\textsuperscript{144}

The book teaches that revelations about people help to explain the divine. Revelation is “not just a communication of facts about persons; it is a communication of persons.”\textsuperscript{145} Using this model, the book narrates the story of two teenage boys named Don and Greg who have met for the first time at camp. The aim of this lesson was to teach that as the young men reveal information about themselves, they get to know the other. In doing this, they are “not learning more facts about a person, but of knowing the person in new and deeper ways.”\textsuperscript{146} Thus, it teaches the students that there are four parts to personal revelation. The first emerges through recognition of an invitation to friendship. It is often accompanied by a challenge that elicits a response to develop mutual interests from both people. It also calls for the people to take a risk that requires that they trust one another.\textsuperscript{147} The book implies that the students might use this methodology to know God in deeper and more personal ways.

\textsuperscript{144} Christian Brothers, \textit{Revelation and the Person}, Living with Christ, course 2, chap. 2 (Winona, MN: St. Mary’s College Press, 1968), 4. In this section, there is no mention of God.

\textsuperscript{145} Ibid., 5.

\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., 4.

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., 6-7.
This book defines Revelation as a “personal encounter in which meanings and values are recognized.”

The students might grasp how meanings were not to be limited to one definition or an explanation of a person. Rather, “meaning” might come “when the words or actions of another person begin to make sense, when a series of events suddenly points to some aim or purpose.”

It defines values as “things or persons or ideas or goals which are important to life—anything which enables life to be understood, evaluated, and directed. Whenever we call something good, beautiful, [or] true, we are recognizing values.” Furthermore, the lack of goodness or beauty is recognition of a negative “value.”

The book also teaches the students that “meanings” and “values” are intimately tied to personal encounters with other people. These encounters are known as events that are remembered regularly to recall the importance of the original day. Through remembrances, the “meanings” and “values” people have discovered are preserved and enriched. In religious institutions, people get into “habits,” which lead them to participate in the “sacraments, Sunday worship, certain holy days or places, [and] a liturgical calendar (with seasons like Advent and Christmas, Lent and Easter).”

148 Christian Brothers, Revelation and the Person, 8.

149 Ibid.

150 Ibid., 9.

151 Ibid., 13-14.
Culture is important to the course’s description of Divine Revelation. People’s interpretations of interpersonal interactions in their cultural context help them to understand “divine revelation in human personal encounter.” The book provides two examples of “pathway[s] for divine revelation.” The first is nature, which it describes as important to simple societies, and technology, which is anything that humanity has made creatively. These two categories were thought to shape perception. Thus, “God as well as man is known, grasped, and understood in a cultural context, [as well as] within nature and amid a world of things which man has made.”

The revised edition also describes three personal encounters that have “values” and “meaning.” The book presents Revelation in a positive encounter, whereby a high-school teacher does something out of the ordinary one week in her literature class. She departs from “boredom and routine” to “set up a kind of personal encounter situation that made possible the recognition of meanings and values.” She gives the students freedom and responsibility to use the week’s class time to complete a project with no instructions other than written guidelines on the board. “The outcome of the class depended on their response to her and their response to each other.” The students naturally begin to create order out of disorder. They structure the self-guided class experience according to the conditions they recognize as having “value” and “meaning.” In doing so, they feel good about what they have created. The book suggests that their positive association with

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152 Christian Brothers, Revelation and the Person, 19-20.

153 Ibid., 21-22.
creativity put them in touch with God the Creator, “who is creator of life, intelligence, and imagination.” Their responses would draw them closer to God, “who creates the meanings and values—and communicates himself within these meanings and values—of every positive encounter.” This meant that the meanings and values we recognize and discover in positive personal encounters are not simply meanings and values to which we attach a divine label. Through faith we know that God the Creator is a person. The meanings and values that we recognize and discover put us in touch with him as a person.¹⁵⁴

When the students realize that they have encountered God the Creator in a situation that has “value” and “meaning” and results in this type of Revelation, the book suggests that they might spontaneously pray. Even if they do not pray in such a situation, their willingness to recognize the “values” and “meaning” in the interactions with others would be sufficient, since they are “valuing the good” they see in the encounter.¹⁵⁵

The book continues with a rather odd portrayal of a negative encounter. This chapter includes a short story by Eudora Welty called “A Visit of Charity.” A girl named Marian visits a nursing home for elderly women as part of her work as a “campfire girl,” a service group akin to the Girl Scouts. Marian becomes trapped in a dark, strange room with two old women who are roommates who hate each other. In this confusing “personal encounter” with these two women, Marian struggles to understand “values” and

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¹⁵⁴ Christian Brothers, Revelation and the Person, 28.
¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 28-29.
“meanings” since the women constantly contradict each other, and the encounter does not make any sense to her. She feels helpless and afraid.156

However, the book attempts to give some “meaning” to this short story. “Marian had entered into a personal encounter, but what she found there was a revelation of meaninglessness and evil.”157 In contrast to the first, positive encounter, this negative encounter might “lead a person to recognize the need for God as a redeemer—a redeemer who can bring meaning out of meaninglessness and recreate values where they have been destroyed.” God the Redeemer provides deliverance from the evil in this story, which can only come through faith in Christ. It teaches that prayer is the appropriate response to “meaninglessness,” evil, and “helplessness.” “Prayer here is the spontaneous and genuine expression of one who sees what sin really is and at the same time sees his own inability to remedy the situation. It is a petition for help from one who can help.” By simply desiring to be redeemed, a person in a negative personal encounter is thought to be responding to God the Redeemer. However, the book strongly recommends prayer as the appropriate response.158

The final story is considered a problem encounter. It describes a story about a young man named Ralph who struggles with his relationship with his father. Like most boys his age, he is caught between being a boy and a man. Relating to his dad is

156 Christian Brothers, Revelation and the Person, 30-40.

157 Ibid., 38.

158 Ibid., 40.
sometimes difficult. Ralph’s situation is neither a positive encounter nor a negative one, but rather one that calls him to respond with greater understanding, to promote “growth in unity” and to be challenged to act with “mature, creative action.” The goal is “not simply to grow away from some evil but positively grow toward some good.”

The first two stories were intended to bring the reader to God the Creator and God the Redeemer. The last story presents a challenge that “leads a person to God the Sanctifier—the one who nourishes, who helps one grow, who is the principle of human unity. The human strength which Ralph wants to develop is directly related to the action of grace.” The book describes how the Christian looks to God the Sanctifier for help mobilizing and increasing his or her “human strengths.” Prayer, again, is encouraged as the best response to such an encounter, whether it be to ask for help in growing or to “to promote growth in unity among men.”

The book concludes by summarizing all that was taught regarding its definition of Divine Revelation, which it describes as any “personal encounter in which meanings and values are recognized.” It seeks to convey the work of God, who creates, redeems, and sanctifies. The book overtly stresses that God acts through personal encounters with men and women. It reassures the students that one cannot always see God in “values” and

\[159\] Christian Brothers, Revelation and the Person, 49.

\[160\] Ibid., 51.
“meanings.” They should continue to “value good,” to look for redemption from evil, and search “creatively for solutions to the problems” that they face.161

Not all Christian Brothers agreed with the book’s definition of Divine Revelation. Evidence of this unrest can be found in handwritten notes in the back of one student’s religion textbook. Patricia Evans recorded her religion teacher’s criticism in the back of her book. Since Revelation and the Person does not teach Christ or the Word of God as the center and summit of God’s Revelation, the teacher articulated how these lessons fail to teach some “basic topics of Christian understanding.” They omit how God’s Revelation is found in the Scriptures and the essential role of faith in understanding Divine Revelation.162 The importance of the Hebrew and early Christian communities in salvation history is absent in its interpretation of Divine Revelation, representing a departure from the Kerygmatic Movement.

