FOUNDING FATHER: JOHN J. WYNNE, S.J., AND THE INCULTURATION
OF AMERICAN CATHOLICISM IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

Dissertation

Submitted to

The College of Arts and Sciences of the

UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree

Doctor of Philosophy in Theology

By

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Dayton, Ohio

May, 2014
FOUNDING FATHER: JOHN J. WYNNE, S.J., AND THE INCULTURATION OF AMERICAN CATHOLICISM IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

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ABSTRACT

FOUNDING FATHER: JOHN J. WYNNE, S.J., AND THE INCULTURATION OF AMERICAN CATHOLICISM IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

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The dissertation explores the life and work of John J. Wynne, S.J. (1859-1948). Widely recognized as an editor, educator and historian, Wynne was among the foremost Catholic intellectuals of the early twentieth century. In addition to serving as founding editor of the Catholic Encyclopedia (1907) and the Jesuit periodical America (1909), Wynne was vice-postulator for the canonization causes of the first American saints, the Jesuit Martyrs of North America, and for St. Kateri Tekakwitha. He was also a founding member of a number of important early twentieth century professional organizations, including the American Catholic Historical Association, the National Catholic Education Association, the American Federation of Catholic Societies, and the National Catholic Welfare Council’s Bureau of Education. The dissertation explores Wynne’s contribution to the American Catholic intellectual tradition. In particular, it explores the ways in which Wynne used the Catholic Encyclopedia and America to negotiate American Catholic identity during the Progressive Era. Using a lens of theological inculturation, the
dissertation argues that Wynne presented an alternate version of social reform rooted in a distinctly neo-Scholastic vision of society, a vision that enabled him to champion Catholic participation in American culture, critique the culture for its weaknesses, and successfully avoid the theological controversies of Americanism and Modernism. The dissertation concludes that Wynne’s legacy, which was animated by intellectual concerns characteristic of the Society of Jesus, was part of a much broader flowering of early twentieth century American Catholic intellectual thought that made him a key forerunner to the mid-century Catholic Revival.
For Alessandra

and for our children

Maria Teresa and Francesco

On the Feast of St. Isidore of Seville

Patron of Students and the Internet

April 4, 2014
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Every dissertation is in some fundamental way the creation of the intellectual community that helped to produce it. The present work is no exception. Among the community of scholars at the University of Dayton who guided the research and writing processes, none proved more central than Dr. William L. Portier, whose enthusiasm for the project was matched by the intuitive ability to suggest resources for investigation, timely feedback on both the form and content of the dissertation, and that rarest of academic traits – intellectual charity.

Four committee members who served as readers for the dissertation offered valuable feedback on the final manuscript: Dr. Sandra Yocum, Dr. Anthony Smith, Dr. Michael Carter, and Dr. Patrick W. Carey of Marquette University.

Dr. Luigi Bradizza helped to clarify some of the more salient characteristics of progressive thought during a seminar in American Studies that we co-taught at Salve Regina University in the Spring of 2012.

My classmates and peers at the University of Dayton were a constant source of intellectual stimulation, spiritual edification and, when morale sagged, emotional encouragement. Timothy Gabrielli in particular was always ready to serve as a theological sounding board and culinary co-adventurer.

Several archivists proved invaluable to the success of the project. David Miros of the Midwest Jesuit Archives in Saint Louis, Missouri, was kind enough to give me a
primer on Jesuit sources when the project was still in its formative stages. John Shepherd at Catholic University of America not only showed enthusiasm for the research but also proved an invaluable guide to navigating the dispersed and still largely uncatalogued archives of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Nicholas Scheetz at Georgetown University proved tireless as I pored through box after box of material at the archives for *America* magazine. Finally, Peter Schineller, S.J., archivist for the New York Province of the Society of Jesus, graciously endured my presence for several days as I examined Father Wynne’s personal papers and asked a litany of questions about the history and logistics of *America* magazine. Along the way, countless individuals were instrumental in helping me secure access to precious resources, including Mark Thiel at the Speical Collections and University Archives of Marquette University, Susan H. Brosnan at the Knights of Columbus Archives in New Haven, Connecticut, and especially Brother Frank Turnbull, S.J., who provided me with both a copy of John L. Ciani’s thesis on *America* and a brief tour of *America*’s offices in Manhattan.

A special thank you is in order for my colleagues at Anna Maria College, particularly Billye Auclair, Barabara Driscoll de Alvarado and Andrew T. McCarthy, who were brave enough to hire me ABD and who patiently encouraged the project through to completion.

I would be remiss if I did not thank Father John J. Wynne, S.J., whose life is now forever intertwined with mine. It is no small thing to write a doctoral dissertation about a man who spent his life correcting facts and combatting misrepresentation in the media. It is my deepest and sincerest hope that what follows in the pages below leads to a deeper
appreciation of Wynne’s legacy and the legacy of the Society of Jesus that he so dearly loved.

I could not have succeeded without the emotional and financial support of my family: my mother and father, Madeline and John, who gave me life and then gave it to me again in abundance when they gave me faith; my brothers, John and Philip, who have never tired of hearing me explain the byzantine world of higher education; and my in-laws in Italy, who countenance my strange Italian American eating habits and my frequent butchery of their language with wit and cheer.

My children, Maria Teresa and Francesco, were a constant source of joy as the dissertation went from germinal idea to final form.

When I started the doctoral program at the University of Dayton in 2002 I was twenty-nine years old. Over the last twelve years I passed from my twenties through my thirties and into my forties, met my wife, got married, had two children, moved between three cities, taught at four colleges and universities, and made countless trips to Western Europe, East Africa and North Africa. For most of that time my wife, Alessandra, has been by my side. It is to her that I owe the deepest debt of gratitude. I simply could not have completed the dissertation without her patience, confidence and support, even as she gave birth twice, completed her own doctoral coursework, started writing her own dissertation, and somehow found the time to keep us all well fed.
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<td>ANYPSJ</td>
<td>Archive of the New York Province of the Society of Jesus</td>
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<td>ACUA</td>
<td>The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td><em>America</em> Magazine Archives, Georgetown University Library, Special Collections Research Center, Washington, D.C.</td>
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INTRODUCTION

“_The past is not dead. It isn’t even past._”\(^1\)

- William Faulkner

In April 1948, the _Catholic Historical Review_ noted with sadness that, “the remarkable group of Catholic cultural leaders at the turn of the century who founded the National Catholic Education Association have all gone except John J. Wynne, S.J.”\(^2\) The note continued:

Probably no group in our American Catholic history has had so deep an influence on the development of the Church in this century as these founders. Each of these men made a distinctive personal contribution to the cause of Catholic education, and efforts should be made, before it is too late, to have their endeavors and accomplishments, individual and collective, properly chronicled.\(^3\)

When Wynne (1859-1948) himself died seven months later, praise poured in. _The Catholic Educational Review_ called him one of the “truly monumental figures” of American Catholicism.\(^4\) _The Catholic Historical Review_ wrote that he was “active in

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\(^2\) Notes and Comment, _The Catholic Historical Review_, 34, no. 1 (April 1948): 85.

\(^3\) Ibid. The quote provided inspiration for the title of the dissertation.

many causes which advanced scholarship and learning” in the country and labeled him “one of the best known Jesuits in the United States.”\(^5\) An obituary in *America* quoted the *Catholic News* in calling Wynne, “truly a monumental figure in American ecclesiastical history,” who “in many respects” had “no parallel in the Church of the United States.”\(^6\) Remembered fondly by politicians of national stature,\(^7\) *Time* magazine even ran an obituary that called Wynne a “leading Jesuit scholar.”\(^8\) Wynne’s contribution to American Catholicism was so significant that John Tracy Ellis took pains to posthumously identify him as a bright light in his otherwise bleak but seminal 1955 lecture, *American Catholics and the Intellectual Life.*\(^9\)

Wynne was not just remembered as an educator. One obituary stated that, “No Jesuit in the past three-quarters of a century did more for the cause of literacy and historical writings than did Father Wynne.”\(^10\) Widely regarded as a “veteran” of the early twentieth century “renaissance of American Catholic historical studies,”\(^11\) Wynne also served as the founding editor of “two of the most successful publishing ventures in American Catholic history,” the country’s first national Catholic weekly, *America* (1909), and the monumental *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1907-1912).\(^12\) “Less well-know, but equally

\(^7\) Ibid.
\(^8\) *Time*, December 13, 1948, 102.
important, was his lifelong work as vice-postulator for the canonization causes of the first American saints, the North American Martyrs, and as vice-postulator for Kateri Tekakwitha, who was only recently canonized by Pope Benedict XVI.”

Wynne’s career as an educator, historian, editor, and vice-postulator was complimented by participation in the foundation of several of the most important American Catholic organizations formed in the early twentieth century. In addition to the National Catholic Educational Association, he was a founding member of the American Federation of Catholic Societies in 1901, a founding member of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1919, which he served as Vice President in 1921, and a founding member of the National Catholic Welfare Council’s Bureau of Education in 1919, where he served as a member of the executive committee. An acquaintance of St. Frances Xavier Cabrini, Wall Street mogul Thomas Francis Ryan, and President Theodore Roosevelt, Wynne’s renown was so wide that Catholic University of America Rector Thomas J. Shahan once remarked, “His name has become a household word wherever the interests of our holy religion called for clear and honest statement or for courageous defense.”

In a few short years, however, John J. Wynne’s name gradually faded from household memory. Less than ten years after his death, Henry J. Browne lamented in Church History that “few influential priests” like Wynne “have been saved from historical oblivion” or had their papers preserved from destruction. And so, with the

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14 Shahan quoted in Chronicle, The Catholic Historical Review, 12, no. 2 (July 1926): 308.
passage of time, despite the praise of John Tracy Ellis and the plea of Henry J. Browne, the name John J. Wynne, S.J., largely slipped into oblivion.

**Literature Review**

Wynne’s name has occasionally surfaced over the years, most often in the pages of *America* around the time of the journal’s anniversary. In 2008, a photo of Wynne was featured on the cover of *America* as part of a lead story on his founding of the journal in celebration of its one hundredth anniversary year. More recently, in June 2013 *America* editor-in-chief Matt Malone, S.J., cited Wynne’s legacy in a thoughtful statement of the journal’s mission in the twenty-first century.

Among historians, only Patrick W. Carey and Emma Anderson pay more than passing notice of Wynne’s legacy. Carey calls Wynne a “leading light” among American Jesuits who “tried to focus Catholic attention on national and international issues – developing in the process a new kind of activist, conservative, and anti-modernist American Catholic tradition.” Anderson presents a sweeping overview Wynne’s work on behalf of the North American Martyrs, paying particular attention to the ways in which he linked “the cult of the martyrs and American nationalism” in order “to

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demonstrate the fundamental compatibility of Catholic and American values.\textsuperscript{20} Beyond these treatments, Wynne is mostly forgotten in histories of American Catholicism and has never been the subject of an extended academic work.\textsuperscript{21} The primary source of information about Wynne’s life continues to be the 1926 autobiographical “Retrospect” he delivered as part of the \textit{festschrift} celebrating his fiftieth anniversary as a Jesuit.\textsuperscript{22}

Neither have \textit{America} or the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} been the subject of much scholarly attention, despite their iconic status as two of the most important publications in American Catholic history. Only John L. Ciani, S.J.’s unpublished 1987 Master’s thesis, \textit{Sufficiently Indicated In It’s Name: The Founding of America Magazine and the Development of American Catholic Identity}, explores the early history of \textit{America} in detail.\textsuperscript{23} The work, while an important contribution, is primarily concerned with providing historical information about the magazine’s origins and with the institutional concerns of the Society of Jesus, and less with providing a historical and/or theological contextualization of the journal’s founding. A 1991 essay about Wynne’s role in the founding of \textit{America} by editor-in-chief George W. Hunt, S.J., entitled, “Jesuit

\begin{thebibliography}{10}
\bibitem{20} Anderson, \textit{Death and Afterlife}, 162; 154.
\end{thebibliography}
Journalism: Between the Trenches and the Ivory Tower,” is largely derived from Ciani’s work.24

Over the years, Wynne’s name has also surfaced in passing among scholars examining the contents of the Catholic Encyclopedia as part of a broader theological interest in the impact the modernist crisis had on American Catholic scholarship.25 Only Una M. Cadegan moves beyond the modernist lens with her thought-provoking analysis of the encyclopedia from a history of the book perspective in “Running the Ancient Ark By Steam: Catholic Publishing, 1880-1940.”26 The origin of the Catholic Encyclopedia itself has not been the subject of an extended treatment since Paul Linehan’s 1923 essay “The Catholic Encyclopedia.”27


26 Una M. Cadegan, “Running the Ancient Ark By Steam: Catholic Publishing, 1880-1940” in Vol. 4 of Print in Motion: The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States, 1880-1940, A History of the Book in America, ed. Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press for the American Antiquarian Society, 2009), 392-410. Cadegan raises the interesting prospect of studying the encyclopedia and by extension America as examples of material culture, a prospect made all the more fascinating given Peter McDonough’s observation that, “The world of the Jesuits is not all words, nor is it simply the sum of inner states. It composes a material culture too” (Men Astutely Trained, xix).

information about the encyclopedia continues to be the 1917 essay, “The Making of the Catholic Encyclopedia.”

The lack of attention given the Catholic Encyclopedia is particularly egregious for two reasons. First, the encyclopedia has been repeatedly cited as one of the most important pieces of American Catholic literature produced in the early twentieth century. Second, in 1993, twenty-six year old Kevin Knight solicited volunteers to transcribe the entire contents of the Catholic Encyclopedia online. Berard Marthaler writes that Knight’s website, called New Advent, has given the Catholic Encyclopedia a “new lease on life.” New Advent has since expanded to include an entire library of Catholic resources and to function as a clearinghouse for Catholic news, information and blogs. Today, the New Advent website ranks as the seventh most visited Catholic website in the world according to Alexa.com; the online version of the Catholic Encyclopedia is not far behind at number eleven.

Overview of the Dissertation

The dissertation explores the life, work and thought of John J. Wynne, S.J. Wynne is admittedly difficult to place. A New York Jesuit who clashed with Archbishop

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31 Ibid.

John Ireland, who studied under *Civiltà Cattolica* editor Salvatore Maria Brandi, S.J., at Woodstock College, and who vociferously defended Catholic doctrine in the media, Wynne often appears “conservative” by contemporary standards. As a second generation Irish American who made English translations of the liturgy at the suggestion of Ireland, who accepted the public school system, who frequented the Paulist’s home parish of St. Paul the Apostle in Manhattan as a child, and who never took sides in the Americanist debate while editor of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, he can at times appear equally Americanist or “liberal.” Indeed, the contemporary tendency to look back and assess the *Catholic Encyclopedia* as a conservative response to the modernist crisis and *America* as a progressive response to the early twentieth century push for social reform not only completely ignores the fact that Wynne was the founding editor of both publications, but stands as a testament to the sometimes enigmatic nature of a priest who once championed a “conservative-progressive” vision of society in the pages of *Harper’s Weekly*.\(^{33}\)

Given the extent of Wynne’s long career – he was a Jesuit for seventy-two years – and the extensive nature of his body of work, an exhaustive study of his legacy is beyond the limited scope of the dissertation. Instead, the dissertation will present a broad overview of Wynne’s work before narrowing its focus down to the two publications that he “founded” and for which he is most remembered: the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *America*. These two publications will be used to highlight Wynne’s unique contribution to the development of American Catholic intellectual life during the Progressive Era, and to present that legacy as indicative of broader developments in American Catholicism of

the period. Two major projects that Wynne was affiliated with but which fall beyond the scope of the dissertation are the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* and the canonization causes of the North American Martyrs and Kateri Tekakwitha. Given the limitations of the present work, Wynne’s involvement with these projects will only be considered insofar as they influenced his work on behalf of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *America* and provide context for understanding his approach to progressive thought.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – the thirty years from 1890 to 1920 commonly known as the Progressive Era – were an unprecedented period of social, cultural, economic and political change. In roughly one generation, the United States of America was transformed from a sleepy Western frontier into a cosmopolitan colonial empire and, after the First World War, into a burgeoning global superpower. The social reforms effected during the Progressive Era were so sweeping that they fundamentally altered the shape of American society, and so comprehensive that they continue to reverberate in American life to the present day.

The Progressive Era also had a formative impact on the development of American Catholicism. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the American Catholic church experienced a transformation no less dramatic than the one that swept over the nation at large. It was during the Progressive Era that many of the most prominent features of contemporary American Catholic life were established and that American Catholicism first emerged as a prominent voice on the national political scene. At the vanguard of change, American Catholic intellectuals like John Wynne were keenly aware that a host of factors – from Roman suspicion of liberal democracy to nativist suspicion of Catholicism to deep and seemingly intractable intellectual disagreements
with progressive thought – all ostensibly prevented Catholic inculturation into the American mainstream. Yet, despite the resistance Wynne and his fellow American Catholics intellectuals remained optimistic. Cognizant of the power afforded by demographics, and confident in their ability to positively shape the course of the national conversation, Progressive Era American Catholics like Wynne believed they held the key to authentic national reform. In particular, they believed in a providential fit between America and Catholicism that found its ultimate source in history and Neo-Scholasticism. For Wynne, there was no better way to communicate the Catholic position during the “golden age” of the American press than in the print media. Wynne’s work in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *America* may therefore be interpreted as two expressions or modes of contact in the dialectic between Roman Catholicism and American culture during the Progressive Era.

**Thesis Statement**

Christopher J. Kauffman argues that “Implicit in the [Second Vatican] Council’s call to discern the ‘signs of the times’ is the need of the historian to provide a lens to improve our vision of the signs of past times.” Reher’s observation is particularly applicable to Progressive Era American Catholicism, which too often suffers – when it is discussed at all – from contemporary scholars’ own myopic tendency to view the past through the lens of contemporary theological concerns about assimilation, authority and academic freedom. Certainly, “Mention of the relationship between Catholicism and American culture brings to mind a larger theological question about how to conceive the

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34 Carey, *Roman Catholics in America*, 75.
relationship between Christianity and modernity.”36 However, all too often modernism serves as a theological trope – often the only theological trope – for legitimating these concerns. Interestingly, an examination of the historical record reveals that modernism was not the major theological concern that animated the life of John J. Wynne and many of his Progressive Era peers. For all of its theological significance, modernism was merely one part of a much broader and nuanced theological puzzle.

Theological Inculturation

Theological inculturation provides a more useful lens for understanding the legacy of Wynne. “Inculturation is the term that Catholic leaders and theologians have used in recent decades to denote a process of engagement between the Christian Gospel and a particular culture.”37 Inculturation is not a frequently used category of interpretation in American Catholicism.38 Yet, it is a theological category rooted in the Incarnation39 and has functioned in the writings of many Catholic theologians40 including Pope John Paul II, for whom it “became a preferred term” due to its etymological and theological similarity to the term incarnation.41

In A Handbook on Inculturation, Peter Schineller, S.J., provides a useful model for understanding theological inculturation and applying it to particular contexts. Drawing upon the writings of Pedro Arrupe, Schineller defines inculturation in a manner redolent of John Paul II when he writes that it is:

40 Ibid., 1-13.
41 Ibid., 7.
the incarnation of Christian life and of the Christian message in a particular cultural context, in such a way that this experience not only finds expression through elements proper to the culture in question, but becomes a principle that animates, directs and unifies the culture, transforming and remaking it so as to bring about a “new creation.”

The archetype of inculturation is Jesus Christ, who through his Incarnation remains “the central paradigm for uncovering and inculturating gospel values of the kingdom into particular contexts.” In this sense, the entire Christian life is an experience of inculturation.

Inculturation, which necessarily seeks to address the “specific problems and possibilities” of a particular cultural context, has two necessary steps, engagement in Christian life at the grass roots level, and critical or reflective study on the experience. There are also three poles, or moments of inculturation that comprise a pastoral circle of engagement. The first pole, “The Situation,” is defined as “the setting in which and for which the agent of inculturation becomes active.” It involves uncovering the “myths, dreams, idols, ultimate concerns, and world view” of the target culture “in a process that calls for careful study and patient listening.” The goal of the first pole is to “read a particular situation, to understand its problems, and to spark the beginnings of a solution.” In the second pole, “The Christian Message,” the weight of the entire Christian tradition is used to discover a pastoral strategy for addressing the situation. “The Agent of Inculturation or the Minister of the Gospel,” is the third and final pole. It

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43 Ibid., 7; 20.
44 Ibid., 12-13.
45 Schineller acknowledges indebtedness to Tillich’s method of correlation for the development of his model (*Handbook*, 63).
46 Ibid., 63.
47 Ibid., 64.
48 Ibid., 64.
49 Ibid., 66-67.
“refers to the resource person, the minister, or the agent who has the mission and task of inculturation.”\textsuperscript{50} This person should be self-critical and self-aware, unafraid of failure or collaboration, and should pay particular attention to his/her own biases.\textsuperscript{51} The agent “acts as a facilitator” rather than a director.\textsuperscript{52} Finally, the agent should be a trusted authority who realizes that the primary source of inculturation is not the priest but the laity.\textsuperscript{53}

\textit{Inculturation and American Catholicism}

Inculturation provides a useful heuristic lens for interpreting early twentieth century American Catholicism.\textsuperscript{54} In particular, it offers what William L. Portier calls “an incarnational path for negotiating the distance between historical description or reconstruction and theological significance.”\textsuperscript{55} Authentic Catholic inculturation, which always “has two moments: one of accommodation or adaptation and one of transformation or critique,”\textsuperscript{56} presents “the relationship between Catholicism and American civilization as dynamic” and therefore resists the urge to subordinate the Catholicism pole to the American.\textsuperscript{57} As such, inculturation is a theological category that moves beyond the inherent ambiguity of sociological categories like Americanization.\textsuperscript{58}

The hermeneutic of theological inculturation “does fuller justice” to the concerns that informed Progressive Era thinkers like John J. Wynne.\textsuperscript{59} Theological inculturation is

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 68.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 68-70.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 68.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 68; 123.
\textsuperscript{54} Portier, “Americanism and Inculturation,” 140.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 154.
\textsuperscript{56} Portier, “Inculturation as Transformation,” 113. Portier uses the categories of accommodation/adaptation and critique/transformation (113). However, Schineller rejects the term “adaptation” due to its suggestion of cultural imposition. See: Schineller, \textit{Handbook}, 14-17; see also Doyle, “Inculturation,” 7.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 114-115.
\textsuperscript{58} Portier, “Americanism and Inculturation,” 157. For Portier’s full account see 155-158.
\textsuperscript{59} Portier, “Inculturation As Transformation,” 115. Portier makes this a central point in his argument about Isaac Hecker and Americanism; I have applied the same argument to Wynne.
methodologically applicable to Wynne and his Progressive Era contemporaries for three reasons. First, the Americanist controversy and its immediate aftermath occurred during the Progressive Era.\textsuperscript{60} So did the modernist crisis that erupted in 1907 after Pope Pius X promulgated \textit{Pascendi Dominici Gregis}.\textsuperscript{61} As the dissertation will show, though faithful Catholics, Wynne and his contemporaries were products of their progressive historical context.\textsuperscript{62} That is, as intellectuals they were deeply influenced by the methods, sources, and norms of Progressive Era scholarship, many of which surfaced in the Americanist and modernist crises. They were also living in an age of intense change, when education, literature and the mass media were expanding in ways that only highlighted cultural differences among immigrant groups and between Catholic and non-Catholic Americans.\textsuperscript{63} As Americans, they understood that the United States was a bellwether for other nations.\textsuperscript{64} They knew that Americans were in a rush towards modernization without considering its pitfalls.\textsuperscript{65} And they knew that as Catholics, they did not quite see the world in the same way. Progressive Era American Catholics were therefore deeply aware of the challenges they faced as “hyphenated” Americans. For this reason, they

\textsuperscript{62} In the case of Americanism (which may be applied by extension to progressivism and modernism), it is worth remembering Portier’s admonishment that historical context matters, that, “Americanism is, like fundamentalism, a term that originates in a very specific context” (“Americanism and Inculturation,” 151).  
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid., 110.  
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., 111. In his chapter on modernization, Schineller urges the reader to consider the United States as it was eighty years before he wrote, thus in 1910 (\textit{Handbook}, 111). In fact, that is precisely what this dissertation is trying to accomplish.
were also highly attentive to the pole of cultural accommodation. That is, they were concerned with what we would typically call assimilation, or what Schineller would call the cultural situation.

The second reason the hermeneutic of inculturation is methodologically applicable to Wynne is in logical continuity with the first. Since Wynne was deeply immersed in the progressive context, he was like most Americans also deeply concerned with national reform. Thus, the progressive push for reform provided an opportunity for American Catholics to emphasize Schineller’s critical/reflective pole of inculturation, or what Portier calls the transformational pole.

The final reason inculturation is methodologically applicable to Wynne follows from an oft-overlooked historical fact: the United States of America was mission territory until Pope Pius X removed the country from the jurisdiction of Propaganda Fidei in 1908.66 The category of inculturation, which arose “from the Church’s missionary experience” in Africa and Asia, therefore represents a methodologically appropriate lens for interpreting late nineteenth and early twentieth century American Catholicism.67

**Thesis Statement**

The dissertation will argue that John J. Wynne’s life and work, particularly his founding of the Catholic Encyclopedia and America, represented attempts at theological inculturation: an accommodation of Catholic theology to the most popular forms of Progressive Era communication (the encyclopedia and the weekly periodical) with the intention of morally critiquing/transforming American culture according to a Catholic

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Portier notes the oversight in “Americanism and Inculturation,” 157.

theological worldview. This dynamic Catholic approach to national reform had both external and internal implications. For non-Catholics (externally), the two publications would lift the veil of mystery surrounding Catholicism, thereby easing the burden of accommodation, while simultaneously providing theological resources for non-Catholics to consider in their quest for national reform. For Catholics (internally), the works would provide a much needed catechetical resource that would help them promote and defend their faith, again easing the burden of accommodation to American culture, while simultaneously providing Catholic resources in the debate over national reform.

The comprehensive nature of the main thesis implies three additional sub theses. First, the dissertation will show that by seeking to transform American culture, Wynne and his Progressive Era peers did not remain isolated in an American Catholic “ghetto.” Instead, in their quest to transform and renew the culture, they necessarily engaged progressivism on its own terms, even if they did not always accept its conclusions or participate directly in some of its major initiatives. Second, and by extension, the dissertation will demonstrate that American Catholic intellectual life was not dormant during the first two decades of the twentieth century, but rather that many American Catholics actively engaged progressive scholarship and enthusiastically worked to apply Catholic theological principles to some of the most pressing social issues of the day.68 Finally, the dissertation will argue that the continued desire American Catholics had during the Progressive Era to find a *rapprochement* between Catholic theology and American culture demonstrates that Americanism did not quietly disappear after the 1899 release of *Testem Benevolentiae*, but rather that American Catholics searched for new and creative ways to demonstrate a providential fit between Roman Catholicism and the

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68 The major exception was, of course, in the area of historical biblical research.
United States of America that was attentive to both the accommodationist and transformationist poles of inculturation.

**A Note On Dates and Terminology**

As the title suggests, the dissertation will focus on the period known as the Progressive Era. Historians typically date the period from 1890-1920.\(^69\) However, although the dissertation will focus primarily on these years, the dates should not be considered in the restrictive sense, since examination of the issues and events immediately prior to and immediately after the date range under consideration will be necessary in order to contextualize the conversation.

When discussing the “Progressive Era,” the standard practice of capitalization will be used to designate the period except when directly quoting an author who does not use capitalization, in which case the text of the dissertation will remain faithful to the original. The same practice will be applied to “progressives” and “progressivism,” which are typically rendered in the lower case.

When discussing “Modernism” and the “modernist crisis,” the dissertation will strive to make clear the distinction between those ideas that were formally condemned by Pope Pius X in his 1907 encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, and the crisis that emerged subsequent to the release of the encyclical. Since no individual was named in the encyclical, and since there was often heated debate over who qualified as a Modernist in the sense defined by the encyclical, the dissertation will restrict capitalization to usage in connection with the parameters established by the encyclical itself, and at all other

times will use the lower case. Exceptions will be made when quoting authors whose usage differs, in which case the dissertation will remain faithful to the original.

Chapter Outline

The first chapter will present an overview of “The Progressive Era.” It corresponds to Schineller’s first pole of inculturation, “The Situation.” The chapter will present a summary of progressivism’s origins, explore the role the press played in shaping national debate, and use primary sources to examine the various responses to the cultural changes that characterized the period. Specifically, the chapter will focus on the systematic relationship between four major principles that informed progressive thought and buttressed progressive calls for social reform – history, the state, education, and philosophy. The chapter will pay particular attention to the ways in which these principles shaped the progressive approach to religion.

The second chapter, “Negotiating American Identity: Progressive Era Catholicism and National Unity,” will examine the American Catholic response to the developments of the Progressive Era. It corresponds to Schineller’s second pole of inculturation, “The Christian Message.” Using primary and secondary sources, the chapter will explore American Catholic thinking on each of the four major principles of progressivism presented in the first chapter, paying particular attention to the ways in which these principles intersected with Catholic theology.

Chapter three, “‘Ever Bright Light:’ John Joseph Wynne, S.J., (1859-1948),” will provide an introduction to the life and work of Wynne. The chapter will be the first of

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two chapters that correspond to Schineller’s third pole of inculturation, “The Agent of the Gospel.” The chapter will provide a brief overview of the three major phases in Wynne’s career: first as an educator, then as an editor and writer, and finally as a vice-postulator for the canonization causes of the Jesuit Martyrs of North America and Kateri Tekakwitha.

Chapter four, “The Guardian of Liberty,” will present a substantive theological analysis of Wynne’s life and work. John J. Wynne was no famous theologian, nor was he given to deep philosophical or theological introspection in his writings. He was admittedly a doer more than a thinker, as is reflected in the fact that among his monstrous organizational output there are a scarcity of remaining documents that even remotely present a systematic arrangement of his thought. Since Wynne left no book-length theological treatises, one must piece together his theology from the hagiographies, articles, correspondence, lectures and newspaper interviews he gave over the course of his lifetime. Fortunately for scholars, Wynne lived a long time, during which time he wrote enough letters, spoke often enough to the media, organized enough protests, wrote enough articles, and gave enough speeches that one is able to reconstruct a general theological position and to evaluate this position in relation to each of the four major principles of progressivism.

Having presented an overview of Wynne’s life and work, chapter five, “The Catholic Encyclopedia,” will present a historically and theologically contextualized overview of the origin, history, content, and purpose of the work. It should be noted that the sheer size of the Catholic Encyclopedia and the objective of the chapter would

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71 In this sense, Wynne resembles Dorothy Day, another Catholic journalistic known for her lack of systematization.
preclude any attempt to analyze the content of individual articles.\(^72\) Rather, the chapter will situate the encyclopedia, considered as a single publication, within the context of Progressive Era Catholicism in order to demonstrate the ways in which the work represents an example of theological inculturation.

Chapter six, “America,” will follow the format of the previous chapter, and will present a historically and theologically contextualized overview of the origin, history, content, and purpose of the journal. Again, the objective of the chapter and Wynne’s limited authorship of individual articles for the magazine preclude the possibility of analyzing individual pieces of writing from his year as editor-in-chief. Rather, the chapter will attempt to situate the magazine as it did the encyclopedia, within the context of Progressive Era Catholicism, in order to demonstrate the ways in which it too represents an example of theological inculturation.

Three conclusions will be presented. First, that theological inculturation is the most appropriate way to understand Wynne’s life and work, particularly in publications like the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *America*. Second, that inculturation and several other prevailing themes in Wynne’s career reveal the extent to which his life and work were informed by the charisms and spirit of the Society of Jesus. Third and lastly, that the emphasis Wynne put on the promotion of, defense of, and redemptive characteristics of Catholicism, as well as his attempt to inspire an original Catholic literature in English, made him a key forerunner to the Catholic Revival of the mid-twentieth century.\(^73\)


Significance of the Dissertation

The dissertation makes three important contributions to American Catholic scholarship. First, an exploration of American Catholicism during the Progressive Era fills a historical and theological void. The Progressive Era is one of the least examined periods in U.S. Catholic history, even though it played a pivotal role in shaping the contemporary American Catholic church. Examination of the creative vitality and lasting significance of Wynne and his Progressive Era peers will serve as a corrective to scholarship that tends to dismiss the early twentieth century as a post-Pascendi intellectual “dark age,” or to view the period exclusively through the lens of the modernist crisis. Demonstration of the genealogical influence Progressive Era developments had on the development of contemporary American Catholicism will also help to situate the contemporary church by exposing the origin of several present-day divisions within American Catholicism.

Second, the dissertation is important insofar as it offers an introduction to the life and work of one of the most influential, yet overlooked, individuals in American Catholic history: John J. Wynne, S.J. A colorful, intrepid and sometimes irascible personality, by the time of his death in 1948, Wynne was widely respected as one of the most influential

and well-known priests in America. Despite Wynne’s significance, his thought remains enigmatic and has never been the subject of in-depth analysis.

Finally, the dissertation offers a much-needed critical examination of the origin and purpose of Wynne’s two most enduring works, the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *America*. Though certainly not exhaustive, the dissertation hopes to make a small contribution to American Catholic scholarship by situating the two works within the historical and theological contexts from which they emerged. Much more needs to be said about Wynne’s corpus of work. For the present, I offer the following preliminaries.
CHAPTER ONE
THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

“We stand at the gates of Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord.”

- Theodore Roosevelt, 1912

In The War of the World: History’s Age of Hatred, Harvard historian Niall Ferguson notes that, “Between 1900 and 1913 no fewer than forty heads of state, politicians and diplomats were murdered.” From a geo-political standpoint, the most devastating assassination occurred in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914 when Bosnian teenager Gavrilo Princip murdered Archduke Franz Ferdinand, an event that triggered the First World War. In the words of Ferguson, “The First World War changed everything.”

The United States was not immune to the social and political unrest that shook other parts of the world. In 1901, President William J. McKinley died after being shot by Leon Czolgosz, a Polish immigrant and anarchist sympathizer with ties to Emma Goldman. McKinley’s successor, vice-president Theodore Roosevelt, would himself become the victim of an assassination attempt in 1912 while campaigning on the

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75 Pestritto and Atto, American Progressivism, 10. The quote comes from a speech Roosevelt gave at the Progressive Party Convention in 1912.
77 Ferguson, War of the World, 73.
Progressive Party ticket. Economic uncertainty prevailed, with the stock market crashing or nearly crashing in 1893, 1896, 1901 and 1907. The United States went to war in 1898 against Spain, and again in 1899 in the Philippines. Finally, in 1917, the United States abandoned its isolationist stance and entered the First World War. The world had become a very uncertain place.

Perhaps no single event captured the ominous sense of foreboding that pervaded the Western consciousness in the early twentieth century more than the sinking of the Titanic in April of 1912. As an article in the *New York Times* succinctly put it in the weeks after the disaster, “The ship that was unsinkable, in the minds of her makers and the men that ran her, has been sunk.”

The event seemed to confirm the futility of human industrial progress.

Ironically, it was on April 3, 1912, just twelve days before the sinking of the Titanic, that Theodore Roosevelt gave one of his most famous speeches in Louisville, Kentucky. Noting the menace facing Western civilization he warned, “Clouds hover about the horizon throughout the civilized world.”

The speech was later published in *The Outlook* under the title, “Who Is A Progressive?”

**The Origins of Progressivism**

As the title of the speech suggests, Roosevelt did not give in to pessimism. Urged
on by a keen sense of American exceptionalism and a global vision of manifest destiny, Roosevelt proclaimed that in the face of so many storm clouds:

Our people, our men and women, are fit to face the mighty days. If we fail, the failure will be lamentable; for not only shall we fail for ourselves, but our failure will wreck the fond desires of all throughout the world who look toward us with the eager hope that here, in this great Republic, it shall be proved, from ocean to ocean, that the people can rule themselves, and, thus ruling, can give liberty and do justice both to themselves and to others.\textsuperscript{81}

Nevertheless, serious challenges presented themselves. “We are in a period of change; we are fronting a great period of further change,” Roosevelt explained.\textsuperscript{82} Aware of the revolutionary character of the moment, he declared, “Most surely if the wise and moderate control we advocate does not come, then some day these men [the wealthy] or their descendants will have to face the chance of some movement of \textit{really} dangerous and drastic character being directed against them.”\textsuperscript{83} And so, “The present contest is but a phase of the larger struggle. Assuredly the fight will go on.”\textsuperscript{84} Framing the question in decidedly religious terms, he concluded, “We who stand for the cause of progress, for the cause of the uplift of humanity and the betterment of mankind, are pledged to eternal war against tyranny and wrong, by the few or by the many, by a plutocracy or by a mob. We stand for justice and for fair play.”\textsuperscript{85}

Roosevelt’s call to arms was not unique. In 1912, Woodrow Wilson gave a campaign speech called “What Is Progress?” in which he identified progressivism “with an evolutionary interpretation of American government.”\textsuperscript{86} The speech was later published as a chapter in \textit{The New Freedom}, a collection of campaign speeches Wilson

\textsuperscript{81} Roosevelt, “Progressive,” 43.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., 42.
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., 41. Italics mine.
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., 43.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., 44.
gave prior to his election to the presidency.\textsuperscript{87} The title of Wilson’s collection is didactic. \textit{The New Freedom} is not just an indication of temporal chronology, but an explicit call for progressive reform.

In “What Is Progress?” it doesn’t take Wilson long to get to the point. Offering a parable from \textit{Alice Through the Looking Glass}, Wilson quotes the Red Queen who, after running very fast with Alice yet getting nowhere, declares, “you have to run twice as fast as that to get anywhere else.”\textsuperscript{88} Wilson calls the story “a parable of progress,”\textsuperscript{89} and like Roosevelt, he adds a touch of American exceptionalism to his interpretation of the story.\textsuperscript{90}

For Wilson, as for Roosevelt, the future was ripe with possibility, but the opportunity had to be seized.\textsuperscript{91} “The American people are not naturally stand-patters,” he declared, “Progress is the word that charms their ears and stirs their hearts.”\textsuperscript{92} Forward action was a necessity. Stating that his goal as a university educator had been to “make the young gentleman of the rising generation as unlike their fathers as possible,”\textsuperscript{93} lest they remain “out of sympathy with the creative, formative and progressive forces of society,”\textsuperscript{94} Wilson exulted:

\begin{quote}
Progress! Did you ever reflect that that word is almost a new one? No word comes more often or more naturally to the lips of modern man, as if the thing it stands for were almost synonymous with life itself, and yet men through many thousands of years never talked or thought about progress. They thought in the other direction. Their stories of heroisms and glories were tales of the past…Now all that has altered. We think of the future, not the past, as the more glorious time in comparison with which the present is nothing. Progress, development, - those are modern words. The modern idea is to leave the past and press on to something new.\textsuperscript{95}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{87} The piece was originally published as Woodrow Wilson, \textit{The New Freedom} (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1913), 33-54.  
\textsuperscript{88} Wilson, \textit{Progress}, 45.  
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., 45-46.  
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid., 47.  
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid., 48. Prior to entering politics, Wilson had been a professor at Bryn Mawr, Wesleyan and Princeton, where he eventually served as president of the university.  
\textsuperscript{94} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., 49.
Though he boldly declared, “we are architects in our time,” Wilson was not entirely blind to the perils of progress. He claimed that he was not “one of those who wish to change for the mere sake of variety,” explaining that, “Change is not worth while unless it is improvement.” Rather, one must “knit the new into the old.”

Investing his speech with Christian significance, he added, “You cannot put a new patch on an old garment without ruining it.” Finally, linking progress with manifest destiny, he concluded in a manner suggestive of Roosevelt:

looking back over the road, we shall see at last that we have fulfilled our promise to mankind. We had said to the world, ‘America was created to break every kind of monopoly, and to set men free, upon a footing of equality, upon a footing of opportunity, to match their brains and their energies.’ And now we have proved that we mean it.

The Price of Progress

As a scholar looking back at the Progressive Era, it is impossible not to notice the euphoria, and fear, that progress engendered. Indeed, many scholars preface their entire discussion of the Progressive Era with the simple explanation that it was a period of both rapid change and widespread cultural unease.

Why the unease? What specific challenges did American society confront in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that caused trepidation? Elizabeth V. Burt explains the Progressive Era “was a period during which the United States experienced unprecedented growth and development – in its population, its cities and towns,

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96 Ibid., 52.
97 Ibid., 47.
98 Ibid.
99 Ibid., 49. (cf. Matt. 9:16; Mark 2:21; Luke 5:36)
100 Ibid., 53.
settlement of the West, commerce and industry, transportation, and technology.”

During the years 1890 to 1920, the United States was transformed from a predominantly rural, local, and agricultural society into a predominantly urban, cosmopolitan and industrial society. Immigration aided the process of urbanization. No sooner than Frederic Jackson Turner had declared the frontier “closed” in 1890, the United States had opened Ellis Island in 1892 to process the millions of immigrants who flooded onto America’s shores seeking their share of the American Dream. By 1900, immigrants accounted for an astonishing forty percent of New York City’s inhabitants. In the colonial heart of New England, “Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire were all more than two-thirds Catholic” by 1906. At roughly the same time, the United States surpassed Great Britain as the world’s largest economy. Contemporaneous with America’s economic rise to power came the nation’s emergence on the international scene as a colonial “empire” with the 1898 defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American War.

Along with progress came social disruptions. Among other things, poor urban living conditions, labor unrest, environmental degradation, mass immigration, disputes over public education, the entrance of women into the industrial workplace, and the breakdown of the nuclear family all became fodder for politicians and pundits. Coming as it did on the heels of the Gilded Age, the period from roughly 1870-1890 when rapid industrialization and urbanization coupled with widespread economic inequality first inspired calls for social reform, the Progressive Era also saw frequent debates about the

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103 Burt, Progressive, 3.
104 Eisenach, Promise, 63 FN 29.
abuse of corporate power, the widening gap between rich and poor, the need for reform of the national administration, and the threats posed by the socialist and anarchist movements. Fueling all of the social instability was the widespread diffusion of technology, which both standardized, and destabilized, American culture.

A Golden Age of the Press

One of the most significant developments during the Progressive Era came in the news industry, which met the progressive demand for information by jettisoning its former attachment to “overarching systems” and partisan opinion. The press had a profound impact on the course of the national conversation during the Progressive Era. “It was obvious to any observer of the American scene at the time that the press was powerful, that it could influence and change public opinion and that public opinion could change an entire system’s sins and prejudices.” This was the age of muckraking journalists and authors like Nellie Bly, Jacob Riis and Upton Sinclair, whose works inspired sweeping changes to public policy.

Statistically, Burt notes that, “The American newspaper industry expanded exponentially between 1880 and 1917,” with total circulation of dailies increasing from 3.1 million in 1880 to 22.4 million in 1910. In addition to daily papers, Burt notes that

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106 Burt, Progressive, 4. Burt writes that the widespread use of electricity, as well as the invention of the automobile, airplane, subway and mass media all radically altered American culture.


108 Eisenach, Promise, 13.


110 Burt, Progressive, 7.

111 Ibid.
there was a “thriving business in weeklies, biweeklies, and semiweekly newspapers.”

“The major journalistic innovation of this period was the formation of mass circulation monthly magazines,” that “created a voracious demand for material.” Among these were magazines directly aimed at women, including *Cosmopolitan, McClure’s* and the *Ladies Home Journal*, which by the end of the First World War was selling more than two million copies per month, making it “the most lucrative magazine in the world.”