The sophomore course of the revised edition ends with a third book that contains an anthology of readings that was intended to serve as “a kind of contemporary casebook in revelation.” It repeats the definition of Revelation as a “personal encounter in which meanings and values are recognized.” The introduction encourages the students to look for Revelation “wherever there is a possibility of personal encounter,” whether that encounter is with themselves, their friends, or their enemies. The book teaches how Revelation can also be recognized in natural objects or forces as well. It describes how

161 Christian Brothers, Revelation and the Person, 56.

“Human actions and events, a new situation, a change, a goal may all be the occasion for a personal encounter and hence a source of revelation.”

_Gaudium et spes_ and the political phase of the Catechetical Movement that was discussed as part of the Medellin Study Week influenced _Love!!!???,_ which was the textbook for third-year students studying _Living with Christ_ (rev. ed.). Drawing directly from the ideas conveyed in the Pastoral Constitution of the Church, the book begins by painting a rather dire picture of humanity, contrasting the social classes based on race. It describes a Caucasian girl whose mother was a “thoroughly middle class, Saran-wrapped suburbanite.” The girl “will grow up in a house in a suburb, where she will be processed and packaged till she emerges as a middle-class white suburban girl.” It also describes a poor black boy, born in a ghetto, with exclusively black friends in a segregated ghetto school. His church is a storefront, and for his family, “rats will be their constant company, and city welfare agencies will provide much of their children’s food.”

If future predictions were correct, the social profiles of both children would mean that “a whole generation of little white children and little black children” would grow “up in their respective ghettos to mold a new generation.” As Americans, they would be as radically, hopelessly estranged from one another in the year 2020 as they were in the 1970’s, as hostile as the Nazis were toward the Jews in the 1940s and the Turks toward the Kurds in 1917. ‘Christian’ or not, they may be as full of hate as the Crusaders were when they raped and

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slaughtered the Orthodox at Constantinople in 1453. Like Cesar’s legions putting to the sword every man, woman, and child in a conquered village, they may resort to slaughter... The phrasing is new: ‘Kill Whitey’ or ‘The only way to end niggers is to exterminate.’ But the passion goes back to Cain and Abel.165

Given the reality of such situations in the late 1960s, the book asks whether the world will always be like this. “Is this the human situation?” it asks the reader. Will there always be murder, muggings, crime on the increase, stabbings in the park, wars and rumors of more wars? Napalm, bombs, telegrams in the night: ‘We regret to inform you,’ brain-washing, killing, enslavement of whole populations, South Africa, genocide, Auschwitz, Eichmann, Hitler? Millions of Baifrans dead of hunger? Slums and slum landlords, children living in rat-infested slums? The loneliness of the aged in milky-green walled rooms in rest homes, rheumy-eyed derelicts drunk by noontime? Kennedy, King, Kennedy?166

Amidst all of this gloom and despair, the book teaches the students that Christ, who gave sight to a blind man (Mark 8:22-26), makes a different life possible. Faith brings power, and with it the possibility of seeing bad circumstances in a different light. Also, “a new love” touches the Christian “that comes with power, and reaches out to touch” believers and “heal” their minds. “Christ makes a difference in our lives.” God’s love has power that “overcomes our weakness, giving us new birth and the insight to see” our situations in a new light, or with “new eyes.”167

165 Christian Brothers, Love????!!, 3-4.

166 Ibid., 4-5.

167 Ibid., 12.
The book proceeds to examine how peoples’ lives can be changed when Christians become close to God through Christ. It includes an examination of various characteristics and tendencies in families. “All families have an orientation to possessions, an orientation to the security of persons within the family, and an orientation to the world outside the family.” This means that the family is a “consuming unit, a personal community, and a base of operations for reaching out beyond itself.”

It also explains the problems that have arisen as a result of each of these characteristics. For example, families can easily become addicted to consumerism, can be overly insular due to ethnic divisions, or can fail to share their familial love with others. Jesus provides the solution for this problem as He embraces those who do the will of God. They are His mother and brothers (Mark 3:31-35). Contemporary families need to balance their emphasis on the flesh by monitoring consumerism. When the book encourages the students not to make “a big thing of personal family relationships, as though close personal security were the only important aspect of life,” it is attempting to bring Catholics outside of their ghetto. This aspect of the Catechetical Movement was encouraged at the Manila Study Week.

Finally, families should make the Kingdom of God and Christ’s justice their first obligation.

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168 Christian Brothers, Love??!!!, 35-36.
169 Ibid., 34-42.
170 See chap. 5, n. 78-80.
171 Christian Brothers, Love??!!!, 44-45. The book speculates that Jesus’s family had rejected him and tried to stop him from preaching and “getting into more trouble with
In its chapter on friendship, this book, which was intended for juniors in high school, begins by outlining—and then discounting—C. S. Lewis’s descriptions of love in *The Four Loves*. Since Lewis does not see friendship as “central to all love,” the book explores three different types of friendships to make the lesson on love more practical.

“Three friendships, then, are the *cannibalistic* friendship, the *cozy* friendship, and the *creative* friendship.” The first type of friendship is described as cannibalistic because it is based on the use of the other person for “consumer purposes.” It cites a Paul Newman film, *Rachel, Rachel*, where the thirty-five year old heroine is treated as a disposable commodity when she sleeps with a man who does not care for her. This is not really friendship, although the book never explicitly clarifies that point. The book equates the “cozy” type of friendship with the “Peanuts” comic strip by Charles M. Schulz, which it deems unrealistic. Such friendship “is a precious, perfect, static bliss—a full-scale preview of the ‘beatific vision’ here and now, with no ending.” It is “nirvana without pot,” and is not something to be desired. Although it is blissful and secure, it is a “baby

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172 C. S. [Clive Staples] Lewis, *The Four Loves* (New York: Harcourt and Brace, 1960). Lewis categorizes the most basic types of love as affection and friendship. He further distinguishes between eros, or erotic love, and Christian, or agape love that extends from God.


174 Ibid., 68-69.
world where friendship is a warm puppy.” It is a world “any self-respecting human baby is busy trying to climb out of as soon as it gets the idea that there is something better to do in the world.”\footnote{Christian Brothers, \textit{Love???!!}, 70-71.}

The students should look for more than coziness in their friendships. By contrast, creative friendship “is not static, it’s dynamic.” Using language similar to \textit{Gaudium et spes}, the book explains how creative friendships work because the people involved share a vision, hope, dreams, discoveries, or promise, “whatever it is that draws them together to deal together with the awful, wonderful outside world, with all its problems and possibilities.” These types of friendships produce a “vision of possibilities that reaches out beyond the friends themselves.”\footnote{Ibid., 71-72.} The creative friendship described in this paragraph demonstrates the ideas of the 1967 Manila Study Week, which focused on bringing the Church out of its separated “ghetto” mentality. In particular, the book also looks at how law, freedom, marriage, and community relate to love in light of creative friendship. For more on Manila, see chap. 5, nn. 78-80.

On matters of Catholic morality, the book is against legalism, which it equates with Puritanism because both put the law above Christ. It criticizes catechetical instruction from Catholic moral manuals, criticizing a 1962 moral manual as “old” because it taught against masturbation in all circumstances. Instead of Catholic morality being a negative list of sins, it advocates for a morality based on freedom. It finds that all
legalistic interpretations are invalid because they are consumed with the law and not Christ.\textsuperscript{177}

As an extension of its position on morality, the book instructs the students on sexual matters through the lens of Christian freedom. It compares different viewpoints common in the 1960s. It begins by analyzing a new Christian sexual ethic that was released by a Quaker study in the mid-1960s.\textsuperscript{178} The Quaker authors of this study advocated freedom for persons, whereby they would know that they had committed a sin only when they exploited another person. Although the book does not teach this type of morality, it does explain how this is a type of situation ethics, which “hold that the morality of actions is determined in the final analysis by the presence or absence of genuine ‘love’ in the exact circumstances of the situation in which persons act.”\textsuperscript{179}

Instead of being consumed with sexuality, it advises Christians to live lives “of meaning and value and ‘holiness’ and growth and integrity and perfection.” They are called to create their lives, as well as those around them, “on such a fantastic scale that

\textsuperscript{177}Christian Brothers, \textit{Love??!!}, 95-96. The 1962 moral manual was five years old at the time of this textbook’s publication.

\textsuperscript{178}Group of Friends, \textit{Towards a Quaker View of Sex} (London, Friends Home Service Committee, 1963). The study was not an official Quaker document, and many Quakers denied that it represented a true Quaker viewpoint on sex. However, it is presented in the textbook to give the class something to consider.

\textsuperscript{179}Christian Brothers, \textit{Love??!!}, 139-140. Joseph Fletcher, an Episcopalian moral theologian, advocated this type of ethics.
only the Creator God and his Christ can serve them as a model.”\textsuperscript{180} It asks the students to think of sex as part of a larger picture that accompanies a type of \textit{acquired freedom} that they gain through Christianity, which is “interested solely in growth and fullness of life for others as well as” for themselves. It asks them not to be consumed with sex and instead to lead lives of “value and meaning.”\textsuperscript{181} If they do this, they will not need moral laws. Instead, “Christian freedom” brings “a life filled with power, with meaning and greatness.”\textsuperscript{182}

The book does include a chapter that examines the importance of friendship as the basis for marriage to help the students avoid utilitarian unions and to help bring them to “true” unions. It also presents a chapter that examines the meaning of community. It explores this notion in great detail through the \textit{Phenomenon of Man}\textsuperscript{183} by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881-1955), who was a Jesuit priest and paleontologist whose scientific

\textsuperscript{180}Christian Brothers, \textit{Love??!!}, 144-145.

\textsuperscript{181}Ibid., 148.

\textsuperscript{182}Ibid., 149. This booklet on love and freedom does not cite Jesus when discussing the law. “Do not think that I have come to abolish the law or the prophets. I have come not to abolish but to fulfill” (Matthew 5:17). To examine freedom, it looks to Scriptural passages from St. Paul, poems by G. K. Chesterton, and speeches and sermons by Martin Luther King, Jr. (for these speeches see pp. 156-161).

\textsuperscript{183}Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, SJ, \textit{The Phenomenon of Man}, trans. Bernard Wall (New York: Harper, 1959). Several of Chardin’s ideas were censured during his lifetime, although the censures were later lifted. For example, he departed from the doctrine of original sin, citing it as “a static solution to the problem of evil.” For more on Chardin, see A. N. Williams, “The Traditionalist \textit{malgr{é} lui}: Teilhard de Chardin and \textit{Ressourcement}” in \textit{Ressourcement: A Movement for Renewal in Twentieth-Century Catholic Theology}, eds. Gabriel Flynn and Paul D. Murray (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 111-124.
studies had theological ramifications. This seminal work begins with the Big Bang theory. In this story, evolution and technology have brought humanity into such close proximity that they must learn to act in community or perish. Speaking in a new language, Chardin presents some novel concepts called the Alpha and Omega points, which are forces in the future that draw humanity toward them. These ideas are a part of the book’s efforts to lead the students outside of the limits of Neo-Scholastic doctrine, to consider how to make the world better, and to speed the coming of God’s kingdom.184

The Christian Brothers’ textbook’s final pages cite numerous sections of Gaudium et spes to explore how rapid changes in the Church “call for new and creative responses.” It explains how the “law and custom of our forefathers may no longer suffice.” Humans across the globe are “no longer willing to remain in the miserable physical and spiritual situations their fathers endured. They are demanding that all things be made new.” Its quotations from Gaudium et spes stress the dignity of the human person and the “infinite worth of humanity.”185 No additional analysis of the conciliar constitution is evident, although this section may have aided classroom discussion.

Course four of Living with Christ (rev. ed.) returns to the same booklet format as course one. It is strikingly different from any earlier textbooks. Its first chapter consists almost entirely of photographs of people from across the world, doing the tasks that are a part of their everyday lives. Using the language of Medellin and Gaudium et spes, the


185 Ibid., 199-200. The book relies on a list of quotations from Gaudium et spes to provide moral guidance in matters of faith.
book attempts to open the students’ minds so they can realize that there are people like them across the globe who are different, but the same. They are all humans. They are “God’s people, moving in a changing world, moving perhaps into a new age of mankind.”\textsuperscript{186} It also asks deep questions related to the Vietnam War such as, “Why do we suffer? Why do we die? Why do we destroy one another?”\textsuperscript{187} It compares images of Americans’ wealth in suburbia with the squalor and hunger apparent in less-affluent nations.\textsuperscript{188} Its images provide a strong critique of the hatred apparent in the civil rights conflicts and the Vietnam War. It questions the war as a means of peacekeeping (showing wounded soldiers and a graveyard where “flowers grow on young men’s bones”) and includes a picture of the United Nations attempting to “initiate the changes that expand the boundaries of human love.”\textsuperscript{189}

Course four also examines community through the many sides of the massacres at the Auschwitz concentration camps during World War II.\textsuperscript{190} It considers how the killings of innocent men, women, and children were the culmination of what it refers to as “un-


\textsuperscript{187} Ibid., 14-15.

\textsuperscript{188} Ibid., 22-31.

\textsuperscript{189} Ibid., 66-67. To accompany these and other topics, this chapter booklet includes discussion questions at the end related to the human scene; suffering and hope; poverty and abundance; old tools and new tools; isolation, community, and education; hatred and killing; and cooperation, unity, and love.

community”—that the actions of those in charge were against everything that union with other human beings means. When the underground “community” at Auschwitz was formed, the people gained strength. The primary lesson taught in this section is that the “salvation of man is through love and in love.”\textsuperscript{191} Community can be achieved even when two people are not present together. For example, a man who was suffering in the labor camps thought of his wife and experienced community with her, which gave him strength. “Community does not require actual physical presence—only the awareness of a union whose bond is love.”\textsuperscript{192}

Course four includes a selection of Aldous Huxley’s “Brave New World,” a popular science-fiction novel that sets the tone for the remainder of the chapters.\textsuperscript{193} It portrays a futuristic world, where religion is lost and humanity has to come to terms with its future course based on how it sees its past. Students must examine and discuss how the “dehumanization of man” occurred in the novel and included the loss of religion.\textsuperscript{194} The course also describes how people’s image of God parallels their understanding of humanity. It encourages the students to “understand God through man.”\textsuperscript{195}

\textsuperscript{191} Christian Brothers, “A Brave New World?,” 16, 23. Emphasis in original.
\textsuperscript{192} Ibid., 23.
\textsuperscript{193} Ibid., 29-39.
\textsuperscript{194} Ibid., 29.
\textsuperscript{195} Ibid., 42.
Course four expresses concern for the dehumanization of man as a result of an increasingly automated world. In the 1960s, with the novelty of computers and robots entering the workforce and making humans expendable, the authors feared a repetition of Auschwitz and Hitler-led Germany. When human beings become dispensable and the population suffers from increased idleness, individual persons become expendable and superfluous.\textsuperscript{196} It also presents a thorough critique of education in America, criticizing religious education in particular. The course claims that “rigorous non-intellectualism” had become “the mark of a ‘real’ school: There was much parsing and declining and rote memorization. But there was very little thought.”\textsuperscript{197} It encourages the students to seek an education that is “useful” and prepares them “to meet continually new challenges.” They should think of college, which would be the next step for many of these students, not as a “refuge,” but instead as “a launching pad” for the future.\textsuperscript{198}

Within Catholicism, the young people of the day are said to be like “new wine” (Matthew 9:16-17). The old educational traditions are the “old wineskins.” They are outdated. “They would straitjacket the student of today, and they would spill away all this fine promise” in the students. “What is needed to preserve this new promise, to contain this explosive new fire, is a type of education that is new—a now education that is

\textsuperscript{196} Christian Brothers, “A New Age of Mankind?,” \textit{Living with Christ}, course 4, chap. 3 (Winona, MN: St. Mary’s College Press, 1967), 14-16.