The increased demand for information was “aided by faster printing presses, growing advertising revenue, and better transportation.” Technology and an increase in leisure time allowed for the greater diversification of reading material. Advertising replaced subscriptions to fuel this process, with sixty-six percent of revenue coming from advertising by 1914. Circulation was also greatly enhanced by the U.S. government’s March 3, 1879 decision – made in order to enhance national unity – to pass a postal act “which gave favorable mailing privileges to a periodical press of national scope.”

Among the news dedicated to particular segments of the population, Burt notes an equal explosion of special-interest papers, including those dedicated to Roman Catholicism. Publishers also began to consolidate their publishing enterprises and engage in competitive pricing in an attempt to increase business. Finally, “major advances in communication technology revolutionized the way reporters collected

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112 Ibid.
114 Ibid., 15.
116 Ibid., 7-9.
117 Ibid., 9.
120 Ibid., 11.
information and wrote stories,” with telephone and wireless allowing up-to-date reporting from around the globe.\textsuperscript{121}

The demand for news in the Progressive Era was insatiable.\textsuperscript{122} An article in the Catholic World in 1904 revealed that while Germany led the world in the production of books, the United States led in the printing of periodicals, a fact that led the author of the piece to conclude, “Germany is the land of thinkers, the United States is the land of readers.”\textsuperscript{123} The American habit of reading newspapers and magazines was a result of the distance that existed between American cities.\textsuperscript{124}

Vast increases in readership and the demand for more up-to-date information brought mixed results. “Everybody reads every minute, and everybody reads his own paper that embodies his special views of politics or religion,” one editor complained, adding that, “everything is wanted as soon as it is known.”\textsuperscript{125} While investigative reporting could affect real social change, often enough stories were gimmicks meant to increase readership; more than a few were based on “flimsy evidence” that were “promoted through lurid headlines, overimaginative illustrations, and sensational claims.”\textsuperscript{126} Quality was a perennial concern. Sensationalism and inaccuracies led to charges of “yellow journalism.”\textsuperscript{127} Nevertheless, “Newspapers reached their heyday in the Progressive Era, reaching peak circulations and enjoying a level of competition not seen since in the newspaper industry.”\textsuperscript{128} They also “played an important role in how

\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., 10.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., 11.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid. The observation was made by Adolf Growoll, editor of Publisher’s Weekly.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{126} Burt, Progressive, 11-12.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., 12.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid.
Americans viewed the world.”¹²⁹ Not only did the news media provide a social critique and sounding board for reform, providing a space for debate on opposing sides of the issues, but it also allowed middle-class Americans to reinforce “lifestyles and values they cherished and clung to in a changing world.”¹³⁰

The Dislocations of Modernity

Change was everywhere in the Progressive Era. Wilson was not incorrect to use fabric as a metaphor. From 1890-1920, the period roughly corresponding to the close of the Western frontier and the end of the First World War, the fabric of American life was radically altered in size, shape, color, and contour. America had entered the modern world a burgeoning empire. Yet, not all were pleased with modernity.

It is difficult to convey the shock that the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought to the Western world. Alan Trachtenberg calls the Gilded Age that immediately preceded the Progressive Era “a period of trauma, of change so swift and thorough that many Americans seemed unable to fathom the extent of the upheaval.”¹³¹ T. Jackson Lears characterizes the Progressive Era as one in which “educated Americans” grappled with “spiritual and psychological turmoil.”¹³²

What precipitated this widespread sense of cultural dis-ease? In a word, progress. Lears argues that, “along with scientific and technological advances,” modernity “brought cultural strain, moral confusion, and anomie.”¹³³ In other words, cultural progress created cultural tension. In little more than a single generation, American

¹²⁹ Ibid.
¹³⁰ Ibid., 12-13.
¹³³ Ibid., xv.
society was radically transformed. America had increasingly become “weightless” and “fragmented,” what Robert H. Wiebe calls a “distended society” that was “searching for order.” The sense of alienation many Americans felt was memorably captured in *The Education of Henry Adams* (1900), an autobiography which Adams wrote in the third person, and in *The Jungle* (1906), Upton Sinclair’s quasi-fictional chronicle of Chicago meat-packer Jurgis Rudkus that led to the creation of the F.D.A.

Immigration, stock market panics, empire, assassinations, over-crowded tenements, socialists and anarchists were just a few of the variables that gave the Progressive Era an air of instability. Everywhere, it seemed, the world was in flux. Nothing seemed permanent, not even the self. For Lears, this instability was at heart “a crisis of cultural authority, which had both public and private dimensions.” On the heels of these developments came a variety of calls to respond to the rapidly changing needs of American society, calls that would later be echoed in the speeches of Presidents Roosevelt and Wilson. One work stood out, Henry George’s 1879 book *Progress and Poverty*, which “was especially influential with leading Protestant thinkers.” During the rough economic downturn of the 1890s, “George’s call for activism on behalf of the needy and downtrodden impressed many churchmen who were struggling to define religion in urban industrial America.” The progressive movement was born.

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134 Ibid., 32; 41–42. Lears cites Nietzsche when using the term.
135 Ibid., 37.
136 “The Distended Society” is the first chapter in Wiebe’s *Search for Order*.
140 Ibid., 5.
142 Ibid.
The Progressive Era

Scholars seldom agree on “what the Progressive Era was, who the progressives were, and whether reforms of the period actually were progressive.”\(^{143}\) In other words, disagreement over the meaning of progressivism is as much a defining characteristic of scholarship today as it was a defining characteristic of the progressives themselves. If progressives disagreed with their political enemies over the definition of the movement, and among each other over particular policy proposals, who, then, were the progressives?

Progressivism was as much an approach to reality – a worldview – as it was a political program. Typically, progressives were found among the “native-born, white” population; they were usually “Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, middle class and well-educated.”\(^{144}\) Progressivism cut across party affiliations. Both Roosevelt the Republican and Wilson the Democrat were progressives. Progressives could be politicians or pastors, muckraking journalists or corporate tycoons. What each progressive shared was an inherently optimistic belief in the future perfectibility of human society.\(^{145}\)

Ultimately, four major principles came under intense reconsideration during the Progressive Era – history, the state, education, and philosophy. Together, these four principles systematically informed progressive thought, buttressing calls for social reform and shaping the way progressive reformers thought about religion.

The Progressive Approach to History

It is somewhat easy to miss the temporal significance of the term “progress.” Nevertheless, the word itself implicitly suggests movement in time, an orientation

\(^{143}\) Burt, *Progressive Era*, 1
\(^{144}\) Ibid., 2.
\(^{145}\) Ibid., 1-2.
towards the future and thus a forward-looking approach to reality; it is movement away from the past. Reimagining history was central to the progressive task.

It would be wrong to suppose, as many progressives did, that the West never before had a sense of progress. Indeed, the Christian eschatological imagination which so permeated Western culture for two millennia was imbued with a rich and deep sense of longing for the coming of God’s kingdom, a sensibility it inherited from ancient Judaism. What changed in the period leading up to the Progressive Era were the understanding of history and the way in which this understanding reinforced notions of progress in an American culture dominated by postmillennial Christian eschatology.

Progressives, from the most scientific-technocratic to the most radical-socialist, conceived of their projects as having coherence and meaning because they were located within a social evolutionary framework of history. This framework is what legitimated Progressivism’s scientific status and freed it from the localism, religious sectarianism, and provincialism of competing forms of social knowledge and political guidance.

In other words, the evolutionary scientific framework allowed for the collapsing together of history and science, a process that both legitimated the historical profession in the empirically-minded academy while simultaneously giving it traction in the material world. Moreover, scientific history’s “confident evolutionism gave an implicit moral meaning to history which made explicit moralizing superfluous.” Quite naturally, this development had profound implications for historical methodology, gradually shifting the discipline away from “its attachment to purely literary narrative and Romantic expressions” and towards “new learning” that depended for its legitimacy on the assimilation and incorporation of “the multitudes of information and the insights

146 Lears, Grace, 12.
147 Eisenach, Promise, 6.
148 Novick, Noble Dream, 85.
provided by the new fields of sociology, psychology, and statistics.”¹⁴⁹ The progressive historian wanted facts.

In *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession*, Peter Novick writes, “Science (“objective science,” the “scientific fact”) was never more highly regarded in the United States, was never more of a cult, than in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.”¹⁵⁰ More importantly to the present study, “No group was more prone to scientific imagery, and the assumption of the mantle of science, than the historians.”¹⁵¹

Scientific history led to an “expansion of the scope of historical inquiry,”¹⁵² moving the discipline “beyond the political and constitutional”¹⁵³ and towards cooperation with “the newly established social sciences.”¹⁵⁴ When combined with the suggestion that science was approaching “completeness,” that all truth would soon be discovered, a scientific model for history emerged: the job of the historian would be to collect and objectively view facts, which, if systematically arranged according to the order they demanded, and if “scrupulously neutral on larger questions of end and meaning,” would produce a complete and “definitive” historical record.¹⁵⁵

There is a strong Hegelian impulse in the progressive approach to history, an extension as it were of the Enlightenment belief in rationality and natural religion into the Romantic sense of divine immanence that eventually collapsed religion into the material

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¹⁵¹ Ibid., 33. Novick argues that American historians, many of whom trained in Germany, generally “had no appreciation of the gulf which divided German and Anglo-American thoughtways, and as a result either distorted or disregarded what they couldn’t comprehend” (31; 157).
¹⁵² Ibid., 87.
¹⁵³ Ibid., 89.
¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 90.
¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 37-38.
world. The major theme in this impulse was “an historically rooted sense of progress by stages” that blended “organicism and idealism” in a way which suggested society had evolved from lower, more primitive stages, through more complex ones, eventually allowing rationality to exert a certain dominance over the material world. At the end of this evolutionary process stood “Advanced industrial societies,” which “were marching through the last stages to a final goal inherent in and predetermined by the process of social evolution itself.”

There is theological significance in the connection:

History was, for the progressives, more than a series of chance events; the passing of each historical epoch marked, instead, deliberate progress on the path to democracy. With this conception of history as rational and powerful, we can also see a strong religious current that runs through much of progressive thought. Like Hegel, many progressives saw the hand of God at work in the process of historical progress. History was the means by which God gradually made himself present on earth, and the result of this divinely inspired process was to be the modern democratic state. Consequently the state, for many progressives, was a God to which all citizens owed their undivided devotion, ‘the Divine Idea as it exists on Earth,’ as Hegel had put it in his *Philosophy of History*. Cooperation with history – willingness, in other words, to adjust one’s politics and morality to the evolving pressures of the current age – thus becomes a kind of divine command and a test of one’s faithfulness to God; those refusing to go along with the demands of historical progress were, therefore, defying the will of God.

The importance of historical consciousness cannot be overstated; history provides a critical window into the entire progressive worldview. “Both Roosevelt and Wilson had a keen sense of history and were historians in their own right,” and “both were dramatically influenced by the changes that accompanied the professionalization of historical study in the academy in the late nineteenth century.” Furthermore, both employed specifically religious language in their political rhetoric. One of the principle targets of this rhetoric was the Constitution of the United States.

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156 Wiebe, *Order*, 141. Wiebe credits Auguste Comte with inspiring this approach.  
157 Wiebe, *Order*, 141.  
159 Ibid., 7.  
160 Ibid.  
161 Ibid., 10.
The Progressive Understanding of the State

To the progressive reformers, the nation collectively faced the pressures of modern society from within the confines of a constitutional system based on an outdated model of local autonomy unable to rise to the challenges presented by industrialization. For this reason, “The Progressive Era was the first major period in American political development to feature, as a primary characteristic, the open and direct criticism of the Constitution,” a criticism that “formed the backbone of the entire movement.”

We can think of it [progressivism] as an argument to progress, or move beyond, the political principles of the American founding…. Whereas the founders had posited what they held to be a permanent understanding of a just government, based upon a permanent account of human nature, the progressives countered that the ends and scope of government were to be defined anew in each historical epoch. They coupled this perspective of historical contingency with a deep faith in historical progress, suggesting that, due to historical evolution, government was becoming less of a danger to the governed and more capable of solving the great array of problems besetting the human race.

Criticism of the Constitution could be presented in blunt Darwinian terms. In “What is Progress?” Wilson argued that, “government is not a machine, but a living thing. It falls not under the theory of the universe, but under the theory of organic life. It is accountable to Darwin, not to Newton.” Wilson therefore argued that, “Living political constitutions must be Darwinian in structure and practice.” From here it was but an easy step to progressive calls for governmental reform.

Frank Johnson Goodnow echoed Wilson’s sentiment in a 1916 lecture he gave at Brown University entitled “The American Conception of Liberty.” Goodnow was

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162 Wiebe, Order, xiii.
163 Pestritto and Atto, Progressivism, 3.
164 Ibid., 2-3.
165 Wilson, Progress, 50.
166 Ibid., 51.
president of Johns Hopkins University, which Novick calls “the first really ‘national’ university and the birthplace of scientific history.” Goodnow placed a similar emphasis on facts when critiquing the concept of natural rights, arguing that such theories were “sought usually through speculation rather than observation.” The theory of natural rights may have resonated with the extreme form of individualism favored by the Protestant reformers who so heavily influenced the early development of American democracy, but they hardly satisfied present day needs. “Individuality,” Goodnow argued, “may become a menace when social rather than individual efficiency is the necessary prerequisite of progress.” The American system of government therefore “needed to be reformed so that it reflected the essential unity of the public mind that progressives believed had been brought about by history.”

*The Quest for National Unity*

Unity was of paramount importance to progressive reformers. “The Progressives were nationalist to the core, and they often put forward this national viewpoint in direct opposition to an abstract ‘rights-based’ discourse, whether expressed as individual rights, as states rights, or as constitutional formalism.” The Constitution was an easy target because it rested “on a system of divided powers” and was therefore an obstacle to “the unity of popular will.” A contest emerged between two rival systems. The first was based on the concept of individual rights and fixed moral truths, the second on national

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Novick, *Noble Dream*, 78.

Goodnow, “Liberty” 56.

Ibid., 57.

Ibid., 62.

Pestritto and Atto, *Progressivism*, 16.

Eisenach, *Promise*, 5.

unity and an evolutionary concept of morality. In the minds of the progressives, the first system was Newtonian and *laissez faire*, the second Darwinian and progressive; the first looked to a past that was dead, the second to a future pregnant with possibility.

The progressive quest for unity was not without its darker side. “A strident American patriotism verging on the worst forms of triumphalism seems an inseparable part of the democratic vision of Progressive academics and intellectuals.”

175 Often enough, this patriotism mingled with xenophobia, coinciding as it did with a massive influx of immigrants from Southern Europe and “the apogee of scientific racism, which legitimated white supremacy at home and empire abroad.”

176 It is no surprise that the period saw the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan and a resurgence of nativist sentiments. Lears argues that, “The pervasive resort to biological metaphors [that] turned the nation into an organism” was at the same time used to legitimate the fear of “inferior immigrant ‘races,’” that were polluting the nation’s blood.

177 Exercise and physical fitness became a way to combat impurity and weakness – this was the age of bodybuilding and wellness retreats.

178 Lears explains that “Popular misunderstandings of Darwinism,” which “equated evolution with inevitable progress, and assumed that progress could be achieved only through death-dealing struggle,” were responsible for sending men into the Klondike gold fields, jungles of Africa and Siberian steppes in order to test their bravery.

179 It is not accidental that Jack London, who wrote popular sagas set in the Klondike like *Call of the Wild*, was one of the most successful authors of the early twentieth century. Nor is it incidental that Theodore Roosevelt’s 1909 African safari was popular news. Escape from

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179 Lears, *Rebirth*, 204.
the banality of “unreal” industrial culture, the desire for masculinity and authentic experience, were hallmarks of the Progressive Era.\textsuperscript{180} For his part, Roosevelt was a model of virility and conquest, perhaps the most famous proponent of American exceptionalism.

For all of his bombast, Roosevelt was not unique. Reimagining America was \textit{de rigueur} among progressives.\textsuperscript{181} Even the title of the movement’s most influential journal, \textit{The New Republic}, hinted at national transformation. The urge for national identity can be seen in “the nationalization of the historical perspective,” which Novick calls an attempt to “escape from parochialism.”\textsuperscript{182}

\textbf{Religion in the Progressive Era}

For progressives under the sway of an evolutionary theory of science and a Hegelian interpretation of history, “Science and religion seemed to point in the same direction: Progress and Providence were one.”\textsuperscript{183} Few elucidated the desire to elevate the nation to quasi-divine status during the Progressive Era better than Albion Woodbury Small, one of the founding fathers of the discipline of sociology in the United States. Small, who studied ministry at the Newton Theological Institute, and then history, social economics and social politics in Berlin and Leipzig, Germany, earned his Ph.D. in economics and history from Johns Hopkins University. Small later founded the nation’s first sociology department at the University of Chicago in 1892, published the first

\textsuperscript{180} Lears, \textit{Grace}, 48-49. For an extended treatment, see “The Roots of Antimodernism: The Crisis of Cultural Authority During the Late Nineteenth Century,” which is chapter one of \textit{No Place of Grace}.

\textsuperscript{181} Eisenach, \textit{Promise}, 6.

\textsuperscript{182} Novick, \textit{Noble Dream}, 73.

\textsuperscript{183} Lears, \textit{Rebirth}, 108.
sociology textbook, *An Introduction To The Study of Society*, in 1894, and founded the nation’s first sociology journal, the *American Journal of Sociology*, in 1895.  

**Albion Small and Civil Religion**

In 1915, Small penned “The Bonds of Nationality,” which appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*. The piece decried the fragmentation of modernity and took particular aim at the “morally unreconciled” rift between “religious conventionalities” and “the range of reality within which [men] pass their practical lives.” Surveying the history of various religious cultures, Small concluded that society could not thrive without religion, primarily because religion provided “a generally recognized criterion of law or morals” that acted as a “court of last resort.” Religion therefore acted as a the most effective “fusing agent” in the quest for national unity.

Small’s approach to religion was functional, pragmatic and grounded in empirical observation. “I am not now concerned immediately with the truth of any religion,” he explained, “nor with the comparative truth of religions. I am calling attention to religion as a social asset, provided it is convincing to the mass of the people. The evidence which I appeal to is not any sort of theological principle or personal conviction.” Instead, like the progressive historian, Small wanted facts. He sought a comprehensive system, an empirically based systematic theology able to explain the experience of everyday life. What believers needed, he thought, was a plausible explanation of reality that confirmed

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186 Small, “Bonds,” 673. Small’s use of “reality” when describing the material world is telling.
187 Ibid., 672.
188 Ibid., 668. Italics in the original.
189 Ibid. Italics in the original.
their experiences of the world, at least until a more convincing explanation came along.\textsuperscript{190}

Small argued that systematic empirical objectivity was paramount to securing religious unity.\textsuperscript{191} Yet, the quest for objectivity was contingent, rather than absolute. Scoffing at the Roman Catholic Church’s attempt to assert unchanging moral truths, Small stated that “the incalculably more radical problem is whether religion is a hand-out from an external authority or a deposit of the evolving output of men's objective experience and subjective interpretations and valuations.”\textsuperscript{192}

There is more than a little rationalism mixed into in Small’s evolutionary approach. By grounding religion in empirical observation, which was open to all rational creatures, Small was ostensibly able to bypass the question of external religious authority and present an understanding of faith amenable to both science and democracy. Yet, despite a professed belief in the rationality of all human beings, Small was thoroughly progressive when it came to authority. If he rejected the external authority of Rome – the pope and Borromeo, as he put it – he simply substituted one authority for another.\textsuperscript{193} The sociologist would be the new guardian of truth. “That nation is weak in which the invention of religion is not a protected industry,” he wrote.\textsuperscript{194}

Indeed, the invention of a national or civil religion was Small’s stated goal. His solution was for sociologists, that is, for progressive intellectual elites, to do the heavy lifting by reconciling the various disciplines and experiences of life in order to create “a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{190} Ibid., 669; 671.
\item \textsuperscript{191} Ibid., 676.
\item \textsuperscript{192} Ibid., 675.
\item \textsuperscript{193} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{194} Ibid., 669.
\end{itemize}
*Weltanschauung*, a positive cosmic philosophy, which will do justice to every fraction of human experience.”195

**Progressivism and the Protestant Imagination**

Small’s use of Tridentine Catholicism as the foil of modernity ultimately served his meta-narrative of progress. But there was nothing original in his approach. The Reformation loomed large in Small because progressivism was largely, if not entirely, a Protestant-driven movement. “Rooted in Protestant patterns of conversion,” the desire for social regeneration was “the molten core of American Protestantism” and “resonated with the American mythology of starting over, of reinventing the self.”196 However, social regeneration came with a caveat.

Evangelical Protestants in particular...were haunted by the specter of faith congealed into cold formalism and religion gone ‘dead.’ Fears of spiritual decline were exacerbated by millennialist hope, the anxious expectation that Christ’s Second Coming might not be far off. This cauldron of emotions created an atmosphere of recurrent crisis....The jeremiad – a sermon lamenting lost virtue and recalling the community to its commitments – became a characteristic mode of Protestant public speech, beginning in New England pulpits during the mid-1600s but spreading a century later into revolutionary politics...at the center was an apocalyptic fervor, a feeling that the moral fate of the nation was hanging in the balance of whatever controversy was raging at the time. This emotional charge emerged out of the Protestant consensus that dominated American politics from the Revolutionary Era into the twentieth century.197

Indeed, by the late nineteenth century, there was a growing sense that Protestant Christianity “had reached the end of its tether, had become entangled in the structures of an increasingly organized capitalist society.”198 Though increasingly secularized, American culture was nevertheless dominated by Evangelical Protestantism, which provided “the inescapable discourse of American public life.”199 Thus, there emerged among the American middle and upper classes, “people with Protestant habits of mind (if

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195 Ibid., 676.
196 Lears, *Rebirth*, 1; 5.
197 Ibid., 6.
198 Ibid., 7.
199 Ibid., 9; 10.
not Protestant beliefs)” a sense that their entire way of life was being “stifled by its own success.” Fears of backsliding and progressive calls for “reform” began. “The most popular forms of regeneration,” Lears explains, “had a moral dimension.” “The most powerful visions of political renewal,” he adds later, “were rooted in Protestant Christianity” in works like George’s Progress and Poverty. Whatever the specific policy proposals or suggested remedies, “What brought Progressives together…was their preoccupation with personal and national purification, and the mingling of the two agendas in the reform imagination.” At heart, the Progressive Era was an extended cultural jeremiad.