\textsuperscript{198} Ibid., 14-15.
fashioned from awareness of the future in which this new student will live and create.”

The book recognizes that perfect religion courses do not exist. However, it encourages students to build upon the best of their Christian religious education and to seek Christian wisdom. To the authors, the “person of Christian wisdom is not the person who spins off unrelated thoughts or theories.” Rather, the ideal religious education would create a “person who can work out the relationships between various areas of study, weave together the studies—and the events, activities, accomplishments of his experience—until a pattern of total meaning gradually emerges.” Catholic students must seek the “victorious human Christ.” In doing so, they might truly “be redeemed” and “cleansed” from all sin against their brothers and sisters. “This can happen,” it explains. “The chief task of the Christian within history is to make certain that it does happen.”

The final course also quotes *Gaudium et spes* to support and to justify its new approach to catechesis. While it notes that theologians criticized the Council for being overly “optimistic,” the Catholic students “can ride with [Pope John XXIII] on this wave of hope [that was encouraged at the Council and is present in the new catechesis] until events prove him wrong. But who can say they will?” Furthermore, “who can deny men

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200 Ibid. It is clear that wisdom is what the *Living with Christ* series is attempting to convey. Creativity is a recurring theme throughout the revised edition of *Living with Christ*.

201 Ibid., 46. This quote is referring to the need for the students to “grow faster—as persons—and to help others to grow faster. We do not have much time.” The call is not to conversion or Catholic action. Rather, it is to personal, creative growth.
and women their right to hope in God—to hope that out of this future an ever more complete fulfillment will come to mankind.” It was the hope of the authors that by making these changes, they might bring about the kingdom of God on earth.

Course four examines war, fighting, and killing. It was clearly written in the context of the Vietnam War. After exploring the history of warriors, as well as their courage and arrogance, it teaches the students about inhumane evils that often accompany war, particularly starvation and malnutrition, lack of shelter and clothing, illiteracy and ignorance, and even the special problem of narcotics. At the center of its political analysis, the chapter finds hatred and dehumanization. It describes how killing and hatred dehumanize the enemy. War becomes a sport, and, according to its analysis, the reasons for American involvement in Vietnam were not politically justified.

It encourages the students to become social activists and peacemakers who feed the poor and stand up for civil liberties. Christ is the example:

Hatred gives birth to everything that divides man from man: envy, lack of forgiveness, prejudice, killing, [and] war. Christ taught love as the cure for hatred. But even more, he built with the wood of his cross a bridge of union between the warring tribes.

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203. Ibid., 48. The final discussion question for this chapter recognizes that the “whole chapter” could “seem seriously in conflict with sound doctrine.” Its approach could be interpreted as “worldly, materialistic, socialistic, irreligious and in favor of change for its own sake.” However, it challenges the students to accept its approach as they seek to become “nobler human beings.”


205. Ibid., 47.
The students should try to break down the “walls of human hostility” to attain “the victory achieved by Christ’s healing cross.” They should be peacemakers like Christ, who reconciled the world to Himself (2 Cor. 5:18-19) and made “peace by the blood of His cross” (Col 1:19-20). Violence interferes with the healing work of Christ.\textsuperscript{206}

Course four also attempts to equip the students with the knowledge they will need to choose their career paths. The students study the innovation and industriousness of notable inventors and entrepreneurs in America history. They read about Paul Bunyan, Henry Ford, and Thomas Edison to encourage them to work hard and take risks in their lifetimes. They also learn about “Hamburger University,” which educates people to become efficient retail storeowners for the McDonalds Corporation and to earn a sizable income. The book warns the students that as technology makes life more efficient, humans run the risk of being devalued.\textsuperscript{207}

Students study economic injustices in course four. They learn about how the wealthy took advantage of tax laws and did not pay federal income taxes during the Depression, and when stockholders profited from the production of weapons during the Vietnam War. Students are also warned of the danger of pursuing business, money, and success as if they were quasi-religious.\textsuperscript{208} In addition, it recognizes that Christians have

\textsuperscript{206}Christian Brothers, “Fighters for a New Age,” 48-49.


\textsuperscript{208}Ibid., 20-27.
dominion over the world, but they also must give in service. It quotes Gaudium et spes on these topics.²⁰⁹ It presents Christ as the one in a place of greatest power—divine power—through His service for humanity in His life and His death. He is also the driving force behind human achievement.²¹⁰

Interpreters are described in course four’s discussion of Divine Revelation. This section echoes Moran’s thought when it explores the “values” of social and applied scientists as they give “meaning” to the world through their interpretations of creation. It also provides some insight into the Christian Social Gospel. It studies significant developments within society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including improvements in technology, engineering, and chemistry. Such developments provided “Revelation,” or “disclosure of the world’s secrets.” Revelation was considered good “whether or not it [led] to some practical useful conclusion.” While sociologists, artists, and musicians interpret people’s behavior or feelings in their various cultures, the communications media change society by their ability to transmit information across the globe, making a global awareness possible.²¹¹ According to the text, interpreters are fundamentally important to relay Revelation to the world.

In this context, Christ becomes a model for social interpretation as Christians face the war on poverty and attempt to have a social purpose based on love that taps the


²¹⁰ Ibid., 44-47.

Gospel message of social outreach. In the recent past, “Christians began in large numbers to make Christ’s social concern—universal love—their social concern, [and] they were ready to take on a new responsibility: to make this universal love a fact in history.” In the mid-twentieth century, “Christ’s social Gospel [was finally] understood and applied on a universal scale.” For one of the first times in human history, “Christians [had] both the awareness and the know-how to help remake the world in the image of the love of Christ.” It teaches that this awareness was what made the social teachings of Vatican II, as well as papal social encyclicals, seem “revolutionary.”

These ideas are further explained in Gabriel Moran’s *Theology of Revelation*. He discusses how Christians should be aware of the world around them. They should serve as its interpreters, which he likens to the prophets of the Old Testament. To him, the “interpretation of events and the conveyance of meaning” in human events take place within a context that is generally larger than we realize, and is in fact indefinitely extensible. Prophetic interpretation was a continuous reinterpretation from an ever widening context of understanding. The reinterpreted meaning was constantly being taken up into the revelational process. God’s designs for mankind could not have been delivered to prophets in the form of truths to be enunciated. There simply were no self-contained statements that could convey in an even relatively adequate way what God intended for man.

Instead, God began at the human level. Revelation occurred over time, through a dialogue between God and humanity, where sins “not only did not break off the relation [between...

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212 Christian Brothers, “Interpreters for a New Age,” 43-51.

213 Ibid., 52-53.

God and people], but in a certain sense became a part of the revelational process.” His interpretation is significant because it affects the Christian understanding of sin. Since God’s infinite love kept pursuing man and finding new points of entry into the world, \(^{215}\) it would be difficult for men and women to reject God’s all-pursuing love, making the sacrament of confession obsolete.

The fourth course of *Living with Christ* (rev. ed.) encourages the students to be interpreters like Christ, who was “alert to the meaning of things and events” around Him. It de-emphasizes his divinity when it describes Him as “an obviously competent rabbi” who “had made a careful study of the old law, and probably grew in his awareness of his special divine mission through his reading and reflection.” As He grew in wisdom, age, and influence, “somewhere along the line he learned to give shrewd answers to tough questions.” \(^{216}\) Furthermore, in his death and resurrection he takes on the “full stature as interpreter. He is suddenly manifest as the Revelation in whom all things are revealed.” To the students, Christ’s role as interpreter is important because it demonstrates how the work of artists and scientists gives “meaning.” As they “discover or open up or declare the secrets of creation, they necessarily put us in closer touch with God.” Thus, secrets of God’s creation provide a “kind of revelation about Christ, whose truth marks all creation as imaged forth from him.” The work of artists and scientists, and perhaps the students’

\(^{215}\) Christian Brothers, “Interpreters for a New Age,” 50.

\(^{216}\) Ibid., 54-55.
future work, would provide “insights and illuminations” and reveal “more of Christ’s light.”

*Living with Christ* concludes by comparing “adventurers” to the previously studied interpreters, builders, and fighters. It describes to the students how the future is their great adventure, and how people are needed to fill the roles of technologists, sociologists, political scientists, and theologians to give the world “meaning.” Even builders and fighters must be forward-looking to assess the future’s problems. It also presents different outlooks that people may have when contemplating the future. They may be “suicidal fatalists,” with a negative outlook on what the future may bring; “isolationists,” who withdraw from society and seek their own happiness; or mainstream “adventurers,” who have hope and a will to live even in challenging times.

Course four advocates for a forward-moving view of history, which praises the work of Chardin who was a futurologist and a progressive, revolutionary Christian thinker in the twentieth century. Chardin saw evolution as “a process in which the conscious, spiritual, personalistic, genuinely human traits in creation gain ascendancy over the blind elements of material force.” Since man had evolved in the past, to him the

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219 Ibid., 7-9.

220 Chardin’s ideas were important to the content in course 4. The Roman Curia began challenging his ideas on the doctrine of original sin and his loose interpretations of the Book of Genesis in 1922. For more on Chardin, see chap. 5, n. 184.
“climax of evolution” would naturally be the “perfecting of man” in the future. In accord with the thinking of Chardin, this chapter does not teach a religion based exclusively on original sin, which might limit “the fact that the mercy and faithfulness of God are working to weigh the scales in favor of a new human creation in Jesus Christ, which must be in the future time, since it has obviously not arrived in the past.” It speaks favorably of the students becoming theologians, so that they might further develop new understandings of how “divine power is present in humanity and human history.” They would find power in Christ, who could make people into a new creation.221

The Metairie Statement

At the time of their publication, the Living with Christ (rev. ed.) textbooks were controversial. As Catholics recognized the dramatic changes in content, they organized groups to express their concerns. In Cleveland, a hotbed of protest against the modern textbooks, a pastors’ group claimed that certain textbooks contained “serious doctrinal errors” that had a “‘strongly Protestant’ bias and favored ‘situation ethics.’”222

221 Christian Brothers, “Adventurers for a New Age,” 34-36.

In response to these types of complaints across the country, in 1969, the Superintendent Department of the NCEA, with the Association of Superintendents of the United States Catholic Conference, took a “solid stand in a controversy that has generated rifts in the Catholic community in a number of locations throughout the country.” The 275 Catholic school officials at the session adopted a resolution that approved the developments of “modern catechetics.” At the same meeting, they also released a statement in support of the *Metairie Statement*, a resolution promulgated by a June 1969 meeting of the Conference of Directors of Religious Education held at the Cenacle Retreat house in Metairie, Louisiana. This statement defended the orthodoxy of “modern textbooks” written according to the tenets of the Catechetical Movement. It rejected attacks on these books as “unwarranted, inaccurate and harmful to Christian education.” They maintained that the books emphasized “such things as man, the

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human situation and social problems,” which conformed to “the spirit of the Second Vatican Council.”

The superintendents who defended the textbooks maintained that the books only simplified Catholic dogma to accommodate children’s psychology for learning. They assured critics that Catholic doctrine had not been compromised and encouraged all Catholic educators to support the aims and developments of modern catechetics. They also encouraged educators to try to facilitate the trust between bishops and religion teachers and to seek ecclesial support for catechetical training programs. Furthermore, in the event of controversy surrounding religion textbooks, the superintendents encouraged giving “due process to teachers who are questioned or challenged, while retaining due regard for the safeguarding of the Church’s teaching” present within the Catechetical Movement. Finally, all educators were encouraged to trust the soundness of the Metairie Statement concerning textbooks and to give their support to any future studies of religion curriculum that may arise in the future.

As part of their resolution, the superintendents also included a list of six high school religion textbook series that were experiencing great scrutiny and criticism around the country. They wanted these textbooks, which were widely used by Catholic high

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227 Ibid.

228 For a contemporary analysis of these textbooks, see Margaret Anne O’Shaughnessy, CSJ, “Survey of the Fatherhood of God in Current High School Religion Textbooks,” MA Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1967,
schools, to be deemed acceptable based upon their assessment and endorsement. Among the books was the *Living with Christ* (rev. ed.) series. The other controversial high school religion textbooks included the *Lord and King* series by Vincent M. Novak, SJ; the *New Loyola Religion* series by Mark J. Link; the *Roots of Faith* series by Leo G. Henry and Mary Michael Glenn; the *Life and Light* series, edited by William J. Reedy; and *To Live Is Christ*, which was written by two Christian Brothers.

**Conclusion**

The evolution of the Christian Brothers’ textbooks demonstrates the dramatic changes that developed between 1942 and 1969. The first edition of *Living with Christ* was a collaborative effort that highlighted the dedication of the Christian Brothers to their students and their commitment to improved catechetical materials. The revised edition shows the order’s commitment to innovation and their responsiveness to thought within the global Church. Both series of high-school religion textbooks provide an excellent


case study for how modern high-school religion textbooks adapted to the theological impulses of the Church, the culture, and the world.

Since the revised edition textbooks were written over the course of the 1960s, they reflect the theoretical changes adopted by religious educators of the time. *Living with Christ* (rev. ed.) utilizes the Kerygmatic Movement in the freshman year. This course begins by proclaiming the Gospel. Students explored salvation history, Scripture, and the liturgy. A dramatic shift occurred in the sophomore textbooks. Students spent their entire religion course learning about ongoing Revelation and how they should see God in themselves and in other people. The junior religion class delved into the problems of love and God, focusing the importance of living an abundant life rather than one hindered by legalism. The senior course exclusively utilized secular sources to approach the political implications involved in making Christianity relevant and influential to the students’ lives. All of the textbooks convey great concern for the dehumanization of man.

In its attempt to make the students think beyond their personal existence, the revised edition of *Living with Christ*, particularly course three, sought to convey a love-based spirituality. The authors draw the students closer to a personal God. *Love!!!* focuses on how God is love. However, it relies heavily on non-Catholic sources to teach love and freedom. Critics could argue that the students might be more intrigued by situation ethics than by Catholic moral teachings, since the book largely omits the latter. Furthermore, while the book encourages students to live a life full of “values and meanings,” it does not provide guidance on how to live such lives. They are to trust their
conscience and to find God in personal encounters, which might deepen their sense of spiritual wellbeing.