Among Protestant believers, the desire for rebirth led in various directions. “Educated Protestants, dissatisfied with desiccated theology, cast about for vital conceptions of cosmic meaning,” with some turning to medieval Catholicism. Others, inspired by the concept of a universal mind, drifted towards monism and turned to Eastern religions like Buddhism and Hinduism. Some even gravitated to spiritualism – to séances and occultism – in an empirical quest for life beyond the grave. Fundamentalists became recalcitrant and rejected modernity completely, even as they remained thoroughly modern in their approach to issues like biblical literalism. Meanwhile, more than a few sought a catharsis through shopping, which held out the promise of endless renewal. “Patent medicines in particular became the focus for fantasies of regeneration through purchase. The promise of magical self-transformation

200 Ibid., 8.
201 Ibid., 9.
202 Ibid., 196.
203 Ibid., 200.
204 Ibid., 237-238.
205 Ibid., 238.
206 Ibid.
through market exchange animated the endless renewal of consumer desire.”207 In the end, the desire for regeneration affected everyone “from Populists farmers to avant-garde artists and writers….Some wanted to restore a sense of wholeness to fragmented selves, others to reinvigorate the entire society.”208 No matter the spiritual quest, progressives maintained the link, so prevalent in Evangelical Protestant theology, between material progress and moral progress.209 Nowhere was this more apparent than in the Social Gospel movement.

The Social Gospel Movement

The Social Gospel movement, which began in the 1880s and lasted through the end of the First World War, “represented the response of liberal evangelical Protestantism to the great cultural and intellectual challenges of the late nineteenth century, most notably evolution and the new science.”210 Unlike those who became disaffected by religion or American culture (or both), Social Gospelers sought a rapprochement between Christianity and modernity. Like their Christian counterparts, they maintained that Christianity had a formative role to play in society. However, like their more disaffected secular counterparts, they rejected orthodox Christianity as “insufficient for the times,” and instead “embraced evolutionary theory,” positing that evolution was “a divine plan for rational social advancement,” and suggesting “that it had become possible, through an empowered central state, to realize the Christian hope ‘thou will be done on earth as it is in heaven.’”211 Ironically, despite their commitment to evolutionary progress, Social Gospelers were motivated less in their theology by a

207 Ibid., 7.
208 Ibid., 4.
210 Pestritto and Atto, Progressivism, 11.
211 Ibid., 11-12. Italics in original.
postmillennial Christian eschatological vision than they were by what Peter Novick calls a “presentist” reading of history that emphasized functional effectiveness. In short, “Social Gospel adherents considered it to be their mission to fulfill in this life the New Testament’s call to bring about the perfect kingdom of God.” And “Like the progressive politicians, Social Gospel theologians asserted that government, because of progress, was now in a position to bring about such an earthly utopia in the form of the modern democratic state.”

In the Social Gospel, manifest destiny reached messianic proportions.

One of the most prominent Social Gospelers was Richard T. Ely, professor of political economy and a former teacher of Woodrow Wilson. Like so many progressives, Ely studied in Germany, receiving a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Heidelberg. He taught at Johns Hopkins University for a decade before settling into an even longer career at the University of Wisconsin.

In “Social Aspects of Christianity,” Ely offered an overtly progressive exegesis of the Great Commandment to love both God and neighbor. “That gospel which in its highest unity is Love is divided into two parts,” he explained, “the first is theology, the second is sociology – the science of society.” While countless theologians applied themselves to the former, few applied themselves to the latter after the Reformation.

Social science, the “second branch of the gospel of Christ,” was ignored not through

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212 Novick, Noble Dream, 98.
213 Pestritto and Atto, Progressivism, 11. Italics in original.
214 Ibid., 11.
216 Ibid., 8.
217 Ibid., 10.
malice but as a mistake of historical growth. Yet, Ely challenged his reader to “Select one of the gospels, and read therein the words of Christ, and you will see how Christ comes back again and again to our social duties.”

In the essay “The Church and the World,” Ely was even more explicit in his attempt to collapse God and society together. He boldly proclaimed, “I take this as my thesis: Christianity is primarily concerned with this world, and it is the mission of Christianity to bring to pass here a kingdom of righteousness and to rescue from the evil one and redeem all our social relations.” He bolstered this argument with the claim that “Nearly everything in the words of Christ applies to the present life.” Like Albion Small, Ely bemoaned fragmentation and separation, in this case between the sacred and the secular. Like Small, he longed for social stability through religion, noting that modern ethical systems “leave me suspended in the air” because they “lack a firm, sure basis,” and rested instead “on an assumption.” Preempting any criticism that he might be reinventing Constantinian Christianity, Ely explained that, on the contrary, “Whenever an agreement has been reached between the Church and the world, the terms have been a division of territory…The world has transferred the domain of dogma and the future life to the Church, but has kept for itself the present life.” Thus, for Ely the lack of peace in the world was proof that the system of “surrender” did not work: the world was never

218 Ibid., 16.
219 Ibid., 17-18.
221 Ibid., 53.
222 Ibid., 55.
223 Ibid., 57.
224 Ibid., 62.
225 Ibid., 53.
fully converted because the Church never firmly planted itself in the world. Now, with God operating in the world through the state, Christians must work to renew the world “until the earth becomes a new earth, and all its cities, cities of God.” The Social Gospel movement had as its task the implementation of Christian righteousness, which Ely called “the cure for all social troubles.” The goal was nothing less than to “save the world with the help of the Divine Spirit.”

Social Gospelers and secular progressives affected a happy marriage. Walter Rauschenbusch, “arguably the theologian of the Social Gospel, criticized orthodox religion in a manner parallel to the progressive criticism of traditional constitutionalism,” lamenting that Christianity had become too individualistic, too abstract and otherworldly, and too greedily attached to private property. In Jane Addams’ appeal to the democracy of the early Church, one also clearly sees the Protestant overtones of the Social Gospel movement. For his part, Ely also distinctly aligned the Social Gospel, progressivism and Protestant Christianity when he declared that, “all legislators, magistrates, and governors are as truly ministers in God’s Church as any bishop or archbishop.” He also admitted elitism when he stated that, “Not all are capable of research in sociology,” and that “the Church should call to her service in this field the greatest intellects of the age.” In the end, though Social Gospelers and secular progressives seemed to speak two different languages, “the same message was preached: a worship of the state as a god, and the need to overcome any attachment to the private

226 Ibid., 53.
227 Ibid., 73.
228 Ibid., 72.
229 Ibid., 73.
230 Pestritto and Atto, Progressivism, 11.
231 Ibid., 13; 104.
232 Ely, “Church and World, 73.” Note the similarity to Martin Luther.
233 Ibid., 88.
that might stand as an obstacle to the social enterprise." One of the primary private attachments that presented itself as an obstacle to the social enterprise of the progressive movement was education.

The Progressive Approach to Education

The progressive view of education was not simply a matter of ideology. Progressives were responding to major shifts affecting American society that created social pressure to reform the education system. Chief among these were industrialization and urbanization, which necessitated a rethinking of both pedagogy and organization. Immigration was another factor. The need to assimilate millions of immigrants was coupled with the need to educate them for full participation in the American democratic system.

The growth in the American education system during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was astronomical. “From 1890 to 1910, both teachers and students [in American high schools] increased more than fourfold, then more than doubled again in another decade.” Similar growth was experienced in the higher education system. Professionalization and organization by discipline was the norm. “Following the founding of the American Economic Association in 1885 and the American Academy of Political and Social Science in 1890, the philosophers (1901), the sociologists (1905), and the political scientists (1906) quickly established professional groups.”

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235 Wiebe, *Order*, 118.
236 Ibid., 157.
237 Ibid., 119.
238 Ibid., 12-13.
239 Ibid., 13.
John Dewey was arguably the most important American educator of the Progressive Era. Like so many of his professional peers, Dewey received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University. He taught first at the University of Chicago and then later moved to Columbia University. Rooted in pragmatic philosophy, Dewey’s approach to education proposed a “radical reconstruction of the theory and purpose of education as traditionally understood.”

_Pragmatic Philosophy_

Heir “to a distinct if minority tradition within Western philosophy that spurned what it considered to be the fruitless search for pure metaphysical truth in favor of a more practical, action-oriented approach to philosophical thought,” pragmatism rejected any attempt to systematize thought or to turn it into a _philosophia perrenis._ Scorning the idea of “eternal or absolute truth,” and making “no pretensions to possessing epistemological certitude,” pragmatists like Dewey “offered a more modest ‘warranted assertability,’ by which a statement could be held to be true if it were efficacious.” In short, pragmatists wanted facts that were empirically grounded in human experience of the world. And since scientific progress necessitated that facts were constantly changing, there could be no fixed truth claims. “Indeed,” Thomas E. Woods writes, “Progressives were united in the conviction that if there was one thing that modern social, economic, and philosophical conditions had to reject, it was dogma of any kind.” Not surprisingly, the rejection of objective certainty brought pragmatists into conflict with

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240 Pestritto and Atto, _Progressivism_, 125.
241 Woods, _Modernity_, 27.
242 Ibid., 28.
243 Ibid., 26.
American historians, most of whom rejected the philosophy.\textsuperscript{244}

Pragmatism was the scientific method writ large.\textsuperscript{245} “It is next to impossible, for example, to find a Progressive who was not profoundly affected by Darwinism and for whom evolution was not further impetus toward the substitution of the scientific method for (scholastic) teleology in science and politics.”\textsuperscript{246} It is not without reason that Lears calls pragmatism “the most influential philosophical consequence of the quest for immediate experience.”\textsuperscript{247} For the pragmatists, truth would always be contingent; philosophy would only apply to the present. Thus, William James could boldly proclaim that, “Pragmatism has no dogmas, and no doctrines save its method.”\textsuperscript{248}

*Pragmatism, Progressivism and Dewey’s Theory of Education*

John Dewey’s most famous piece is “My Pedagogic Creed,” which originally appeared in the January 1897 issue of *School Journal*.\textsuperscript{249} In the brief essay, Dewey succinctly outlined his pragmatic theory of education. Seeking “a thoroughgoing elimination of a religious basis for education and its replacement with a secular faith in democracy,” Dewey considered public education “the only sure means to the renewal of social life that was shared by progressive reformers and educationalists alike.”\textsuperscript{250}

The state as biological and evolutionary organism was at the forefront of Dewey’s argument.\textsuperscript{251} For Dewey, education was “a regulation of the process of coming to share

\textsuperscript{244} Novick, *Noble Dream*, 150-151. Novick notes that it wasn’t until the interwar period that pragmatism had an impact on the historical profession (150-151).
\textsuperscript{246} Ibid., 26.
\textsuperscript{247} Lears, *Rebirth*, 237. Lears credits pragmatism with the turn to vocational training (237).
\textsuperscript{248} James cited in ibid., 28.
\textsuperscript{250} Pestritto and Atto, *Progressivism*, 14.
\textsuperscript{251} Dewey, “Creed,” 125; 127.
in the social consciousness” and therefore “the fundamental method of social progress and reform.” It followed that “adjustment of individual activity on the basis of this social consciousness” was “the only sure method of social reconstruction.” More importantly, “Dewey’s philosophy of education made explicit what was essentially an article of faith among progressives generally: state control and regulation of numerous aspects of public life would be required to bring about the improvements progressives sought.”

Progressive education brought with it several methodological considerations. Dewey explained, “With the advent of democracy and modern industrial conditions, it is impossible to foretell definitely just what civilization will be twenty years from now. Hence it is impossible to prepare the child for any precise set of conditions.” In the face of such radical historical contingency, Dewey advocated rooting education in psychology and sociology, with psychology providing methodological norms and sociology providing a functional end or telos. Practically speaking, focusing on psychology allowed the child to “follow the law of his nature.” Consequently, Dewey advocated active, rather than passive, education, since “the active side precedes in the development of the child nature,” and “the muscular development precedes the sensory.”

Ibid., 133.
Ibid.
Pestritto and Atto, Progressivism, 13.
Ibid., 131.
Ibid., 132.
must necessarily be child-led, lest a teacher “impose certain ideas or…form certain habits in the child.”259

Methodologically, psychology also allowed educators to discover how children learn in order that they might more effectively tailor education to the child’s curiosity, or what Dewey called “the individual’s own power, tastes and interests.”260 Psychology was central to Dewey’s methodology because absent any fixed moral truths educators need not worry about content.261 Rather, educators instead needed to focus on developing in children an interest in learning in order to better prepare them for a society in which information was always subject to change. Even science, insofar as it served as a mechanism for regulating human experience, was at the service of the social organism.262 For Dewey, regulation of experience was the highest goal of education. “Through education,” he explained, “society can formulate its own purposes, can order its own means and resources, and thus shape itself with definiteness and economy in the direction in which it wishes to move.”263

There is irony in Dewey’s theory of education. In Dewey “the schools become the churches of the national democratic faith.”264 “I believe,” he argued, “that…the teacher is always the prophet of the true God and the usherer in of the true kingdom of God.”265 Yet, Dewey was hardly unique in this regard. Democracy as a form of faith, or the tendency to collapse democracy and the kingdom of God, was a popular trope amongst progressive thinkers from Albion Small and John Dewey to Herbert Croly and

259 Ibid., 129.
260 Ibid., 127.
261 Ibid., 128.
262 Ibid., 130.
263 Ibid., 133.
264 Eisenach, Promise, 61; See also Pestritto and Atto, Progressivism, 14.
Jane Addams, as well as amongst social gospel theologians like Samuel Zane Batten and Lyman Abbot. There are obvious cultural origins to this tendency, which date back to the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the thought of John Winthrop. Yet, the transformation of democracy into a form of faith would have been impossible without German idealism and philosophy of history, which was responsible for merging “older millennial/national themes in American Protestantism” with “theories of social evolution.” The passage from religion to philosophy in Dewey and his contemporaries “was made possible only because those Americans who studied in Germany viewed the disinterested pursuit of knowledge as personally and socially transformative and the university as the redemptive engine of this transformation.” And so, a systematic relationship emerged between the four major principles that animated progressive thought. “Hegel was the framework within which ‘Darwinism’ was incorporated into religious thought, and German historicism was the means by which God’s spirit was charted in both church and society.” The result was the progressive call for the renewal of American society.

The Significance of the Progressive Era

It would be an understatement to say that the progressives were not successful in their attempts at reform. In terms of legislative reform, the period ranks as one of the most significant in American history. In addition to legislation, the progressives

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266 Eisenach, Promise, 62 FN 25.

267 Ibid., 63.

268 Ibid., 101.

269 Ibid., 102.

270 Ibid., 101. Eisenach argues that, “the social gospel was both the fulfillment and the death knell for academic theology as the highest expression of American thought” (101).

271 The fifteen year period encompassing 1905 to 1920 alone saw the creation of the FDA (1906), the creation of the Federal Reserve System (1913), the ratification of the sixteenth amendment allowing a federal income tax (1913), the ratification of the seventeenth amendment allowing direct election of
“created the institutional locations and much of the language through which liberal and conservative academics now speak.” From the New Deal to Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society, “the programmatic liberalism of presidents of both major parties” can trace their intellectual lineage back to the Progressive Era. From the contemporary love of novelty to the catharsis of consumerism, from debates over the proper role of government to debates over the proper role of religion in public life, the Progressive Era resonates today with all of the force and vitality it did a century ago. In fact, “If we are to understand the principles of our polity today, and how it came to be this way, there may be no more important era to study than that of the progressives.”

The Progressive Era may indeed have been the period in which contemporary America had its intellectual origins. However, more important to the present study, it provided the context, or situational pole, of American Catholic inculturation. The Progressive Era was the period in which the American Catholic Church finally “came of age,” and during which John Wynne embarked on his most ambitious publishing ventures. It is therefore to Progressive Era Catholicism that we now turn our attention.

senators (1913), the passing of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act (1914), the creation of the FTC (1914), the passing of the Espionage Act (1917), the passing of the Sedition Act (1918), the ratification of the eighteenth amendment which ratified prohibition (1919), and the ratification of the nineteenth amendment which gave women the right to vote (1920).

272 Eisenach, Promise, 7.
273 Pestritto and Atto, Progressivism, 2.
274 Ibid., 1.
275 John Tracy Ellis, American Catholicism (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), 124.
CHAPTER TWO
NEGOTIATING AMERICAN IDENTITY:
PROGRESSIVE ERA CATHOLICISM AND NATIONAL UNITY

“…the safeguard of democracy, indeed the mother of it, is the Catholic Church.”

- John J. Burke, C.S.P., 1920

If the Progressive Era was a period of unprecedented growth for the United States, it was an equally unprecedented period of growth for American Catholicism. From 1880 to 1920, American Catholicism went through a period of remarkable transformation. The number of Catholic immigrants to the United States during the period was staggering. In total, “Between 1870 and 1900 the Catholic population increased by 92 percent, from 6.2 million to 12 million,” becoming “18 percent of the total American population.” By the turn of the century, Roman Catholics were well established as the single largest religious denomination in the nation, with some areas of the Northeast boasting populations more than two-thirds Catholic. In the two decades that followed, many of the most prominent features of contemporary American Catholic life were established as

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278 Eisenach, Promise, 63, FN 29. In fact, Catholics were by the largest denomination by 1850 (Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 5).
American Catholicism first emerged as a prominent voice on the national political scene. During the Progressive Era, American Catholicism finally came of age. The present chapter will examine the response American Catholics had to the developments of the Progressive Era, paying particular attention to ways in which each of the four major principles that guided the progressive worldview intersected with Catholic theology. The chapter corresponds to the second pole of inculturation, “The Message.” It will show that although American Catholics suffered from many of the same dislocations as their non-Catholic peers, they neither uncritically accepted nor blindly dismissed progressivism, but rather responded with “creative fidelity” to the challenges of the day. That is, they attempted inculturation by accommodating and adapting progressive ideas to a Catholic theological worldview while simultaneously critiquing progressivism for its weaknesses and presenting a rival version of social transformation rooted in Neo-Scholastic theology.

**Restoring All Things to Christ**

American Catholics had an unlikely ally in their quest for social regeneration. During the papal conclave of 1903 following the death of Pope Leo XIII, Cardinal Cardinal Giuseppe Melchiorre Sarto was elected pope and took the name Pius X. Though Pius is most often remembered for his harsh condemnation of modernism, like Leo XIII his papacy actually began with a positive agenda for social reform. Pius’ commitment to Leo’s Neo-Scholastic program would not waver throughout his pontificate; he would ground his early social agenda and his later criticism of modernism

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279 The expression originates with John Tracy Ellis, who writes, “there is warrant for speaking of the period after 1900 as one in which the American Church came of age” (*American Catholicism*, 124).
280 The principles will be presented in a slightly different order.
in Scholastic thought. Only by attending to the supernatural order could society hope to “promote everything that is true, good, and beautiful in the order of nature.”

Perennials would temper progress. “The times are indeed greatly changed,” he said in 1904, “But, as we have more than once repeated, nothing is changed in the life of the Church.”

Pius’ first encyclical, *E Supremi* (On the Restoration of All Things In Christ), laid down an activist framework for social reform rooted in Scholastic theology. It was promulgated on the feast of St. Francis of Assisi, a significant gesture given Francis’ reputation as a peacemaker. Nevertheless, Pius started his first encyclical in no less stark terms than Pius IX and Leo XIII had started some of their own, noting that upon election to the papacy he was “terrified beyond all else by the disastrous state of human society today.” He clarified that “apostasy from God” was dragging the world to destruction. And then, without much hesitation, he offered a program for social renewal: “We proclaim that We have no other program in the Supreme Pontificate but that ‘of restoring all things in Christ’ so that ‘Christ may be all and in all.’”

The task would not be easy. Giving vent to the apocalyptic terror of the times Pius declared, “there is good reason to fear lest this great perversity [apostasy] may be as it were a foretaste, and perhaps the beginning of those evils which are reserved for the last days; and that there may be already in the world the ‘Son of Perdition’ of whom the

282 Ibid., 34.
285 Ibid., 3.
286 Ibid.
287 Ibid., 4; cf. Eph. 1:10; Col. 3:2.
Apostle speaks.\textsuperscript{288} Despite the terror, Pius was not despondent. Quoting the book of
\emph{Revelation}, he held out the eschatological hope that Christ might return to bring salvation
to the earth.\textsuperscript{289}

Pius was not opposed to progress. He was, however, aware of the mischief
progress and ignorance had wrought.\textsuperscript{290} In the face of material progress, he decried the
savagery of universal conflict. The restoration of society would take hard work.
Sounding like Woodrow Wilson on the campaign trail, Pius proclaimed, “The times we
live in demand action.”\textsuperscript{291} He prescribed practice over subtle discourse, priestly
formation\textsuperscript{292} and cooperation with the laity.\textsuperscript{293} Grounding his call for reform in the
Incarnation, Pius took particular aim at materialists and rationalists, and emphasized the
concrete, temporal impact restoration in Christ would have on the world.\textsuperscript{294} In a hint of
things to come, he also warned Catholics to beware of “the snares of a certain new and
fallacious science.”\textsuperscript{295} Despite this warning, Pius demonstrated that he was not beyond
praising “useful studies in every branch of learning.”\textsuperscript{296} He was aware of the social
conditions that led some to “abhor the Church and the Gospel,” but argued that many
rejected Church doctrine “more through ignorance than through badness of mind.”\textsuperscript{297}

\emph{E Supremi} is a remarkable document given the tone of Pius’ later pontificate.
Here was a pope optimistic despite the grave challenges facing society, who seemed in

\textsuperscript{288} Ibid., 5; cf. 2 Thess. 3
\textsuperscript{289} Ibid., 9; cf. Rev. 12:10.
\textsuperscript{290} Ibid., 12.
\textsuperscript{291} Ibid., 14. See Wilson, What Is Progress?, 47.
\textsuperscript{292} Ibid., 10-11.
\textsuperscript{293} Ibid., 14.
\textsuperscript{294} Ibid., 8; 14; 7.
\textsuperscript{295} Ibid., 11. Here one may presume Pius is referring to the methods of theological inquiry that he
would eventually condemn as Modernism.
\textsuperscript{296} Ibid., 11.
\textsuperscript{297} Ibid., 12.
harmony with the practical spirit of the age. In an era that simultaneously castigated the Church for being too other-worldly in its commitment to abstract principles and yet oppressive when it tried to assert its influence in the material world, Pius used the Incarnation to call all Catholics to make Christ visibly present in the world, not through words, but through actions. The reign of Pius X began with the *pax vobis* of Francis of Assisi.