Unlike the first edition senior textbook, the revised series does not teach anything related to morals in Catholic sexual ethics. The revised course encourages students to lead “meaningful” lives and does not grapple with difficult moral questions. The revised edition encourages freedom, which was an extension of Moran’s thought on freedom in moral matters.\(^\text{234}\) This approach was likely in response to the unpopularity of *Humanae vitae* (1968), the encyclical promulgated by Pope Paul VI that upheld the traditional Church teachings against contraception.\(^\text{235}\)

By utilizing the transformative interpretation of Divine Revelation, dissenting theologians strengthened the theological basis for modern catechesis in the revised


\(^{235}\)Notable theologians at The Catholic University of America had publicly dissented from this encyclical on July 30, 1968, based on the theological underpinnings of transformative Revelation. In their “Statement of Dissent” they took exception to the “ecclesiology implied and the methodology used by Paul VI in the writing and promulgation of” *Humanae vitae*, which they saw as “incompatible with the Church’s authentic self-awareness as expressed in and suggested by the acts of the Second Vatican Council.” The primary complaint of these theologians against *Humanae vitae* was the pope’s decision to release a definitive and authoritative statement based on a “narrow and positivistic notion of papal authority.” They held that this was not consistent with the post-conciliar Church. For more on how some theologians considered this encyclical to be a reversal of Vatican II, see Patrick J. Hayes, “‘Bless me Father, for I have Rynned’: The Vatican II Journalism of Francis X. Murphy, C.Ss.R,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 30, no. 2 (Spring 2012): 73-74. For the complete text of the Statement of Dissent, see Appendix K in Peter M. Mitchell, “1968: The Coup at Catholic University,” (unpublished manuscript, August 1, 2012), Microsoft Word file, 318-319. For a historical analysis of Catholics and contraception, see Leslie W. Tentler, *Catholics and Contraception: An American History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).
edition of *Living with Christ*. They maintained that the encyclical had failed to take into account numerous elements that comprised the “Magisterium of the People of God” (an indicator of their reliance on transformative Revelation). They pointed out the need to include the witness of married couples, the witness of other Christian bodies, the witness of men of good will, and the witness of modern science in determining the right course of moral action in light of Revelation. To them, the encyclical neglected “the life of the Church in its totality” when it condemned specific individual contraceptive acts rather than take into account the total good of marital love.236 Their statement also held that *Humanae vitae* presented an inadequate concept of natural law and placed an impersonal emphasis on sexual acts rather than on married couples as a whole, which was inconsistent with the positive theological trends of the day.237

While the fourth course succeeded in making students think about social issues through thought-provoking literature selections, it contains nothing uniquely Catholic in its content. This technique was advocated by Moran to prevent language from becoming a barrier to religious understanding.238 The booklets contain no *Imprimatur*, since the authors did not include doctrine or morals. The course primarily cites sociologists and anthropologists, the priest paleontologist Chardin, as well as newspaper articles and literature. It avoids references to any catechisms and downplays references to Scripture.

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237 Ibid., 158.

*Gaudium et spes* is the only Vatican II document cited, although the contexts of the quotations are difficult to understand. In addition, the chapters emphasize career choices and thoroughly criticize the Catholic educational system. They focus on teaching the students to be well versed in speaking about the process of education and advocate a non-traditional religious education.

The influence of these modern textbooks is difficult to determine except through enrollment numbers of Catholic high schools, which were at their peak in the mid-1960s. In 1968, the NCEA reported 2,330 high schools in the nation, 500 of which were run by religious orders such as the Christian Brothers. These religious orders provided more than 5,500 full-time teachers. Between 1967 and 1968, nearly 1.1 million students (1,089,272) received a Catholic high-school education, compared to 783,155 in the 1957-58 academic year. This meant that one in twelve students of high-school age attended a Catholic high school in the United States at the end of this decade. Thus, strictly from the perspective of numbers, the Catholic high schools were thriving. Likewise, based on the later controversy surrounding “modern textbooks,” it can be assumed that the majority of these schools taught from a modern textbook like *Living with Christ* (rev. ed.).

Catholic high-school students educated in the 1960s entered the world without a distinct sense of isolation from their non-Catholic peers. Distinct from the 1930s, when authors of textbooks warned against “the danger of keeping company with non-Catholics,

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both male and female,” in the 1960s, intermarriage became more common. The present study demonstrates how some religion textbooks sought to prepare students to engage in discussions related to political and social issues of the day. Their religious education emphasized a commitment to social justice that stemmed from a humanistic approach to religion and a love for the poor. It de-emphasized Scripture study, as well as Catholic teachings on the Real Presence in the Eucharist, the sacrament of Reconciliation, and the meaning of living liturgically through Catholic feasts and liturgical celebrations.

Despite the claims of the Metairie Statement that the textbooks only simplified Catholic dogma to accommodate child psychology and the resolution of the superintendents deeming the textbooks orthodox, the present study demonstrates how the Christian Brothers significantly adapted the content of their textbooks to reflect new catechetical thinking. These modern textbooks represent a dramatic change in how Catholic students were taught religion.

St. Mary’s College Press and Living with Christ (rev. ed.) demonstrate the height of the changes brought by the Catechetical Movement in the mid-1960s. The textbook series incorporated a new approach that was “radically humanistic.” Students “found themselves confronted with a perspective on religion far different from anything their parents had learned.” Through Vatican II, the International Catechetical Study Weeks, and the work of progressive theologians, students experienced “a new age for religious

education.”

241 They learned to seek God in Revelation through their personal experiences. The result was a de-emphasis on doctrine, Scripture, Tradition, and the role of the Magisterium for future generations.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation presented the content and the contexts of a selection of notable high-school religion textbooks published between 1929 and 1969. It described the shifts within Catholic religious education that reflected the advancements of Catholic Action, the Liturgical Movement, and the Catechetical Movement. It explored the lives and the writings of textbook authors and their responses to social, theological, and catechetical currents within the Church and society.

Chapter one considered the earliest pedagogical improvements within religious education. It described how religion books responded to the methodological improvements of the Catechetical Movement, particularly the Munich Method, to encourage teachers to restructure their elementary religion classes according to advancements in psychology and educational theory. Innovative authors published religion books for both the elementary and high school levels, which supplemented the catechism and standardized methodologies. These books provided educators with options for making religion classes more interesting and engaging. They taught students their “Creed, Cult, Code,” which was a pre-Vatican II phrase commonly used to describe dogma, moral teachings, and worship. In the process, a new genre of teaching materials emerged.

In the United States, Mother Margaret Bolton, RC, published the *Spiritual Way* series of religion books for elementary students. Although she sought to teach students how to master Catholic doctrine, her books incorporate pedagogical advancements such as “apperception” and “proceeding from the known to the unknown.” Each lesson utilizes
self-activity and the principle of interest to keep the students engaged. She also incorporates Gregorian chant and encourages students to participate actively in the liturgy.

Rev. John Laux was interested improving educational resources for Catholic high-school students. He wrote religion books using the Creed, Cult, and Code model. He focused on helping students achieve a more profound understanding of Christian doctrine and apologetics. Like Bolton, he departed from the question-and-answer approach of the catechism and emphasized character development to teach the students how to lead Christian lives. Laux recognized that God’s Revelation is His “personal revelation of Himself.”¹ He stressed that public Revelation must be in accord with right reason and morality, ideally accompanied by miracles or true prophecies. Rev. Francis H. Drinkwater, an important contributor to the Catechetical Movement who was a strong critic of the catechism, influenced Laux’s approach to writing high-school religion books. Through Laux’s efforts, religion books acted as a forerunner to later religion textbooks by making doctrinal content more accessible to the students. However, unlike later advancements, the lessons in religion books were not integrated. Instead, each academic year focused on a single topic within the religion curriculum.

Chapter two examined how Religion: A Secondary School Course by Rev. Raymond J. Campion and Ellamay Horan, PhD, transformed its high-school religion curriculum by incorporating the social consciousness of Catholic Action. Through its

¹John Laux, God, Christianity and the Church: Apologetics for High Schools, pt. 4, A Course in Religion for Catholic High Schools and Academies (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1934), 47.
pages, students learned to “to exemplify, spread and defend the Faith” for Catholic Action. The authors disregarded Bolton and Laux’s catechism arrangement. Instead, the series begins with the parish church and uses a topical approach that disregards the question-and-answer method of the catechism. The authors begin by teaching students to pursue personal holiness and to engage as members of the Mystical Body of Christ. They prepare students for Catholic Action by teaching them Christian doctrine. “Catholics are not educated if they are unable to explain Catholic doctrine and Catholic teaching on social questions.” An important component of the students’ training included acts of service. Through this series, students gained the knowledge, skills, and abilities to evangelize others according to their vocation.

The religion textbooks based upon Catholic Action taught high-school teenagers to seek the restoration of the Kingdom of Christ. Students learned how to achieve Christian perfection by preparing for Catholic Action. They studied how the Divine Plan of Redemption in the Church, the life of Christ, and the sacraments touched all aspects of their lives. They were taught to internalize a desire for Catholic Action through the Mass and to live according to the Ten Commandments, the Beatitudes, the works of mercy, and the counsels of perfection. Students also prepared for Catholic Action by engaging in, propagating, and defending their faith. They studied how the movement related to Catholic life, to other members of the Mystical Body of Christ, and to Catholic education.

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This type of Catholic Action included the work of the Sodality Movement, which was promoted by Rev. Daniel Lord, and the Young Christian Workers (YCW), which thrived in Chicago where Msgr. Reynold Hillenbrand promoted both the Liturgical Movement and Catholic Action. Through the networks established through these movements, religious education became more balanced as students learned not only doctrine, but also worship and the practical application of Christianity.

Chapter three examined how Catholics educated in the tradition of the *Baltimore Catechism* were often unaware of the dynamic nature of Catholic worship. Their openness to liturgical participation was frequently hindered by an individualistic baptismal and ecclesial consciousness. Dom Virgil Michel, OSB, a liturgical and catechetical pioneer, sought to educate Catholics in a communal vision of salvation. He intended to make the laity aware of an active spirit of salvation. He harnessed the prodigious writing energy of Sister Jane Marie Murray, OP, and the Dominican Sisters at Marywood, to write elementary religion textbooks based upon the liturgy. Their elementary liturgical textbooks stressed the connection between Christians and the Mystical Body of Christ. Rather than focusing on doctrinal formulas, they taught the students the importance of the “Christ-life.”

Efforts at the high-school level were cut short by Michel’s death. However, two of his books were published for college, while Murray continued writing textbooks with Dom Godfrey Diekmann, OSB. Her struggle to complete the high-school series demonstrates the vital role Michel played in Murray’s work. Her books convey the life of Christ and the central importance of the liturgy to the Church. She presents a detailed
analysis of the history of the yearly liturgical celebrations in her second book. In anticipation of the efforts of the Kerygmatic Movement students using her textbooks were taught the significance of feast days and their role in salvation history. Within all liturgical textbooks, the connection between social activism and the active participation in the liturgy was limited to the high school and college levels.

The Kerygmatic Movement, which represents the second phase of the Catechetical Movement, sought to proclaim the essentials of the Christian message and to elicit a conversion response in the hearer. Catechesis became concerned not just with the form of presentation, but also the content. In contrast to “manual” theology based on Neo-Scholasticism, Rev. Josef Jungmann, SJ, whose ideas shaped the movement, called for a more Biblical and mystagogical language. He sought to instill a “joyfully lived whole-souled faith” in Christians. Distinct from the Munich Method, he stressed changes in the content, ordering, and emphasis of the religion course.

This chapter chronicles how Rev. Johannes Hofinger, SJ, promoted the ideas of the Kerygmatic Movement and helped Sister Maria de la Cruz Aymes, HHS, create one of the first elementary religion textbooks that utilized the kerygmatic approach. It describes the connection between Hofinger and William J. Reedy at Sadlier. He helped write and edit a high-school course that included the primary characteristics of the Kerygmatic Movement. These textbooks utilized a Christocentric approach that taught salvation history through the Bible, the liturgy, and doctrine, while issuing a call to conversion through Christian witness. Sister Murray, who wrote textbooks based on the Liturgical Movement, returned to the catechetical scene in the mid-1950s to publish a
complete high-school series with Fides Publishers. The efforts of these authors demonstrate how the Kerygmatic Movement utilized an experiential approach to teach religion.

Chapter five analyzes the Catechetical Movement’s developments in the later 1960s as authors introduced the anthropological and political approaches to catechesis. It presents a number of forces within the global Church that are reflected in the high-school religion textbooks of the 1960s. Vatican II provided a significant impetus for religious educators in the revision of textbooks as they reconsidered the role of the Church in the modern world. The Study Weeks held between 1962 and 1968 expanded the Catechetical Movement beyond the kerygma. The 1962 Study Week at Bangkok abandoned the top-down approach of doctrinal catechesis in favor of an experiential approach that began with human experiences. The 1968 Study Week at Medellin took the Catechetical Movement into the political realm and sought to help people in their present lives. They developed a new catechetical language in response to Liberation Theology and global missionary encounters, which departed from an over-emphasis on doctrine and stressed experiential nature of Revelation. Medellin also advocated for a communal anthropology of Christianity.

Influential theologians also shaped catechesis in the 1960s. Of particular significance to the St. Mary’s College Press textbooks was the work of Gabriel Moran, who expressed the limitations of salvation history and abandoned many of the ideas of the highly popular Kerygmatic Movement. Moran’s thought introduced experience into Revelation by teaching students to find Revelation in their personal encounters with
others. Revelation could be found in everyday encounters involving two persons, subject to subject. Moran encouraged respect for Scripture, but made experience the supreme guide. He understood Revelation as ascending from man to God, rather than from God to man.

The Christian Brothers’ Living with Christ (rev. ed.) textbook series demonstrates the pioneering role of St. Mary’s Press in the advancements of the Catechetical Movement. The revised edition of Living with Christ expressed religious education in a new language for high school students. It focused on the reality of the human condition and the problems associated with war, civil rights, and genocide. It instilled in the students a greater appreciation for their fellow men and women as they sought to understand God. In the process, the students received an understanding of morality less focused on the specifics of individual sins and more focused on a positive ideal. The Living with Christ (rev. ed.) books mark one of the first times that students encountered pressing social issues in Catholic religion textbooks since the days of Catholic Action.

While the Kerygmatic Movement has been cited as having the greatest influence of any stage of the Catechetical Movement in the twentieth century, the present study concludes that the new ideas of the anthropological and political stages were a more radical departure from doctrinal catechesis. Living with Christ (rev. ed.) succeeded in teaching students to think sociologically, anthropologically, and politically. It sought to instill in them an incarnational spirituality. These ideas dramatically reshaped the
Catholic high-school religion textbooks for that generation and instilled in students a different conceptualization of the Church.\(^3\)

Catholic students educated in the 1960s through these textbooks would have entered the world without a distinct sense of isolation from their non-Catholic peers. They were better prepared than earlier generations to engage in discussions related to political and social issues of the day, and they likely had a commitment to social justice that stemmed from a concern for the poor and an incarnational spirituality. However, they would have had less training in Scripture, and less knowledge of Catholic teachings such as the Real Presence in the Eucharist, the sacrament of Reconciliation, and the meaning of living liturgically through Catholic feasts and liturgical celebrations.