Carey explains that Pius’ call to reform had ecclesiastical, political and religious implications, with his action-oriented approach to restoration resulting in a series of early ecclesial reforms. E *Supremi*’s call for practical social action was quickly augmented with the 1905 encyclical *Il Fermo Proposito* (On Catholic Action). Catholic Action, a popular movement in Italy to the present day, was at that time a collection of disparate movements of laypersons seeking to influence secular society with Catholic principles. It was a powerful movement among the laity, and a major bridge of influence to secular society. Though perhaps strongest in Italy, the Catholic Action movement was spread throughout the world. By consolidating Catholic Action under the direction of the Church, Pius hoped to direct the movement’s work towards social and political renewal.

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299 Ibid.
Il Fermo Proposito was originally proposed by Salvatore Maria Brandi, S.J., a staff member of the influential Jesuit journal Civiltà Cattolica and a former professor of theology at Woodstock College in Maryland. Brandi was ultimately one of the encyclical’s two ghostwriters; he was assisted by fellow Civiltà editor Angelo De Santi.

Pius clearly stated that he intended Il Fermo Proposito to be read in continuity with E Supremi. To this end, the two documents shared a number of central themes. First, Pius drew upon the “numerous works of zeal” performed by Catholic Action to propose a comprehensive vision of social renewal. Second, he stressed the role the laity would play in social renewal. Il Fermo Proposito evidenced the same harmony with the practical spirit of the age that Pius displayed in E Supremi. Pius argued that Catholics needed to acclimate themselves to the changed conditions of modern society.

For Catholic Action to be most effective,” he explained, “it is not enough that it adapt itself to social needs only. It must also employ all those practical means which the findings of social and economic studies place in its hands. It must profit from the experience gained elsewhere. It must be vitally aware of the conditions of civil society, and the public life of states.

Otherwise, Pius explained, it would run the risk of “wasting time in searching for novelties and hazardous theories while overlooking the good, safe and tried means at hand.” Or, it might “propose institutions and methods belonging to other times but no

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303 Ciani, Ocean, 313-314.
304 Ciani, Ocean, 143-144; 206. Before Pius, Ciani notes that in addition to Brandi, Leo XIII was most likely aided by the observations of the Italian Franciscan Bonifacio Bragantini, O.S.F., who “wrote down his ideas on the Church in America and suggested themes for an encyclical to the United States…at the pope’s request.” Ocean, 202. Among other things, Bragantini suggested that Leo read Ireland’s speech, “The Church and the Age,” and include mention of “the need to civilize Indians and convert Negroes.” Ocean, 202-203.
305 Ciani, Ocean, 313-314.
306 Pius X, Il Fermo Proposito, 1.
307 Ibid., 2.
308 Ibid., 1-3.
309 Ibid., 17.
310 Ibid.
longer understood by the people of the present day.”

Pius even urged Catholics to use to their advantage the civil rights granted them by modern constitutions, particularly the right to participate “in the political life of the country by representing the people in the legislative halls.” As a sign of his intent that Catholics go out into the world and work to restore all things in Christ, Pius promulgated the encyclical on the Feast of Pentecost.

Beyond Pius’ critical assessment of the modern world – an assessment he incidentally shared with many of the American political and cultural leaders of the day – there was little to suggest in the two encyclicals that he intended Catholics to wall themselves off from modernity. In fact, the two encyclicals encouraged Catholics – especially the Catholic laity – to be open to knowledge, practically oriented, socially aware and politically engaged in their quest for national unity, even as they stressed the need to counter the debilitating trends of progress with the perennials of Scholasticism and the destructive tendencies of nationalism with the transnationalism of the Catholic Church.

The Dislocations of Modernity Revisited

With Pius as their guide, American Catholics set out to capture the United States for the Roman Catholic Church. However, if Pius’ words were a clarion call to action, they came with a caveat: restoration would not be easy. American Catholics, who had an intimate stake in the changes that swept the nation in the Progressive Era, were keenly

311 Ibid.
312 Ibid., 17-18. The one exception was, of course, Italy, which technically remained under the non expedit of Leo XIII that forbade them from participating in Italian elections as either “elector or elected.” However, Pius discreetly indicated in 1904 that he would not enforce the rule. Ciani, Ocean, 301-302.
313 It is critical to note that Pius’ earliest encyclicals came before the French separation laws of 1905 and the spoliation of the church that followed, events that undoubtedly influenced his approach to the modernist movement in France, and the liberal democratic movements that he associated with it.
aware of this reality. “Made up mainly of lower-class immigrants, the church was centered in the cities and towns of the Northeast, the economic core of the nation, where industrialization had its most visible impact.” Catholics therefore felt the full impact of displacement, not just as immigrants in a strange new land who were forced to wrestle with a novel political system that was undergoing sweeping changes, but also as misused workers in a boom and bust economic cycle who suffered from poverty, limited education, poor urban living conditions, social dislocation, racial discrimination, and overt anti-Catholicism.

The Challenge of Immigration

Due to its rapid growth, the Progressive Era Church faced significant internal challenges as “new immigrants sought to establish a home within an American Catholicism that was becoming increasingly pluralistic.” It wasn’t easy. By 1920, American Catholicism was comprised of no less than twenty-eight different foreign language groups. “People of different nationalities were mixed together, and somehow they had to adjust to the American way of life while preserving their own unique heritages. Unity had to be achieved in the midst of diversity.” In this sense, American Catholics experienced what native-born Americans of older stock experienced during the peak immigration years – cultural dislocation that triggered anxiety over national identity. Catholics were no less prone to the xenophobic tendencies exhibited by their non-Catholic compatriots. Frequent disagreements emerged, most often over non-doctrinal,

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315 Ibid., 321-325.
316 Carey, Catholics, 70.
317 Ibid., 135.
318 Ibid., 127.
liturgical and devotional matters. In the late nineteenth century Americanists like Archbishop John Ireland famously clashed with German immigrants over language and the national parish system.\textsuperscript{319} To the chagrin of the Americanists, the national parish system eventually prevailed, but with the next wave of immigrants, the now assimilated Germans joined the Irish in exhibiting the same xenophobic attitude towards Italians. Racial tensions could occasionally turn violent.\textsuperscript{320} To ease tensions, several attempts were made to address racial and cultural relations, though Catholic efforts at this time “were few and desultory.”\textsuperscript{321} The most noteworthy effort came in 1917, when Thomas W. Turner organized the Committee Against the Extension of Race Prejudice in the Church.\textsuperscript{322} More common was the foundation of ethnic organizations structured around ancestral national identities. Designed to simultaneously maintain ties with the ancestral homeland, defend the rights of members, and ease assimilation into the American mainstream, many of the groups developed national reputations. Many continue to exist into the present day.

Despite the influx of immigrants, not all Catholics were poor. By the early twentieth century, “a small middle class of immigrants and native-born Catholics had emerged,” mostly among the Irish and German populations.\textsuperscript{323} Class and occupational status therefore also divided American Catholics.\textsuperscript{324} The Irish-dominated episcopacy and

\textsuperscript{319} Carey, Catholics, 56-58.
\textsuperscript{323} Dolan, Catholic Experience, 157.
\textsuperscript{324} Ibid., 156.
the educated Irish middle-class from which John J. Wynne emerged would ultimately prove instrumental in shepherding the American Catholic Church through the Progressive Era. In particular, Irish Americans like Wynne would play a central role in the development of the Catholic education system, which like the secular system underwent a major transformation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By 1908, fully 60 percent of students enrolled at Catholic colleges in the United States were second-generation Irish.\textsuperscript{325}

The significance of educational developments for American Catholicism cannot be overstated. David O’Brien argues that at the turn of the twentieth century, “Education was seen as a crucial battlefield,” for American Catholics, “more critical indeed than national politics.”\textsuperscript{326} Kevin Schmieszig agrees, explaining that the educational debate was at root “a debate about the compatibility of Catholic and American identities.”\textsuperscript{327} Education was significant precisely because it was directly linked to the process of Americanization.\textsuperscript{328}

The American Catholic Critique of Pragmatism

For American Catholics, Progressive Era arguments about ethnicity, the national parish system and parochial education were part of the much broader domestic conversation about national identity and citizenship. It was, after all, during the Progressive Era that Francis Bellamy composed the Pledge of Allegiance (1892) as a

\textsuperscript{327} Schmieszig, \textit{American Catholic Intellectuals}, 15.
\textsuperscript{328} Slawson, \textit{Foundation and First Decade}, 83-84.
means of fostering patriotism among American school children.\textsuperscript{329} Bellamy explained that the pledge was conceived and written in order to instill “love of country” in the “new generation” of young people, many of whom were immigrants or the children of immigrants.\textsuperscript{330} The plan seems to have worked. In 1908, one of the most famous cultural expressions of American assimilation emerged as the title of Israel Zangwill’s 1908 play \textit{The Melting-Pot}.\textsuperscript{331} Challenged with American exceptionalism and facing overwhelming pressure to assimilate, Catholics asked themselves if, “in the name of this new national unity,” they were prepared to “retreat” from their transnational and universal perspective.\textsuperscript{332}

Not surprisingly, many American Catholics were leery of the progressive push towards national hegemony. In particular, Catholics resisted the progressive plan to eliminate parochial schools and replace them with a secular education system oriented towards citizenship. Nativists and progressives predictably fought back against Catholic recalcitrance. Organizations like the Southern Jurisdiction of the Scottish Rite Masons declared in the aptly named journal \textit{New Age} that, “The idea of the parochial school is all wrong. It separates children into religious groups, fosters dislike and enmity and destroys the very taproots of democracy.”\textsuperscript{333}

\textsuperscript{329} The Pledge originally appeared in \textit{The Youth’s Companion} in September of 1892. See also Francis Bellamy, “The Story of The Pledge of Allegiance to The Flag,” \textit{University Of Rochester Library Bulletin} 8, No. 2 (Winter 1953), https://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?PAGE=3418 (accessed November 15, 2012). Bellamy explains in this piece that the pledge was part of the journal’s celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus’ voyage to America.


\textsuperscript{332} Woods, \textit{Modernity}, 97.

\textsuperscript{333} Quoted in Slawson, \textit{Foundation and First Decade}, 84. Slawson notes, “Emphasis in the original.”
Though the contours of the debate may have been distinctly American, concern over the strain between national identity and parochial education was not. Paul-Ludwig Weinacht writes that parochial education in Europe “lost much ground after the introduction of the general obligation of going to school, the taking over of schools and universities by the state, the emphasizing of science and of the secular in instruction, and the rapid increase of voluntary school attendance – explosion scholaire.” In response to the perceived harm secular schools were having on the formation of children, Pius X sought to alleviate tension between public and parochial schools with the 1905 encyclical Acerbo Nimis (“On Teaching Christian Doctrine”), which mandated the creation of CCD programs at the parish level.

In the United States, a primary challenge to parochial education lay in the pragmatic approach to learning advocated by scholars like John Dewey, whose non-dogmatic and procedural approach to knowledge informed many of the demands for political and religious change in the Progressive Era. For American Catholics, the pragmatic extension of the scientific method to all realms of knowledge – what Catholic philosopher William Turner called the “erroneous extrapolation into philosophy of conclusions reached by the methods of the natural sciences” – meant that religion would

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fall victim to both hypothetical reasoning and positivism.\textsuperscript{336} “It hardly needs pointing out
that Pragmatism represented a direct challenge to the Catholic worldview.”\textsuperscript{337} Catholic
educators of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries “shared the suspicion that
they were being asked to abandon their posture of distinctiveness in the name of the
centralized democratic state that was being forged institutionally and ideologically during
the Progressive Era.”\textsuperscript{338}

To counter the threat to parochial education, Catholic educators went on the
offensive, providing both an intellectual critique of pragmatism rooted in Neo-
Scholasticism and a positive alternative for social reform rooted in Pius X’ call to restore
all things in Christ. Richard H. Tierney, S.J., offered a typical Catholic critique of
pragmatism in the pages of America in February of 1912. In a two-part series entitled,
“Pragmatism and the Higher Life,” Tierney bemoaned the “soul-withering” and “tragic”
consequences of pragmatic philosophy.\textsuperscript{339} Jeering at pragmatism’s failure to account for
the vicissitudes of human suffering, Tierney started his series by mocking pragmatism’s
“marvelous” ability to “comfort the widowed and orphaned and sick and palsied
overnight” by reducing suffering to practical expediency.\textsuperscript{340}

William James was Tierney’s chief target. Though quick to note that he was not
in any way impugning James’ character, Tierney left little doubt about what he thought of
James’ practical philosophy.\textsuperscript{341} Despite its lofty claim to offer a “noble spirituality,”\textsuperscript{342}

\textsuperscript{336} Woods, Modernity, 30-31.
\textsuperscript{337} Ibid., 18.
\textsuperscript{338} Thomas E. Woods, “Assimilation and Resistance: Catholic Intellectuals and the
\textsuperscript{339} Richard H. Tierney, “Pragmatism and the Higher Life I” America vol. 6, no. 18 (February 10,
1912): 416-417; Richard H. Tierney, “Pragmatism and the Higher Life II” in America 6, no. 19 (February
17, 1912): 441-442.
\textsuperscript{340} Tierney, “Pragmatism I,” 416.
\textsuperscript{341} Ibid., 416.
pragmatism was “logically destructive of all that is noble in action,” primarily because it replaced God with a system grounded in subjective human experience. Tierney highlighted James’ comfort with “dogmatic atheism” and “naturalism,” and noted his notorious claim that pragmatism had no dogmas or doctrines save its method. James’ conception of an Absolute “based on the good it does him” and his rejection of fixed truths would in Tierney’s estimation sweep away ethics and render inert dogmatic teachings like the creation of the world ex nihilo, theological disciplines like eschatology, and practical disciplines like juridical morality.

Tierney’s second essay, “Pragmatism and the Higher Life II,” was no less sardonic, though it offered a more substantive philosophical critique of pragmatism. Tierney began the essay by again targeting James. “Like the Modernists, he is a sentimentalist, a subjectivist,” Tierney declared. Modernism, with its historical approach to biblical interpretation, its rejection of traditional structures of authority, and its embrace of the evolutionary principle, was nothing more than theological pragmatism.

Pragmatism was in Tierney’s estimation too subjective to serve as a foundation for thought, and thus modernism was unsuitable as a theological method. In particular, Tierney suggested that pragmatism failed to account for the reality of human sinfulness.

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342 Ibid., 416.
343 Ibid., 416-417.
344 Tierney, “Pragmatism II,” 441-442.
345 Tierney, “Pragmatism I,” 417.
346 Ibid., 417.
348 Tierney, “Pragmatism II,” 441.
349 Ibid., 441.
350 Tierney clearly relied on Pascendi for his description of modernism.
which necessarily clouded human judgment.\textsuperscript{351} Tierney’s critique of pragmatism also led him to critique the German intellectual milieu that he thought inspired it. Driven to “gasp in astonishment at a sanctity sans God, sans ethics, sans truth of any kind,” Tierney cautioned his readers by making explicit the connection between pragmatism, transcendentalism, the Social Gospel (i.e., Protestantism) and modernism.\textsuperscript{352} “Maybe we shall carry away from it the conviction that we cannot go to school with German philosophers…and Evangelical Protestants without harm to our souls,” Tierney quarreled.\textsuperscript{353}

Tierney’s lack of ecumenical sensitivity revealed his ultimate concern: the effect pragmatism would have on the intellectual life of Catholics. “To-day the approach to God is made difficult in many ways,” he lamented.\textsuperscript{354} American character was at least partly to blame.\textsuperscript{355} “We are an active, energetic, nervous people, fretful of restraint and anxious for novelty. Pragmatism releases us from the one and furnishes the other.”\textsuperscript{356} Moreover, few people actually appreciated the “whimsical contradictions” of pragmatism, mostly because they were “satisfied with scraps that are sputtered from platforms or featured in magazines.”\textsuperscript{357} Unfortunately, pragmatism was “scattered everywhere.”\textsuperscript{358} Diagnosing the extent of the “evil” was therefore difficult.\textsuperscript{359} “The effect is bad,” Tierney dryly noted.\textsuperscript{360} “Faith oozes out through the open pores. Cold

\textsuperscript{351} Tierney, “Pragmatism II,” 441-442; Woods, Modernity, 97.  
\textsuperscript{352} Tierney, “Pragmatism II,” 441-442.  
\textsuperscript{353} Ibid., 441.  
\textsuperscript{354} Ibid., 442.  
\textsuperscript{355} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{356} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{357} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{358} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{359} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{360} Ibid.
water and catechism would produce better results.”

Tierney’s critique of pragmatism was echoed in the pages of the *Catholic World* when Father Edmund Shanahan wrote a series of essays entitled, “Completing the Reformation.” In the articles, Shanahan “proposed to trace modern pragmatism all the way back to the Protestant Reformation.” Specifically, Shanahan contended that Kant’s pietist Lutheran background caused him to “set about transferring to philosophy the entire pietistic background and scheme of religion – its preference for the subject over the object, its dislike of externals, its distrust of reason, its autonomous individualism, its insistence on the primacy of the will and moral sentiment.” Shanahan concluded that the modern attempt to remove the rational foundations of knowledge was a direct result of the Reformation’s attempt to derationalize the Christian faith. With nothing left to base religion on but subjective experience and the will, the mind naturally turned in on itself, causing a subjective turn in religion that fostered individualism and enabled later thinkers like William James to emphasize immanence, to the detriment of external authority and practice.

*The Neo-Scholastic Alternative to Pragmatism*

In both Tierney and Shanahan the parallels to *Pascendi* are too obvious to state. If both men typified the Catholic response to pragmatism, both were also characteristic in

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361 Ibid.
366 Ibid., 33.
367 Cf. *Pascendi*, 14; 25; and especially 39, where Pius utters the famous expression “synthesis of all heresies.” Pius makes the connection explicit when he writes, “The first step in this direction was taken by Protestantism; the second is made by Modernism; the next will plunge headlong into atheism” (39).
asserting Pius’ claim that a return to Catholic doctrine would serve to obstruct the advances of pragmatism and provide a sounder basis for social morality. In fact, prominent Catholic educators like Catholic University’s Monsignor Edward A. Pace “argued that it was precisely the training that Catholic children received in the tenets of their religion that in an incidental way made them specifically outstanding citizens.”

For Pace and countless others, no philosophical system was better equipped to provide a moral education – to integrate the findings of modern science with philosophical and theological thought – than that of the medieval Scholastics. Neo-Scholasticism was the system by which Catholics proposed to regenerate American education and, by extension, to renew American society.

Pace was one of the foremost Catholic educators of the Progressive Era and typical of the extent to which American Catholic intellectuals systematically integrated theology with the latest in contemporary methodologies. As a young scholar he studied under Cardinal Benedetto Lorenzelli, and had already developed a reputation for brilliance after his performance in a philosophical disputation presided over by Pope Leo XIII at the conclusion of his theological studies in Rome. In order to prepare for his role as chair of the new philosophy department at Catholic University, Pace pursued advanced studies in philosophy and the natural sciences at Louvain, the Sorbonne, and finally Leipzig, where he studied experimental psychology under Wilhelm Wundt, the

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368 Woods, Modernity, 98.
369 Gleason Contending With Modernity, 17.
370 For more on Pace, see: John L. Elias and Lucinda A. Nolan, eds. Educators in the Catholic Intellectual Tradition (Fairfield, CT: Sacred Heart University Press, 2009).
371 Thomas J. Shahan to John J. Wynne, S.J., America Magazine Archives, Box 30 Folder 10 Georgetown University Library, Special Collections Research Center, Washington, D.C. Hereafter abbreviated as AA.
372 Gleason, Modernity, 110.
founder of modern psychology.\textsuperscript{373} Pace was “One of the first Americans to earn a
doctorate under Wilhelm Wundt,” and “was convinced that Thomism could meet modern
problems only if it was in touch with the findings of natural science.”\textsuperscript{374}

To this end, Pace established an experimental laboratory at Catholic University
and “maintained professional ties with scholars in non-Catholic institutions.”\textsuperscript{375} As
founder of Catholic University’s psychology (1891) and philosophy (1895) departments,
Pace had a remarkable career at Catholic University. He was “elected to the American
Psychological Association at its first meeting” in 1892, became “a founding member of
the American Philosophical Association” in 1900, was an active member of the American
Council on Education (1918), was co-founder and first president of the American
Catholic Philosophical Foundation in 1926, and was an active contributor to the \textit{Catholic
University Bulletin}.\textsuperscript{376}

In an 1896 lecture given on the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas at Catholic
University of America, Pace presented a concise summary of the ways in which Neo-
Scholasticism addressed the challenges presented by pragmatism. His lecture, “St.
Thomas and Modern Thought,” was later published in the April 1896 issue of the
\textit{Catholic University Bulletin}.\textsuperscript{377}

Unlike progressives, Pace acknowledged that he was unwilling “to discard the
ideals” of the past in the face of so much social change.\textsuperscript{378} Yet, fascination with the past
and its bearing on the present did not mean that Pace was willing to concede the future.

\textsuperscript{373} Gleason, \textit{Modernity}, 110-111.
\textsuperscript{374} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{375} Ibid., 111.
\textsuperscript{376} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{377} Edward A. Pace, “St. Thomas and Modern Thought,” \textit{Catholic University Bulletin} 2, no. 2
(April 1896): 188-197. March 7 was the feast day of St. Thomas Aquinas in the old Roman Calendar.
\textsuperscript{378} Pace, “St. Thomas,” 189.
Sounding the true progressive intellectual, he proclaimed, “If history shows us that the present is the outcome of a growth, reflection tells us that a greater growth is yet to come.”

How to reconcile these seemingly contradictory principles, the intellectual ideals of the past and the scientific promise of the future? Pace assured his listeners that despite the pragmatist’s charge that medieval metaphysics had nothing to offer the contemporary mind, attention to Thomistic theology would show that Catholics were not “retrograde” in their views. Attention to Thomas’ thought would not force Catholics to “surrender what modern thought has accomplished, but rather come closer to that harmonious unity of knowledge” in which truth is found.

In order to prove his argument, Pace proposed that it was first necessary to “lay hold upon that which is essential in our modern intellectual life,” the need for synthesis. In the search for synthesis, what mattered most were first principles, the common source of all knowledge – the truth at the center of all things – that stood simultaneously as the rationale and the *modus operandi* of the *universitas*. Such an endeavor demanded more than mere survey and description, more than empirical observation – it demanded identification and most importantly explanation. Here, Aquinas’ thought was paramount. “Where a multitude is busy with analysis, comparatively few maintain that mental grasp on which synthesis necessarily depends. And fewer still are they who, with keen analytical insight, combine a synthetic mastery

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379 Ibid., 189-190.
380 Ibid., 190.
381 Ibid., 190-191.
382 Ibid., 191.
383 Ibid., 192.
384 Ibid.
over the widening domain of science. Of this rarer sort was Saint Thomas Aquinas. Like Aristotle, Aquinas understood that the laws of nature, and the problems of contingency and causation, pointed to ultimate principles that could be used to provide a window into the nature of progress. The cause that informed all this potentiality was God – not the God of deism or of the pragmatist, “an isolated, unknowable somewhat, entirely apart from the world,” but “a personal God” who saw fit to “make Himself known by a more immediate revelation” in the world.

**Neo-Scholasticism and American Catholic Education**

If progressive education rested heavily on a pragmatic philosophical foundation, Neo-Scholasticism provided American Catholics with an alternate foundation grounded in Catholic thought. It was through a Neo-Scholastic lens that American Catholics engaged the principle of progressivism at the heart of Americanization – education. With Thomas as their guide, educators like Pace and Catholic University’s Thomas Edward Shields extended Neo-Scholastic epistemology to the realm of education and developed a pedagogy that sought to orient the educative process towards its proper supernatural end. Along the way, they contributed to the systematic reform of the entire American Catholic education system.

Pace was eager to incorporate the latest educative methods into his pedagogy. However, while receptive to advances in psychology and practical research in the social sciences, he also “wanted to transmit to children certain substantial goods, not simply to impart to them neutral procedural rules within which a variety of perspectives may be

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385 Ibid., 194.
386 Ibid., 195.
387 Ibid.
388 Ibid., 196.
debated.” Catholic students would not just be formed as critical thinkers attentive to process, they would not just describe, but rather their thought would be properly oriented towards the divine. In this way, knowledge of God’s immutable laws would form them into virtuous citizens, and therefore into good Americans.

Pace’s theory of education is clearly outlined in his article on “Education” in the fifth volume of *The Catholic Encyclopedia* in 1909. Pace began the entry with a simple statement that demonstrated the extent to which progressive principles were integrated with Catholic theology. In short, Pace argued that education had a moral dimension that intersected with human psychology. To meet its moral obligation, Pace stressed that education must be guided by both *content* and *process*. Distinguishing between the two allowed Pace “to distinguish the constant elements in education” from the “variable.” Among the constant elements was “the fact of Christian revelation.” At the same time, Pace argued that, “Teaching must be adapted to the needs of the developing mind,” and that “the endeavor to make the adaptation more thorough results in theories and methods which are, or should be, based on the findings of biology, physiology, and psychology.”

Like his non-Catholic progressive peers, Pace was attentive to the role history played in the educational debate. Implicit in his argument was the understanding that history served an apologetic purpose in defense of Catholic participation in the

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391 Ibid.
392 Ibid. Italics in the original.
393 Ibid.
394 Ibid. Pace’s stress on the “fact” of revelation is revealing.
395 Ibid.
construction of the modern education system.\footnote{Ibid.} Pace consequently offered a brief excursus into the history of education before finally arriving at the Christian concept of education that flowered under the medieval university system.\footnote{Ibid.} After listing the many educational advances made by the Church throughout history,\footnote{Ibid.} Pace singled out the Reformation for censure, arguing that, “by rejecting the principle of authority,” Protestantism “led the way to the rupture between Church and State in the work of education” and “in its fundamental tenet went beyond the individualism which led to the decline of Greek education.”\footnote{Ibid.} The insinuation could not have been more overt. Any Progressive Era discord between Church and state on the subject of education, between parochial and public schools, was in fact of Protestant origin. Like so many American Catholic thinkers of the Progressive Era, Pace defended Catholic education on theoretical, pedagogical and historical grounds, and placed responsibility for the dissolution of modern society squarely on the shoulders of the Protestant Reformers, who separated “those elements which the Church had built into a harmonious unity.”\footnote{Ibid.}

Given the fact that “the problems of education” were “the subject of so much discussion and the cause of agitation in various directions,” Pace concluded his article by outlining the Catholic position on education in six decisive points, a Catholic equivalent to Dewey’s five-point pedagogic creed that placed religion at the center of intellectual and moral formation.\footnote{Ibid.}

\footnote{Ibid. Woods succinctly summarizes the six points in, \textit{Modernity}, 95.}
Catholic emphasis on morality and the supernatural end of education naturally brought parochial educators into direct conflict with the non-dogmatic and reform-minded creed of progressive educators like Dewey. However, as the examples of Tierney, Shanahan and Pace show, Catholics were not afraid to impugn progressive reform by linking social decline to the Reformation itself. Woods argues that displays of overt anti-Protestant sentiment among Catholic educators “demonstrated their lack of correspondence with the irenic ecumenical spirit of the Progressive Era.”

However, Catholics were not just exhibiting a narrow parochialism. Rather, they were joining with many non-Catholic and secular thinkers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who argued, as we saw in the first chapter, that Protestant Christianity had “reached the end of its tether.” Rather than meekly blend into the non-denominational American melting pot proposed by Israel Zangwill, John Dewey and Albion Small, American Catholics followed the lead of Pius X and boldly proclaimed a better way of doing things. Real reform and real unity, Catholics contended, would only come after scholars and educators realized the mistake of the Reformation and returned to the Neo-Scholastic principles that united the spiritual and temporal realms in the Middle Ages.

Progressive Era Reform of the American Catholic Education System

Pace represents an important caveat to the discussion of Catholic intellectual life in the Progressive Era. Criticism of pragmatism did not prevent Catholic educators from integrating many aspects of progressive thought in an attempt to improve the effectiveness of parochial education. Pace was, after all, trained as a psychologist in Germany. At Catholic University of America, the nation’s premier Catholic institution,

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402 Woods, Modernity, 105.
403 Lears, Rebirth, 7.
404 Carey, Roman Catholics in America, 81-82.
Pace founded one of the first psychology departments in the United States. Thomas E. Shields, founder of Catholic University’s education department in 1908 and, with Pace, founder of the *Catholic Educational Review* in 1911, was a biologist who received his doctorate from Johns Hopkins University. Catholic University also saw formation of one of the nation’s first sociology departments in 1895 under the direction of Father William J. Kerby. Kerby, who like so many American intellectuals of the period also studied in Germany, would later go on to found the National Catholic School of Social Service in 1921. In each example, Catholic educators who studied science under the foremost European experts in Germany understood themselves to be following the Scholastic method, and papal teaching, which urged a seamless integration of the new sciences into a Catholic theological framework.

Exposure to new sciences like psychology and sociology enabled prominent Catholic educators to rethink the stagnant American Catholic education system. It also allowed them to rethink the educative process that stood at the heart of Americanization. Philip Gleason explains that “From the outset, Catholic educators understood their ‘search for order’ to be part of a larger national trend.” To meet the strain, Catholic educators “rationalized” the entire system, streamlining the educational process into one

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406 Though often seen as hostile to science, the popes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were primarily concerned with the application of scientific reasoning to moral and theological questions. They were not, as is sometimes assumed, hostile to science itself. For positive comments on scientific investigation, see for example Pius X, *Lamentabile Sane* 57, *Pascendi* 25 and in particular *Pascendi* 47, where Pius tells scholars, “Apply yourselves energetically to the study of natural sciences: the brilliant discoveries and the bold and useful applications of them made in our times which have won such applause by our contemporaries will be an object of perpetual praise for those that come after us.” Pius X, *Lamentabili Sane Exitu* (On The Errors Of The Modernists), July 3, 1907, http://papalencyclicals.net/Pius10/p10lamen.htm (accessed March 10, 2014).

that met the standards developed by secular educators. The results of Catholic educational reform were no less extraordinary, though perhaps on a smaller scale, than those of the public education system. Total enrollment in Catholic colleges and universities tripled from 1899 to 1926. Not just men, but increasingly women sought out degrees in higher education. From 1900-1930, roughly 70 new colleges for women were founded.

New academic programs appeared around the country almost overnight. “Aside from seminary training for priests, only a handful of professional programs existed in Catholic institutions in 1900, but they sprung up like mushrooms over the next quarter century.” So did Catholic-run law schools, business schools and teacher training programs. In addition to new departments and programs at colleges and universities, there was considerable growth in the number of vocational schools, especially at Jesuit-run institutions. In fact, the Jesuits “would gradually have a powerful influence on the educated laity in the American church, primarily because by 1920 they had established or were administering from coast-to-coast twenty-five major colleges and universities, which they were organizing according to the standards of higher education prevalent in American society.”

To meet the practical demands of professionalization and consolidation that were predominant among Progressive Era intellectuals, several major national Catholic

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408 Gleason, Modernity, 39-61; see also Gleason, Modernity, 21.
409 On the success of the American Catholic education system, Weinacht notes that “The great majority of North American Catholics in this [twentieth] century received, partly or entirely, their education in Catholic institutions” (“Educational System,” 389).
410 Gleason, Modernity, 82 Table 1.
411 Ibid., 89.
412 Ibid., 96 FN 46.
413 Ibid., 96-97.
414 Ibid., 95.
415 Carey, Catholics, 68.
educational associations were organized. In 1899, the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities (ACCU) formed, and in 1904, the Catholic Educational Association (CEA) was formed after the ACCU merged with two existing organizations: the Education Conference of Catholic Seminary Faculties (1898) and the Parish School Conference (1902). In 1927, the CEA added “national” to its name to become the NCEA. Students also joined the move towards national organization. In 1915, the Federation of Catholic College Clubs was founded in New York; it became the Newman Club Federation in 1938.416

Catholic Social Reform in the Progressive Era

Structural reorganization was not limited to education. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Catholics also participated in the “revolution” affecting charitable work in the United States.417 In one respect, anti-Catholicism put Catholics at a disadvantage when it came to social service. David O’Brien explains that, “the exclusion of the clergy from public institutions…had forced Catholics to develop their own services, especially in the East.”418 In another respect, Catholics had a considerable advantage. “In parts of the West and in many smaller cities…Catholic hospitals, orphanages and protectories were often the first and perhaps the only such institutions in the area and received broad public support.”419

417 O’Brien, Public Catholicism, 145.
418 Ibid., 145.
419 Ibid. For a fascinating study of Catholic charitable activities in the American West, see Gerald McKevitt, Brokers of Culture: Italian Jesuits in the American West, 1848-1919 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007).
Immigration presented a particular challenge for American Catholics engaged in charitable work. Though they felt responsible for integrating their mostly poor, illiterate and unskilled religious brothers and sisters into the American mainstream, American Catholics were overwhelmed by the extent of the immigrants’ needs. In order to meet the demand, new Catholic charitable organizations appeared throughout the Progressive Era. Health care was an acute need. Between 1877 and 1920, 327 Catholic hospitals were founded.\(^{420}\) However, charitable work occurred even at the parish level. Gerald McKevitt writes that successful Western parishes functioned like “dynamic community centers” that offered immigrants “a variety of social services” including legal aid, health care, cooking and sewing classes, nursery care, festivals and youth centers.\(^{421}\)

In their charitable activities, Catholics were not unlike their Social Gospel peers who stressed the importance of meeting the practical needs of the poor and underprivileged. However, unlike the Social Gospelers, Catholics were late to organize their efforts and late to incorporate research in the social sciences. When the United States entered the First World War in 1917, “There were 15,000 Catholic societies but almost no communication, coordination or cooperation” between the organizations.\(^{422}\) In 1910, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul was the only organized Catholic charity in the United States.\(^{423}\) With the exception of the work done by religious orders, all charitable activity was conducted on an ad hoc basis at the local level.

\(^{420}\) Dolan, Catholic Experience, 328.
\(^{421}\) McKevitt, Brokers of Culture, 252.
None of this is meant to suggest that Catholics were negligent in their duty to minister to the poor. In their study of the history of Catholic Charities, Dorothy M. Brown and Elizabeth McKeown write “Catholics have played a crucial but largely undocumented role in the evolution of American welfare.”

The problem with Catholic charity was its lack of organization. There are several theoretical explanations for Catholicism’s lack of a systematic approach to charity. First, many American Catholics feared that social scientific techniques “would destroy the spirit of Christian charity and make it an impersonal thing.”

Second, and perhaps more importantly, Catholics were also reluctant to accept “the secularization or laicization of social work.” McKeown offers several additional reasons Catholics were suspicious of secular welfare. First, the intense record keeping of scientific charity threaten the sense of confidentiality Catholics had come to expect in their local parishes. Second, Catholics were reluctant to relinquish their “own” orphans to evangelical and state run institutions. Finally,

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427 McKeown, “Claiming the Poor,” 148.

428 Ibid., 149; Brown and McKeown, *The Poor Belong to Us*, 193.
some Catholics “regarded professional social workers [many of whom were lay women] as agents of modernization and baneful influences on family life.”

Unification and National Organization

Eventually, Catholic need coupled with new techniques and the secular trend towards centralization forced Catholics to confront their own disorganization. The Vincentians moved charitable work towards national cooperation. In 1898, the Saint Vincent de Paul Society founded the Catholic Home Bureau to aid placement of orphans and dependent children. Later, building on the work of Catholic sociologists like Kerby and his protégé, Father Paul Hanley Furfey, American Catholics steadily reformed and centralized their social service systems. O’Brien explains, “Gradually more and more dioceses inaugurated central charitable offices to coordinate and professionalize local services, stimulated in part by the movement toward community chest campaigns in local communities.” The result was not just the professionalization of charitable work, but also the foundation of a number of national organizations dedicated to social relief.

In 1910, the National Conference of Catholic Charities (known today as Catholic Charities USA) was formed under the leadership of Kerby with John O’Grady as national secretary. In 1915, the Catholic Hospital Association was formed (today the Catholic Health Association). In 1919, the reorganized National Catholic War Council became the National Catholic Welfare Council, precursor to the present-day United States

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429 McKeown, “Claiming the Poor,” 151.
430 Ibid., 153.
431 O’Brien, Public Catholicism, 146.
432 Gavin, Catholic Charities, 6-7.
433 O’Brien, Public Catholicism, 145-146.
434 O’Brien, Public Catholicism, 147.
435 Mckeown notes that “the centralization and professionalization of Catholic social provision greatly altered the original character of Catholic work, reducing both the freedom of the religious orders that founded and staffed the charitable institutions and the influence of the independent organizations of the laity that sustained them” (“Claiming the Poor,” 150).
Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB).\textsuperscript{436} In 1919, the Council issued its own plan for social reconstruction, the aptly named \textit{Program of Social Reconstruction}, which used a Neo-Scholastic framework to urge a number of progressive-minded social reforms, including unemployment insurance, the right to unionize, and government sponsored programs for the sick and the old.\textsuperscript{437}

In addition to social services, two notable missionary initiatives were started in the early twentieth century, one domestic and the other foreign.\textsuperscript{438} In 1905, Francis C. Kelley founded the Catholic Church Extension Society in Chicago in order “to provide funds and other forms of assistance for rural Catholics.”\textsuperscript{439} In 1911, James A. Walsh and Thomas F. Price founded the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, better known as Maryknoll.\textsuperscript{440}

The most famous patroness of charity during the Progressive Era was undoubtedly the Italian-born Francesca Cabrini, who founded the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Italy in 1880 and emigrated to the United States in 1889 to serve Italian immigrants. Among other things, Mother Cabrini founded orphanages, schools and hospitals around the country to serve America’s immigrant poor. A naturalized U.S. citizen, Cabrini would eventually become the first American citizen declared a saint. Despite her reputation for sanctity, Cabrini was not the only Progressive Era saint. Today her contemporary, Katharine Drexel, eclipses her reputation with many scholars.

\textsuperscript{436} McKeown discusses the tension the NCCC encountered in the NCWC under Burke’s leadership (“Claiming the Poor,” 156-157).
\textsuperscript{437} O’Brien, \textit{Public Catholicism}, 151. For more on the bishop’s plan, see McShane, \textit{Sufficiently Radical}, 1986.
\textsuperscript{438} Carey, \textit{Catholics}, 70-71.
\textsuperscript{439} Ibid., 71.
\textsuperscript{440} For more on Catholic missionary work in the early twentieth century, see Angelyn Dries, \textit{The Missionary Movement In American Catholic History} (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1998).
The heiress of a large banking fortune, Drexel founded the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People. In 1917, she founded Xavier University in New Orleans, Louisiana, the first and only college for African American Catholics. Drexel, too, would eventually be canonized. These two female saints illustrate another important feature of Progressive Era Catholicism: the increasing visibility of women, both lay and religious, in American Catholic life. This development paralleled secular culture, where women’s rights and the suffragist movement gained considerable ground in the early decades of the twentieth century before the nineteenth amendment was finally passed in 1920.

In addition to Catholic Charities and new religious orders like those founded by Cabrini and Drexel, a national organization was formed to coordinate lay activity. In 1901, the American Federation of Catholic Societies (AFCS) was formed in Cincinnati to coordinate lay Catholic activism and protect Catholic rights in American society.\footnote{For an overview see Andrew MacErlean, *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), s.v. "American Federation of Catholic Societies." The AFCS did not come under episcopal supervision until 1903 (Slawson, *Foundation and First Decade*, 13). For an extended look at Catholic lay activity during the Progressive Era, see Deirdre M. Moloney, *American Catholic Lay Groups and Transatlantic Social Reform in the Progressive Era* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).} By 1917, lay activity had become so extensive that the AFCS was placed under the episcopal supervision of the newly reorganized National Catholic Welfare Council.\footnote{Slawson, *Foundation and First Decade*, 13-14.} In 1920, lay activity was further reorganized when the Welfare Council established two new national organizations for lay people, the National Council of Catholic Men and the National Council of Catholic Women, which were the result of “a merger of parochial, supraparochial, diocesan, individual state, and national organizations.”\footnote{Trisco, “English-Speaking Area,” 663.} Robert Trisco explains, “Both parent organizations created a broadly conceived program for spirituality,
information, civic and social action, family life, youth, and international affairs” at the local, national and international levels.444

American Catholics and Labor Reform

Catholic involvement in the labor movement was the inspiration behind eventual Catholic participation in the national labor reforms of the day.445 Labor unions were at the center of the debate; the Catholic press contributed to the cause. “By the mid-1880s, the Catholic press, including both newspapers and journals of opinion, was much more sympathetic to the cause of labor and social problems than it had been a decade earlier. It was also more critical of laissez-faire economics and the injustices it caused in society.”446

Monsignor John A. Ryan was by far the most famous economist to write about the labor issue. A priest from Minnesota who wrote the bishops’ 1919 Program of Social Reconstruction, Ryan received his doctorate from Catholic University of America and was actively involved in promoting reform of the economy. He openly admitted that Henry George’s Progress and Poverty had affected his understanding of the economic problem,447 even if he was critical of the work. His 1906 book, A Living Wage, even featured an introduction by progressive Social Gospeler Richard T. Ely.448

Ryan may have been the most popular Catholic economic thinker, but at the end of the nineteenth century, few Catholic labor reformers in America were more popular – or more controversial – than Edward McGlynn. Widely known as a “powerful orator”

444 Ibid.
446 Ibid., 332.
448 Carey, Catholics, 71-72. cf. chapter one.
and advocate of social reform, Dr. McGlynn, as he was commonly known, was also deeply impressed by Henry George’s 1879 book _Progress and Poverty_ and became an ardent supporter of the Land League. The goals of the Land League resonated with George’s argument in _Progress and Poverty_, particularly the argument that “the root cause of social disorder and distress was the ability of a few landowners to profit from rising land values.” George offered a seemingly simple solution to the problem. He argued that the “private right to land had no more foundation than the private right to air,” and that “the land of every country belonged to all.” In place of private ownership, George proposed private occupancy of the land and a single tax system on rent, which he thought would provide adequate financial resources to the government.