Future academic research is needed to explore the literary content of the five remaining high-school religion textbooks supported by the 1969 resolution of the NCEA Department of Superintendents and the Association of Superintendents of the United States Catholic Conference. This research would shed additional light on the unrest in

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\(^3\)The widespread use of these textbooks is evident based on the 1969 NCEA declaration on “modern textbooks” discussed in chapter five. However, the precise influence of these modern textbooks is difficult to determine except through the enrollment numbers of Catholic high schools, which were at their peak in the mid-1960s. In 1968, the NCEA reported 2,330 high schools in the nation, 500 of which were run by religious orders such as the Christian Brothers. These religious orders provided more than 5,500 full-time teachers. Between 1967 and 1968, nearly 1.1 million students (1,089,272) received a Catholic high-school education, compared to 783,155 in the 1957-58 academic year. This meant that one in twelve students of high-school age attended a Catholic high school in the United States at the end of this decade. Thus, strictly from the perspective of numbers, the Catholic high schools were thriving. See Winifred R. Long, “Catholic Schools in the United States: A Factual Summary,” in *Trends and Issues in Catholic Education* (New York: Citation Press, 1969), 27-35.
Catholic circles that led to the *Metairie Statement* and the NCEA dismissal of their concerns. Through an analysis and comparison of these modern high school religion textbooks, the field of religious education would gain new insight into the generation of Catholic students educated in the wake of Vatican II.

In addition, greater study should be given to the significance of the efforts of Catholic Action and the Liturgical Movement in the creation of improved catechesis. The majority of historical studies of the Catechetical Movement limit their scope to the early twentieth-century days of the Munich Method and to the developments in the 1950s and 60s, leaving the contributions of Catholic Action and the Liturgical Movement largely overlooked. However, as the present study demonstrates, these movements made extensive efforts to improve catechesis based on experiential interpretations of religious education, which had significant repercussions for the Church at large.
# APPENDIX

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<th>Religion Books</th>
<th>Catholic Action</th>
<th>Liturgical Movement</th>
<th>Kerygmatic Movement</th>
<th>Catechetical Movement</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aim</strong></td>
<td>Character Formation</td>
<td>Renewal of Society</td>
<td>Active Participation of the Laity in Liturgy</td>
<td>Conversion of heart</td>
<td>Liberation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arrangement</strong></td>
<td>Catechism (Creed, Code, Cult)</td>
<td>Topical; begins with parish</td>
<td>Liturgical and experiential</td>
<td>Scriptures; Liturgy; Doctrine; Conversion</td>
<td>“Radically humanistic”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Christ</strong></td>
<td>Messenger of God and God Himself</td>
<td>Knowing and loving Christ promotes Christian living</td>
<td>Focus of the Mass</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Model for social activism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Church</strong></td>
<td>Mystical Body of Christ; Primacy and infallibility</td>
<td>Mystical Body of Christ; Change comes from among laity; personalism</td>
<td>“Right understanding” of Mystical Body of Christ; Communal church; organism</td>
<td>Christocentric; source of liturgical worship</td>
<td>Man and God; incarnational spirituality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doctrine</strong></td>
<td>Leads to Eternal Happiness</td>
<td>Inspiration to pursue growth in themselves and society</td>
<td>Balanced separation of doctrine and liturgy</td>
<td>Catechist must present doctrine as Good News</td>
<td>Limited doctrinal ideas; non-religious language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liturgy</strong></td>
<td>Sacrifice &amp; Duty</td>
<td>Inspiration; Meal &amp; Sacrifice</td>
<td>Principle for teaching doctrine and liturgy</td>
<td>More focused what Liturgy does</td>
<td>Largely absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Morals</strong></td>
<td>Systematic; Scripture-based</td>
<td>Moral Training; Advance the Kingdom of God</td>
<td>Christ-life transforms students; morals associated with liturgy</td>
<td>Heart before intellect</td>
<td>Live full lives; freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prayer</strong></td>
<td>Meditative; Liturgical; means of grace</td>
<td>Vocal and meditative</td>
<td>Communal prayer</td>
<td>Prayer is more of a goal of man (less a “means of grace”)</td>
<td>Right response to positive, negative or problem encounters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scripture</strong></td>
<td>Source of information</td>
<td>Basis of social action and morality</td>
<td>Basis of Divine Revelation</td>
<td>Reveals Christ</td>
<td>In the past; inspirational, but less relevant to today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Action</strong></td>
<td>Giving others their “due”</td>
<td>Transforming Society</td>
<td>Restore society through active participation in liturgy; limited to college level</td>
<td>Limited discussion of social action;</td>
<td>Focuses on the degradation of humanity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Revelation</strong></td>
<td>Scripture and Tradition; Reason and Prophets</td>
<td>Deposit of Faith provides principles of justice, charity</td>
<td>Based in Scripture; evident in Liturgy</td>
<td>Evident in Christ, who is known through Scripture</td>
<td>Humanity becomes the content of Revelation</td>
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Textbooks, Catechisms, and Teachers’ Manuals


This series is comprised of four books of different titles, listed alphabetically below.


Bolton’s religion books are an excellent example of an early alternative to rote memorization. Although each lesson culminates in a reference to the catechism, the lessons are bright and cheerful. They attempt to make religion interesting and practical to elementary students.


Campion joined with Horan to write book three of the Catholic Action Series, as well as this supplemental laboratory manual, which served as a guide to the Mass.


All four books of the first edition use the same title.


Each of the books and booklets in this revised edition use different titles. They are listed below in alphabetical order. Course one and course four are each comprised of eight booklets, or chapters, which are contained in cardboard sleeves. The titles of these booklets are listed below as chapters 1-8 and are contained in quotation marks due to their brevity. Courses two and three are comprised of books, which are listed in italics.


The four books in the first edition used the same titles as the revised edition (see below).


The revised edition of the *Catholic High School Religion Series* is analyzed in chapter four. Reedy helped to edit book one; he co-authored books two, three, and four.


Kevane, who represented the minority position at CUA during the debate over academic freedom between 1967 and 1969, had written this textbook series as an alternative to those following the interpretations of the Catechetical Movement.


Laux’s course is analyzed in chapter one of the present study. It consisted of four “parts” or volumes, which are listed below.


Michel intended *Our Life in Christ* and *The Christian in the World* to be used for junior and senior high school students. However, the advanced nature of their content and his untimely death prevented the completion of the Christian Religion Series for high school. Instead, the Liturgical Press published these books for the college level after his death.


The *Christ-Life Series in Religion* consists of eight books for the elementary grades. It was one of the first attempts to go beyond the limitations of Neo-Scholasticism in religion classrooms by educating through the liturgy.


This series is analyzed in chapter four as part of the KM. Murray wrote it after Michel’s death. She co-authored books two and four with Thomas Barrosse, CSC.


This is the guide that Murray wrote for Fides Publishers Association as part of their effort to help students prepare for Pope Pius XII’s new rite of Holy Week promulgated on November 19, 1955. It led to the establishment of her relationship with Fides and the publication of the *Christian Life Series*.


Murray wrote this textbook with Michel just before his death. She completed the second textbook under the guidance of Godfrey Diekmann.


Pichler’s “religion book” was to accompany the Munich Method in the religion classroom. Mother Margaret Bolton was one of the first to translate his concepts to the classrooms in the United States.

Valladolid, Spain: Aguando, 1934.


Shields only completed this first textbook, although he intended for the series to go through the college level.


These are the laboratory manuals created by the Dominican Sisters as part of their first efforts to incorporate the Liturgical Movement into the religion curriculum of elementary and high school students.


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This newspaper article provides valuable context for the Metairie Statement.


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