McGlynn liked the idea, and became a George devotee. He even actively campaigned for George during his unsuccessful bid for Mayor of New York City in 1886. However, not everyone was pleased with this support. At issue was the orthodoxy of George’s plan, which came perilously close to socialism. McGlynn’s support for George eventually brought him into conflict with New York Archbishop Michael Augustine Corrigan, who had him suspended in 1886. However, Corrigan was not the only prelate wary of McGlynn’s support for George. Even prominent liberal

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450 Dolan, _Catholic Experience_, 331.
451 Reher, _Intellectual Life_, 68.
452 Ibid.
453 Dolan, _Catholic Experience_, 331.
454 Reher, _Intellectual Life_, 68-69.
455 Pope Leo XIII’s encyclical, _Rerum Novarum_, was still several years away.
clerics like Cardinal James Gibbons, John Keane, John Ireland, and Isaac Hecker did not espouse George’s theories.\textsuperscript{456}

Nevertheless, Ireland, Keane and Gibbons voiced strong support for labor unions despite misgivings in some episcopal circles over the unions’ secretive nature and their tendency to associate with socialism and violent protest.\textsuperscript{457} On this point, Gibbons in particular “argued that the church was in a new democratic age, one in which the power and influence of the people were providentially rising to new importance.”\textsuperscript{458} For Gibbons, the people were the future.\textsuperscript{459} In Rome, he shrewdly campaigned against condemnation of the Knights of Labor, arguing that in addition to alienating the people, it would be financially ruinous to the Church.\textsuperscript{460} He also petitioned Roman Propaganda to withhold an official condemnation of McGlynn, not because he or any of the Americanists agreed with McGlynn, but because the people did.\textsuperscript{461}

McGlynn remained obstinate throughout the affair; he even “challenged the hierarchy to prevent him from exercising his civil rights as an American citizen.”\textsuperscript{462} Refusing to accommodate Corrigan’s request to refrain from supporting George, and ignoring entreaties from Rome, McGlynn was finally excommunicated in 1887. The entire saga played itself out in the popular media of the day, with McGlynn’s supporters staging angry protests. McGlynn was finally reinstated several years later “through the intercession of John Ireland,”\textsuperscript{463} though he was transferred to Newburgh, New York, near

\textsuperscript{456} Reher, \textit{Intellectual Life}, 68-69.
\textsuperscript{457} Carey, \textit{Roman Catholics In America}, 55.
\textsuperscript{458} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{459} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{460} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{461} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{462} Reher, \textit{Intellectual Life}, 68.
\textsuperscript{463} Ibid., 69.
Poughkeepsie, presumably far enough away from Manhattan to keep him out of trouble. He died a short time later.

Edward McGlynn’s public support for Henry George and the conflict it created with the American Catholic hierarchy illustrates the intellectual tension that existed between American Catholic labor leaders and the reformers of the Progressive Era. The McGlynn case also clearly illustrates the limits of Catholic economic ecumenism. Despite McGlynn and Ryan’s support for George’s *Progress and Poverty*, Catholic thinkers as diverse as James J. Walsh, Hilaire Belloc and Joseph Husslein indicted the Reformation for causing the economic uncertainty of the Progressive Era.\(^{464}\) Once again, Catholics were not picking a gratuitous fight with Protestants. Similar economic patterns were detected by sociologists, none more famously than the German sociologist Max Weber. In 1904-05, Weber published *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, a landmark work that offered the thesis that the Calvinist approach to the material world made possible the pragmatic innovations of capitalism, and therefore modernity.\(^{465}\) Catholics agreed, though they arrived at a different conclusion about the effective worth of these developments. In 1918, Joseph Husslein wrote an article in *America* called “Rise and Fall of Protestant Prosperity,” in which he argued that Catholics accused Protestants “not to promote gratuitous discord or ill will, but simply so that the ‘new reconstruction’

\(^{464}\) Woods, *Modernity*, 136-138. Since many of these critiques came after *Pascendi*, it is likely that the encyclical had considerable bearing on the authors’ arguments.

[of the social order] might be ‘based upon more sound and lasting foundations.’

In the end, even Ryan charted a characteristically Catholic response to economic uncertainty. His emphasis on natural law, his use of papal teaching and his supernatural teleology placed him firmly within the Catholic intellectual fold. Beneath all the apparent agreement” Woods explains, “was a philosophical chasm that set Catholic thinkers apart from virtually all their Progressive counterparts.” Catholic progressives worked to restore society, but they worked in a distinctly Catholic vernacular.

The American Catholic Press

The popularity enjoyed by Edward McGlynn, whose case was followed almost breathlessly in the pages of the New York Times, revealed the power the media had to influence public debate. One article in particular told much of the story: “Peter’s Pence Down: One of the Effects of Dr. McGlynn’s Excommunication.” The mass media may have brought with it new opportunities to communicate, but it also brought new challenges.

Though the Church had “reciprocal relations” with the media prior to 1900, it wasn’t until the twentieth century that the explosion of mass media produced new forms of communication that revolutionized the sharing of information and the shaping of opinion.

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467 Carey, Catholics, 71-72; Woods, Modernity, 129.
If the Catholic discussion of journalism in the nineteenth century was predominantly determined by the struggle against the ‘bad press’ – mauvaise presse, stamper perverse stamper negative – the early twentieth century brought a new enemy: more correctly, the knowledge that, in addition to the ‘bad,’ that is, the liberal, socialist and occasionally even Protestant press, a new form of newspaper had appeared – the ‘colorless press.’

Michael Schmolke explains that the colorless press was distinctive in that it renounced “opinion” and “partisanship” in favor of “information” in an attempt to increase circulation. It was indicative of the progressives’ obsession with facts. “The Catholic press, on the contrary, was conceivable only as an ‘opinion press.’” Not surprisingly, Catholics were inherently suspicious of the secular press. “The fact that the ‘colorless press’ was a publishing success, that, in regard to the issues, only with it did the age of mass media begin, only made it more suspect” in Catholic eyes.

Despite Catholic suspicion, the Catholic press followed the secular trend towards consolidation, expansion and professionalization during the Progressive Era. Trisco explains that after the First World War, “The ownership of most newspapers was transferred by lay persons to the dioceses” and newspaper “chains” began to appear as successful journals began to publish outside of their own dioceses. Consolidation satisfied the need for episcopal supervision in the face of increased lay journalistic participation. It also met the need for the practical streamlining of publications. In order to distinguish reliable information from error and to avoid the scandals associated with the “yellow press,” Catholic journals also started to make distinctions between “authoritative” articles that disseminated official Church teaching and “opinion” pieces.

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471 Ibid., 411.
472 Ibid., 411-412.
473 Ibid., 411.
474 Ibid., 412.
that were not doctrinal in content. In this way, Catholics themselves ironically
developed their own unique form of “colorless press.”

By 1920, the Catholic press had expanded and professionalized with the birth of
two national associations. The Catholic Press Association was formed – and reformed –
until a permanent association emerged in 1911. The Catholic Writers Guild of America
was formed in 1919. In order to meet the insatiable demand for information, in 1920 the
National Catholic Welfare Council established a Catholic news service. The service,
which replaced a smaller agency operated by the press association, “erected an overseas
service, hired correspondents in almost every part of the world, obtained subscriptions in
sixty-five countries, and finally supplied services for leading articles, pictures, radio, and
eventually also for television and some other services.”

The Progressive Era also saw the birth of several important academic journals
aimed at scholarly research and a national readership. It was during the Progressive Era
that the first national Catholic weekly (America, 1909) and large Catholic daily in
English (Tribune, 1920) first appeared. By 1920, there were at least 315 Catholic
periodicals and newspapers published in the United States and 76 periodicals published
by Catholic universities, colleges and academies, for a total of 391 periodicals. Like
the secular press, major cities were the centers of Catholic journalism.

*The Struggles of the American Catholic Press*

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476 Ibid.
477 Ibid.
478 Ibid.
479 Ibid.
480 “The Catholic Press in the United States,” *Catholic Historical Review* 7., no. 1 (April 1921): 72-79. The final tally was arrived at by counting the publications listed.
Despite the expansion of the Catholic press, American Catholics studiously avoided reading religious literature throughout Progressive Era. Among the seventeen Catholic journals published in the United States in 1850, nearly half of the editors were converts and only five of the journals survived into the twentieth century. The early struggles of the Catholic Press Association illustrate many of the larger issues faced by the Catholic press in the United States during the Progressive Era. Once again, provincialism presented a significant challenge. As early as 1894, L.W. Reilly identified lack of organization as one of “The Weak Points of the Catholic Press” in the American Ecclesiastical Review. In A History of the Catholic Press Association, Sister Mary Lonan Reilly, O.S.F., chronicles the organizational challenges the press association faced as it sought to solicit the participation of Catholic editors during its early years. Lonan Reilly notes that the “overly secular” tone of the debate surrounding the Spanish-American War in 1898 likely contributed to Catholic awareness of the need for a unified public voice. “Not only the hierarchy but also a number of Catholic lay journalists were coming to the realization that lack of coordination in the Catholic press dissipated its energies and weakened the American Catholic community at a time when unity was essential to meet a new wave of nativist bigotry.” However, in 1901 Humphrey J. Desmond, editor of the Milwaukee Catholic Citizen, was still complaining about “the

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481 Ibid., 71-72.
482 Ibid., 81.
485 Reilly, Catholic Press Association, 23.
486 Ibid., 15.
poor circulation of Catholic publications, the apathy of most readers, and the general lack of enthusiasm within the Catholic press itself.487 After the failure of a press association that was formed at Catholic University of America in 1905, a permanent Catholic Press Association was finally established in 1911.488 It was assigned the primary tasks of correcting misinformation about Catholicism and spreading Catholic truth.489 In a break with Catholic provincialism, the press association “especially supported the Catholic press in Latin America and the mission press in general,” perhaps as a result of the antagonism Catholics experienced during the Spanish-American War.490

The association’s woes did not end with the successful establishment of a permanent national organization. In addition to poor participation, funding was a perennial concern. Due to poor circulation and a general lack of readership, many American Catholic journals struggled to stay financially solvent.491 Interestingly, Lonan Reilly notes that financial concerns were not limited to the Catholic press. “During these years even secular papers were losing money,” she explains, though she adds that, “Catholics seemed to give them [secular papers] more support than they extended their own publications.”492 The financial concerns faced by Catholic editors spilled over into the press association itself as the organization and editors discussed ways to increase subscriptions, raise advertising revenue and address the lack of readership.493

No matter the root cause, “Expanding circulation…was not only a desirable goal but an absolute necessity if the Catholic Press Association member publications were to

487 Ibid., 22.
488 Ibid., 24.
489 Ibid., 36.
491 Reilly, Catholic Press Association, 43.
492 Ibid.
493 Ibid., 34-60.
survive.” Unfortunately, the association’s efforts during the Progressive Era met with limited success. In 1916, five years after the association was formed and nearly twenty years after the Spanish-American War made the need for national organization apparent, only half of Catholic publishers belonged to the Catholic Press Association.

American Catholic Periodicals of Note


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495 Ibid., 49. I have been unable to determine if Wynne belonged to the association.
Action (1919) and the Tribune (1920).\textsuperscript{496} While some of these works had short tenures, many lasted well into the twentieth century; several continue to enjoy circulation today.

A striking feature of the new academic journals was the national perspective they offered, with the words “National,” “America,” “American,” or “United States” appearing in the titles of more than a few of the newly minted journals. The titles offer concrete evidence that American Catholics were no less concerned about national unity than their secular progressive peers. A second striking feature of the scholarly journals founded in the period is the attention they gave to history; many of the most important journals had as their object historical research.\textsuperscript{497} The journals are evidence that Catholics actively participated in one of the key academic disciplines of the day.

**American Catholic Historiography in the Progressive Era**

The growth of historical studies among Catholic thinkers of the early twentieth century was “pronounced.”\textsuperscript{498} In particular, Peter Novick cites “the very substantial number of historian-priests (and nuns) who earned their Ph.D.’s at Catholic universities” during the period.\textsuperscript{499} Upon graduating, Catholics typically worked at Catholic institutions, and not without reason.\textsuperscript{500} Novick writes that prior to the First World War, empiricism in the historical profession “had been presented as a doctrine of liberation from ‘metaphysical’ absolutes, often religious.”\textsuperscript{501} In practice, liberation often meant exclusion of those who did not conform to the dominant liberal Protestant model. “There was considerable antipathy to Catholics among many Protestant historians, who often

\textsuperscript{496} I am indebted to Patrick W. Carey for providing this list during a seminar he offered in American Catholic Theology at the University of Dayton in the Fall of 2002.

\textsuperscript{497} For a review of historical research in the period, see Thomas F. O’Connor, “Trends and Portends in American Catholic Historiography,” Catholic Historical Review 33, no. 1 (April 1947): 3-11.

\textsuperscript{498} Schmiesing, “American Catholic Intellectuals,” 59.

\textsuperscript{499} Novick, Noble Dream, 174 FN 10.

\textsuperscript{500} Ibid., 69 FN 9.

\textsuperscript{501} Ibid., 143.
believed, as one put it, that ‘a Catholic cannot teach history and be a true Catholic.’" 502 For this reason, Novick explains that at many colleges and universities “Criteria of religious orthodoxy were not uncommon.” 503 Nevertheless, Novick notes that Catholic historians “were a significant enough presence” that J. Franklin Jameson, president of the American Historical Association in 1907 and editor of the American Historical Review, fretted over giving “needless offence to the Catholic part of the constituency.” 504

It is no surprise that American Catholics actively engaged in historical scholarship. Given the progressive fascination with scientific history, the fact that before the First World War “American historians were largely isolated from modernist currents in philosophical, scientific, and social thought,” and the fact that most American historians rejected pragmatism, 505 the discipline was one of the major social scientific avenues open to Catholic scholars after Pascendi. 506 Moreover, since history held out the possibility of finding common ground with the modern world, it was understood to be one of the keys to successful Americanization. “The burgeoning interest in Catholic history that began in the last decade of the nineteenth century and continued into the twentieth brought with it an intense effort to make known the accomplishments of Catholics in the course of the history of the United States." 507 This effort met the

503 Ibid., 65. It would be interesting to know if similar exclusion existed in other fields of study.
504 Jameson quoted in Novick, Noble Dream, 69 FN 9. Wynne was undoubtedly one of the Catholics Jameson was afraid of offending, as is made clear in Novick, Noble Dream, 174 FN 10 and, by extension, in John Tracy Ellis, “The Ecclesiastical Historian in the Service of Clio,” Church History 38, no. 1 (March 1969): 114.
505 Novick, Noble Dream, 150.
506 Ibid., 111-112.
507 Schmiesing, “American Catholic Intellectuals,” 64.
resistance of established progressive historians who typically attributed the American experiment to Anglo-Saxon superiority.508

One of the most famous American Catholic scholars to emerge during the Progressive Era was a historian. Peter Guilday, priest and professor of history at Catholic University of America, received a doctorate in moral sciences and history from Louvain in 1914 and shortly afterwards joined the faculty at Catholic University at the request of rector Thomas J. Shahan.509 Guilday “made a profound and lasting impact on American Catholic historiography by mentoring numerous students of the next generation” and by authoring several important historical works, including biographies of Bishops John Carroll and John England.510 He also contributed to the professionalization of American Catholic historiography with the founding of the Catholic Historical Review in 1915 and the American Catholic Historical Association (ACHA) in 1919.

For American Catholic intellectuals like Guilday, historical studies served a practical purpose. History was “an imperative for American Catholics, because the practical bent of the American mind made the history of the Church the object of criticism.”511 Catholics, Guilday argued, needed to meet and overcome this objection in order to prove their patriotism and demonstrate the compatibility of American and Catholic identities.512 The primary way for Catholics to achieve these goals was to

508 Novick, Noble Dream, 80-83.
509 This account relies on a brief biography of Guilday that can be found at the homepage devoted to Guilday’s papers at The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives at The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC. (hereafter referred to as ACUA) http://archives.lib.cua.edu/findingaid/guilday.cfm (accessed March 13, 2014). See also Schmiesing, American Catholic Intellectuals, 84.
510 Schmiesing, American Catholic Intellectuals, 84.
511 Ibid.
demonstrate the intellectual continuity between Catholic theology and the founding principles of the United States. Historical research would lead the charge. For Guilday, as for Roosevelt and Wilson, “It was in the field of history…that the major battles for America’s soul would take place.”  

Despite Guilday’s iconic status as both historian and critical apologist for American Catholicism, the most popular Catholic historian to emerge during the Progressive Era was James J. Walsh. A medical doctor by profession, Walsh, a former Jesuit who left the novitiate for health reasons, studied pathology under the famous German pathologist Rudolf Virchow in Berlin and earned his doctorate in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania in 1895. Walsh’s “interest in the history of medicine led him, in turn, to a general interest in history and historical progress.” In particular, “Walsh believed that religion and scientific progress were eminently compatible, a [Neo-Scholastic] view under rigorous assault in the closing years of the nineteenth century.”

Walsh’s status as an amateur historian was typical of the Progressive Era, when history was first starting to emerge as a modern discipline, and when “much of the most distinguished historical work continued to be produced by those without Ph.D.’s or professorships.” As dean and professor of medicine at Fordham University, Walsh wrote prolifically on science and the history of science in books like Old Time Makers of Medicine, The Popes and Science and Health Through Will Power. However, today he

513 Schmiesing, American Catholic Intellectuals, 84.
514 Ibid., 68.
515 Ibid.
516 Ibid.
517 Ibid.
518 Novick, Noble Dream, 49.
519 James J. Walsh, Old Time Makers of Medicine (New York Fordham University Press, 1911); James J. Walsh, The Popes and Science: The History of Papal Relations to Science During the Middle Ages
is almost exclusively remembered for his 1907 book *The Thirteenth, The Greatest of Centuries*.\(^{520}\) Walsh’s *Greatest of Centuries* was perhaps the most famous historical work produced by an American Catholic writer in the first half of the twentieth century. According to Schmiesing, it “marked the beginning of a resurgence of American Catholic interest in the Middle Ages,” an interest that served as a historical “counterpart” to the Thomistic renaissance in philosophy and which paralleled the secular interest in the medieval period.\(^{521}\)

For Walsh, Neo-Scholastic theology and American Catholic historical research were of a single piece; Walsh believed that the thirteenth century “held the key to understanding the ideals of the American nation some five centuries later.”\(^{522}\) This belief would be echoed by American Catholic intellectuals throughout the Progressive Era and would become an important factor contributing to American Catholic confidence well into the middle of the twentieth century.

*The Three Objectives of American Catholic Historiography*

American Catholic fascination with history was a multivalent phenomenon. On the one hand, it demonstrated that Catholics were not insensitive to new methodological considerations despite the limitations of the Neo-Scholastic method and the papal restrictions put on historical research in biblical scholarship. On the other hand, it represented what Lears calls an attempt to overcome the “banality” of modernity and the sense of “weightlessness” that it engendered by connecting to a more sacramentally

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522 Ibid.
minded age. American Catholic interest in history ranged broadly from fascination with St. Joan of Arc (Catholic patriotism at its best) to Christopher Columbus (American Catholic patriotism at its best) to seemingly mundane, but in Catholic eyes critical, debates over whether Catholic Maryland or Baptist Rhode Island was the first colony to grant religious toleration. In each case, American Catholics saw in history a concrete manifestation of objective Catholic truth in the material world.

Catholic historical research post-\textit{Pascendi} had three objectives. First, it was an attempt to fill a theological void in the secular historians’ conversation. American Catholic historians could be creative in the ways in which they engaged their secular colleagues. For example, they may not have engaged modernists on biblical exegesis or the evolution of dogma, but they did employ historical research to aggressively engage their contemporaries on issues related to the interpretation of secular history in an attempt to overturn secular dogma. If, for example, Catholics could use historical data to prove that the Maryland colony had in fact legalized religious toleration before Rhode Island, then they could successfully overturn a popular secular dogma about the origins of religious liberty. American Catholic historians from the Progressive Era pursued this approach. In 1885, an unsigned article in the \textit{American Catholic Quarterly Review} examined “Maryland and the Controversies as to Her Early History.” In 1890, William Gray Brooks again addressed the question in \textit{The Catholic World} in an article entitled, “The Land of the Sanctuary; Or, Birth of Religious Toleration.” In 1895,

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\begin{itemize}
  \item Lears, \textit{Grace}, 7-26; 32-47.
  \item Schmiesing, \textit{American Catholic Intellectuals}, 85.
  \item “Maryland and the Controversies as to Her Early History,” \textit{American Catholic Quarterly Review} 10, 40 ((October 1885): 658-677.
\end{itemize}
Secular dogma proved an important consideration for American Catholic intellectuals writing about America’s pre-colonial origins. Groups like the Knights of Columbus, founded in 1881 by New Haven priest Michael McGivney, authors like Walsh, Jesuit priest Thomas J. Campbell and, as we will see in the next chapter, John J. Wynne, spent a considerable amount of time thinking and talking about early Catholic pioneers and missionaries like the Jesuit martyrs of North America in an attempt to re-narrate the origins of the nation. In this way, history also served a second, apologetic purpose: it was employed to provide a historical warrant against nativists and anti-Catholics who argued that Catholicism was antithetical to the American experiment. Given the extent to which anti-Catholicism flourished in the Progressive Era, these were not minor considerations.

Against nativist sentiments, hagiographies of Catholic missionaries, as well as genealogies of religious liberty rooted in the Catholic colony of Maryland and of modernity rooted in a Protestant rejection of the Scholasticism of the Middle Ages, all allowed American Catholics to argue that the Church provided the building blocks of Western civilization and hence that it was not opposed to progress. Likewise, historical research provided an intellectual defense against the pragmatists’ claim that Scholasticism was wedded to abstract principles that had no practical value in the modern world.
Refuting the Reformation was the third objective of American Catholic history and an important trope in Catholic historical research. In general, Catholics posited a linear historical decline from Luther to Kant to the modern world.\textsuperscript{528} By incorporating the Protestant Reformation into their genealogies, Catholics could argue that modernity was not an evolutionary fulfillment of history, as some progressives claimed, but rather that “reform” was an intellectual and political diversion that brought catastrophe when it veered off course from the genuine progress of the medieval period. Catholic apologetics therefore seamlessly integrated Americanization with conversion. “The Catholic historian was to clear the way for his Protestant countryman to return to the true faith and to display the Catholic Church as the mother and model of civilization in a time of increasing disillusionment.”\textsuperscript{529} For this reason Peter Guilday argued that the Church is “the sacred and perpetual mother of all that is best and holiest in modern civilization,”\textsuperscript{530} while Lawrence Flick, the first president of the American Catholic Historical Association, argued that, “The history of the Church offers the best patterns for the correction of the social evils of our day.”\textsuperscript{531}

Neo-Scholasticism provides the interpretive key to understanding the American Catholic historical framework. Throughout the Progressive Era, “Catholics persisted in a metaphysical outlook that viewed nature in terms of teleology.”\textsuperscript{532} Progressive Era American Catholics applied this same teleological understanding to the history of the nation when they argued that Roman Catholicism was both the source of American freedom and, even more importantly for a nation seeking renewal, the destiny of

\textsuperscript{528} Woods, \textit{Modernity}, 1; 140.
\textsuperscript{529} Slawson, \textit{Foundation and First Decade}, 15.
\textsuperscript{530} Guilday quoted in Slawson, \textit{Foundation and First Decade}, 15.
\textsuperscript{531} Flick quoted in Slawson, \textit{Foundation and First Decade}, 15.
\textsuperscript{532} Woods, “Assimilation and Resistance,” 306.
American democracy. In short, Catholic interest in history ultimately had a theological objective.

Not surprisingly, American Catholic thinkers were wary of progressive governmental reforms. In _Contending With Modernity_, Philip Gleason demonstrates that early twentieth century American Catholic thinkers were quite vocal in their support of the American founders, with scholars like Gaillard Hunt going beyond the historical data in the debate over Maryland and Rhode Island to posit in 1917 that there was a theological link between Scholasticism and democracy via the writings of Robert Bellarmine. Gleason notes that although many scholars who made this argument were polemical, “The broader contention – that the political philosophy of the Founding Fathers drew on the tradition of natural law and limited government to which the medieval Scholastics and Counter-Reformation Jesuits made important contributions – was clearly warranted by the contemporary scholarship.” Of course, Catholic histories “differed sharply from most Protestant and secular scholarship.” Yet, differ as it may the Catholic approach to history was central to the process of inculturation, because it was through history and historical scholarship that American Catholics confronted the fourth and final principle of progressivism – the state.

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534 Gleason, _Modernity_, 126.

535 Schmiesing, _American Catholic Intellectuals_, 68-70; 90-95; 67. For a fascinating overview of the many historical connections Progressive Era American Catholics made between the medieval period and the American founding, see chapter two of Schmiesing, _American Catholic Intellectuals_, “The Battle for America’s Past: Catholic Historians I,” 59-88; for a similar examination of American political thought vis-à-vis the Middle Ages, see chapter three, “Going Forth Bearing the Constitution: Catholic Political Philosophers,” 89-127.
The State in American Catholic Thought

In one respect, American Catholic arguments about the theological origins of democracy were simply further examples of Catholic apologetics. If American Catholics of the Progressive Era could make a direct theological connection between Catholicism and democracy, they could satisfy nativist critics at home and suspicious detractors in Rome who both argued – though for different reasons and from different perspectives – that American-style democracy and Catholicism were incommensurate. In both cases, a *theological* link between Catholicism and democracy would bolster the argument in favor of full Catholic participation in the state. Given Roman fear of liberal democracy on the one hand, and the progressive emphasis on creedless nationalism and assimilation on the other, this apologetic cannot be easily dismissed.

Neither can American Catholic attachment to their homeland be easily dismissed. In the period leading up to the Progressive Era, American Catholics developed a sense of national identity that paralleled secular culture. Carey calls the years from 1866 to 1899 “years of a slow Catholic transition from antebellum localism and isolationism to late-nineteenth century nationalism.” The Civil War in particular had a galvanizing effect on the way American Catholics understood citizenship. Both native-born Catholics and immigrants had a deep love for their country. For native-born Catholics, the United States of America was home, the only home they ever knew. For immigrant Catholics who left everything to emigrate, the United States represented the hope and promise of better lives and better futures.

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536 Carey, *Roman Catholics in America*, 49.
537 Ibid., 48.
However, American Catholic defense of democracy was not just a matter of declaring one’s national allegiance or even of maintaining innocence in the face of rapid social change. Rather, Catholic support for the Constitution was rooted in a deep fear—not always clearly articulated—that the administrative reforms of the Progressive Era would in fact bring the Church into direct conflict with the state. Catholic defense of the Constitution was therefore not just a matter of patriotism or piety, but of practical survival in a potentially hostile political environment the likes of which even ardent Americanists like Cardinal James Gibbons and savvy Catholic activists like John J. Burke, C.S.P., fully understood. Fear of losing Constitutional protection explains why so many Catholics defended the founders and were lukewarm towards progressive government reform. On this point, O’Brien writes that the liberal Gibbons, “the nation’s most prominent Catholic leader, was far more conservative than most Protestant spokesmen.” In particular, Gibbons worried about government encroachment derived from changes made to the Constitution. The danger, from Gibbons’ perspective, was a potential “collision” between governmental and religious authorities that would negatively affect the Catholic Church. American Catholic fear of progressive governmental reform was not without warrant. If the progressives succeeded in their plan to make sweeping changes to the theory and practice of the federal government, Gibbons

538 In *The Survival of American Innocence: Catholicism in an Age of Disillusionment, 1920-1940*, William M. Halsey argues that between the first and second World Wars, American Catholics used Scholastic theology to cling to Victorian sensibilities about order and morality in a rapidly fragmented and alienated culture in order to argue in favor of their assimilation. In Halsey’s understanding, American Catholics therefore became hopelessly anachronistic defenders of traditional values. The present argument contends that such concerns among American Catholics, to whatever extent they existed, were tempered by the awareness Catholics had that modern society was disintegrating. See William M. Halsey, *The Survival of American Innocence: Catholicism in an Era of Disillusionment, 1920-1940* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1980).

539 One sees this clearly in the thought of John Ireland. See O’Brien, *Public Catholicism*, 133-134.

540 Ibid., 133.

541 Ibid.

542 Ibid., 134.
feared the Church would lose the freedom and liberties that it enjoyed under the Constitutional system envisioned by the founders.\textsuperscript{543} American Catholic defense of the founders’ \textit{laissez faire} vision of government was therefore designed to stave off the same kind of conflict with the state that the Church regularly experienced in Europe; it was a patent rejection of many of the modern philosophical assumptions that informed the progressive worldview. Understood in this way, the American Catholic embrace of Neo-Scholasticism was not just blind methodological obedience to Rome or an attempt to reclaim moral certitude in an increasingly relativistic philosophical culture, though it certainly was these things at various times and in various places. Rather, Neo-Scholasticism was, for all of its limitations, a necessary constructive component of American Catholicism’s theological approach to solving the problem of democracy.\textsuperscript{544}

\textit{Negotiating American Identity}

The emphasis Catholics put on the relationship between Neo-Scholastic theology and democracy sheds light on why seemingly progressive American Catholic educators like Pace insisted on parental rights and parochial schools, why economists like Ryan refused to part with the natural law, why Catholic charity and publishing suffered from provincialism, and why liberal thinkers like Cardinal Gibbons favored local autonomy in

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{543} Ibid.  
politics despite the general move towards centralization in the American episcopacy. As we will see in the following chapters, it also explains why John J. Wynne is so hard to place; he was a Progressive Era Catholic, with all of the seeming ambiguity and tension that such a designation implies. What set Wynne and his fellow Catholics apart was their rejection of the belief that public policy – though certainly useful – could ever truly bring about lasting social reform. In other words, Catholic intellectuals did not believe that the rational efficiency of the social sciences could solve the deeper problems facing American culture. O’Brien argues that even immigrant Catholics, naturally rooted in the family, were deeply suspicious of the “idealistic extravagance” and “the social engineering that they sensed in too many liberal reformers and scientific socialists.” In addition to posing a threat to the freedom of the Church, thoughtful Catholics at home and abroad were suspicious of modern anthropology, which failed to account for the brokenness of human nature, and afraid that centralization, when combined with an evolutionary approach to history, threatened not just to remake the nation and the Church, but also to cause their final disintegration.

One of the pithiest examples of this understanding came not from the pen of an American, but from the popular British writer G.K. Chesterton, who famously described America as “a nation with the soul of a Church.” In 1910, Chesterton famously asked,

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545 Woods explains that Catholics were suspicious of “the derogation and eventual destruction of the various intermediate bodies that during the medieval period had stood between the individual and the state” (Modernity, 138).
546 The ambiguity and tension of Progressive Era Catholicism cuts across the neat contemporary political divisions of left-right and liberal-conservative, which may in part explain why scholars of American Catholicism have given so little attention to the period.
547 Woods, Modernity, 140.
548 O’Brien, Public Catholicism, 140.
549 G.K. Chesterton, What I Saw in America (NY: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1923), 11-12. Wynne seems to have been a fan of Chesterton. In a letter to Francis X. Talbot, he wrote that,
What’s Wrong With the World? He spent two hundred pages answering the question by cataloging the errors of modernity. The title of Chesterton’s major works are enough to suggest what he thought of modernity, but the author left no room for doubt when he entitled Orthodoxy’s chapter on early twentieth century intellectual life, “The Suicide of Thought.” In characteristic fashion, Chesterton quipped that the loss of a systematic understanding of the world and its replacement with an evolutionary standard of truth would result in moral uncertainty and eventually total nihilism. For Chesterton, skepticism and nihilism went hand in hand and would lead to the eventual destruction of the state.

Given the widespread influence of pragmatic philosophy during the Progressive Era, American Catholics had reason to agree with Chesterton’s assessment. American Catholic historiography, then, was ultimately an attempt to solve the problem of democracy through re-narration. That is, American Catholic historians attempted to re-narrate the founding of the United States into a Catholic idiom in order to save the republic from the catastrophe warned about by presidents Roosevelt and Wilson, popes Leo XIII and Pius X, and even writers like G.K. Chesterton. Moreover, this attempt at re-narration cannot be understood apart from the “historiographical debate about the religious and philosophical character of the founders and the founding documents.”

From natural law philosophy to parochial education, from medieval history to American

“Chesterton’s death comes like a shock…” John J. Wynne, S.J. to Francis X. Talbot, S.J., June 16, 1936, Box 63 Folder 16, AA.


552 Ibid., 39-40. It is worth noting that Chesterton linked the loss of systematic truth with the divinization of choice. See Chesterton, Orthodoxy, 34.

553 Ibid., 37-38.

554 Schmiesing, American Catholic Intellectuals, 59.
democracy and the separation of church and state, Catholic intellectuals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sought to provide a grand synthesis in Neo-Scholasticism that systematically solved some of the Progressive Era’s most pressing problems. This new Catholic narrative, construed along the lines of Leo XIII’s *Aeterni Patris* and Pius X’s *E Supremi*, had the incongruous effect of enabling American Catholic intellectuals to be more fully integrated into the American mainstream, even as it alienated them from many secular intellectuals. Ironically, it was during this period that American Catholics created the rival institutions that would later be castigated for inspiring a Catholic “ghetto.”

Ideally, the alternate narrative presented by Catholics was expected to function as a bridge between the Church and America. Defense of Catholic participation in the founding of America was intended to assuage nativist fears of Catholic “otherness” and repudiate the pragmatists’ charge that Catholics were unduly wedded to outdated and functionless dogmas. At the same time, it was intended to assuage the papacy’s fears of Catholic capitulation to modernity and its bedfellow, liberal democracy. Insofar as American Catholics attempted to convert the United States to Roman Catholicism, they were simply redirecting the secular teleology of “manifest destiny,” with the Church substituted as *eschaton*. Insofar as they argued that the Church would save America, they were participating in a re-worked, though no less potent, form of Americanism. In each case, they were exhibiting both the accommodationalist and transformationist poles of inculturation.

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In *That Noble Dream*, Peter Novick seems to suggest that the intellectual isolation of American Catholics, at least in the historical profession, was more the result of Protestant bias than any desire on the part of Catholics to create an intellectual ghetto (174 FN10). The footnote in which he discusses the problem is particularly noteworthy, since it makes reference to Wynne.
Second Phase Americanism

Douglas J. Slawson argues that the organization of the American hierarchy into a national body in 1919 was an example of “second phase Americanism.” What was second phase Americanism? “Unlike the first Americanism, the second was a majority movement leaving behind only the most stalwart conservatives.”

Second phase Americanism shared an important point of contact with the Americanism of the 1890s, “the belief that Catholicism was the religion that best harmonized with republican institutions.” Slawson explains, “Participants in both phases argued that Catholics made the best Americans and that American Catholics were the best the Church had to offer.” Slawson insists that this similarity was much more than “simple patriotism” due to “the theological underpinnings of the argument, namely, that the principles underlying democratic government were identical with those cherished by the church.”

Beyond a shared belief in American democracy, first and second phase Americanism diverged sharply. In fact, in many ways the two phases were “reverse images – two expressions of the same church – one accommodationist, the other separatist.” Slawson writes, “Exponents of the former generally took an open stance toward American life and culture and were willing to adapt the church, insofar as possible, to the American situation.” More specifically:

The first championed the separation of church and state as the ideal for Catholicism and encouraged the accommodation of religion to culture insofar as possible. The predominant tone of

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556 Slawson, Foundation and First Decade, 22-23.
557 Ibid., 1.
558 Ibid., 22.
559 Ibid.
560 Ibid. Emphasis mine.
561 Ibid., 22.
562 Ibid., 1.
563 Ibid.
the movement was millenarian: it saw America as the redeemer nation destined to lead the church and world into a new age.\textsuperscript{564}

However, a generation of scholars trained in Neo-Scholasticism fundamentally changed the American Catholic understanding of the state, even as Catholics remained steadfast in their patriotism and their desire to lead both Church and state to a new world.

Gone from the second phase was the millenarianism of the first. Instead of America being the redeemer nation, Catholics were to be the redeemers of the American nation by offering their countrymen a sure and reasonable view of the cosmos, human nature, and morality to offset the disillusionment eroding traditional life and values. While the union of church and state was admitted hypothetically and reluctantly, a practical separation of the two was strongly held. Moreover, the second phase replaced accommodativeness with a separatism that created a national subculture aimed at protecting Catholic identity and interests while injecting the Catholic view into the larger society.\textsuperscript{565}

If the social dynamics of the Progressive Era made second phase Americanism possible, the First World War triggered its birth. The Great War, which in the words of Niall Ferguson “changed everything,”\textsuperscript{566} was the worst conflict Europe had ever known. The progressive dream of social utopia died in the muddy trenches of Europe as mustard gas, Gatling guns, and military aviation – what Ferguson calls weapons of “Wellsian science-fiction” – revealed the morally ambiguous and potentially devastating ends to which modern science could be employed.\textsuperscript{567} Chastened by the war’s destruction and the rejection of his peace plan, Woodrow Wilson retired from politics a physically broken man, having suffered a stroke that left him virtually incapacitated for the remainder of his second term. Catholics, on the other hand, emerged from the war more confident than ever that they held the metaphysical key to America’s future.

\textsuperscript{564} Ibid., 22.
\textsuperscript{565} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{566} Ferguson, \textit{War of the World}, 73.
\textsuperscript{567} Ferguson, \textit{War of the World}, 72-73; Novick, \textit{Noble Dream}, 134-135; 138-139; 141.
“Catholics had much to prove in the Great War.” Slawson explains that, “Beginning in 1910 a new wave of anti-Catholicism brought their loyalty into question.” Nativist suspicions of Catholic allegiance during the Progressive Era were not entirely unfounded. Though Irish American Catholics had proved their loyalty to the Union during the Civil War, as the specter of American involvement in the First World War became a reality, a new set of complications arose as more ancient ethnic loyalties were tested. “Catholics of Irish birth or descent were of course against the British, and the German Catholic Centralverein pledged its total sympathy to Germany in 1914.” The situation could not have been more awkward for American Catholics. “At the outbreak of World War I most writers in Catholic newspapers and periodicals advocated neutrality, and many, especially in the Midwest, even took the side of the Central Powers.” For his part, Woodrow Wilson “lashed out at hyphenates in his 1915 State of the Union message.” American Catholics returned his antagonism at the ballot box in the 1916 presidential election.

For all of their resistance to Wilsonian diplomacy, American Catholics did not avoid military service during the conflict. In fact, during the war Catholics served in higher numbers per capita than any other American demographic group. Catholic participation in the war effort was aided in great part by the realization that American

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568 Slawson, *Foundation and First Decade*, 16.
569 Ibid.
570 Trisco, “English-Speaking Area,” 660.
571 Ibid.
572 Slawson, *Foundation and First Decade*, 16.
573 Trisco, “English-Speaking Area,” 660. The Republican candidate was Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes. It is interesting to note that the electoral map for the 1916 election shows a near total geographic reversal of contemporary partisan loyalties.
574 Slawson, *Foundation and First Decade*, 16.
success depended on full Catholic participation, a fact that buoyed Catholic confidence. The American hierarchy answered the call with the foundation of the National Catholic War Council in 1917, in part because they “realized that anything less than full support of the war could lead to reprisals against American Catholics by zealous patriots.”

The National Catholic War Council

John J. Burke, C.S.P., Paulist priest and editor of the Catholic World, was the driving force behind the organization of the War Council. Prior to the war, Burke had been “impatient with the lack of national self-awareness on the part of Catholic leaders…particularly among the bishops.” He used the War Council as an opportunity to “leverage” his argument that “national consciousness and national impact demanded national organization.” Specifically, Burke argued that national consciousness “demanded national episcopal organization.” He used the theological image of the Mystical Body of Christ – a distinctly Catholic vision of collective embodiment and participation – to advocate on behalf of the NCWC and Catholic political action.

Burke’s vision had clear Americanist leanings. He “strongly identified the future of America with Catholicism and saw the Church as the leaven of American progress, fostering in American public life the spiritual strengths, discipline, and obedience that he felt were indispensable to a democracy.” Under the leadership of Burke, Catholics during the war realized that they played a central role in the nation’s success, and

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576 Ibid., 568.
577 Ibid.
578 Ibid.
579 Ibid. Italics in the original.
580 Ibid. There are obvious parallels between the Hegelian-inspired philosophy of the major progressive political philosophers and the rise of Mystical Body of Christ imagery amongst German Catholic philosophers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
581 Ibid.
developed what Slawson calls “a crusading mentality” that was rife with Americanist implications.\textsuperscript{582}

By the end of the war, the NCWC under Burke’s leadership had demonstrated “substantial accomplishments in the interests of the Church and won for it a new degree of national prominence.”\textsuperscript{583} In particular, the NCWC helped American Catholics develop what McKeown calls a “new sophistication in political affairs,” especially when it came to lobbying on behalf of Catholic interests in Washington.\textsuperscript{584}

After the war, American Catholics reverted to their isolationist stance and maintained staunch opposition to Wilson’s peace plan, in large part due to his refusal to countenance the independence of Ireland.\textsuperscript{585} However, Catholics also understood that the nation had succeeded in large part due to their cooperation, and they ultimately brought this newfound confidence into the public sphere. The decision to reorganize the War Council into the National Catholic Welfare Council after the war was part of this process. A “pragmatic, ecclesiological debate” ensued among the U.S. bishops over the extent of their ecclesial authority, the need to organize the laity, the need to protect Catholic legislative interests, and the question of who would speak as the “official voice of Catholic America.”\textsuperscript{586} The answer the bishops gave to these questions, as well as the near unanimous decision to reorganize into a permanent national organization, reveals the extent to which Progressive Era concerns animated the bishops’ conversation.

The Catholic bishops of the early twentieth century were in many ways a microcosm of Progressive Era American Catholicism. Reflecting the growing

\textsuperscript{582} Slawson, \textit{Foundation and First Decade}, 16.
\textsuperscript{583} McKeown, “National Bishops' Conference,” 574.
\textsuperscript{584} Ibid., 570; 574.
\textsuperscript{585} Trisco, “English-Speaking Area,” 660.
\textsuperscript{586} Slawson, \textit{Foundation and First Decade}, vii; 23.
centralization and urbanization of American culture, the most powerful bishops of the
time were the “big-city” bishops in the nation’s urban centers. When it came to
leadership, the bishops were decidedly progressive, “using standards of efficiency,
rationale control, and pragmatic effect that were characteristic signs of modernity” to
affect the “drive toward centralization, efficiency and administrative control.”

Like their Social Gospel contemporaries, America’s Catholic bishops also sought
to bring Christianity into the public sphere. Intent on bolstering the image of Roman
Catholicism, the new “corporate-executive” bishops “were highly visible” and
“triumphalist,” all in an attempt to bring self-confidence and respect to American
Catholicism. “Building big institutions, staging massive public ceremonies, hiring
prestigious first-class legal firms, consulting with successful business managers while
cultivating their friendship, using the publicity gimmicks of advertising firms to raise
much-needed money to finance their building campaigns,” and working diligently “to
Americanize immigrants through schools and other institutions” were all “tactics used by
these bishops to create an image of the church that was both Catholic and American.”
The plan worked. In the early twentieth century, “Catholicism was beginning to be
acknowledged as a prominent force in American political, cultural, and economic life,
and these forceful bishops helped to bring about the change.” Yet, for all their public
accomplishments, the Roman-trained American bishops, and American Catholic
intellectuals in general, remained suspicious of progressivism.

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587 Carey, Catholics, 67.
588 Carey, Catholics, 67; O’Brien, Public Catholicism, 129. Carey credits Edward Kantowicz with the expression “consolidating bishops.”
589 Carey, Catholics, 67.
590 Ibid.
591 Ibid., 68.
592 Ibid., 67.
The problem was in part political.\(^{593}\) The bishops’ fear of government intrusion illustrates how precarious the Catholic position was and how difficult it is to understand the NCWC’s early history, and second phase Americanism, apart from American Catholic grappling with the implications of progressive reform. Given Gibbons’ own fear of state encroachment, it is perhaps no surprise that he was, along with Burke, one of the most vocal proponents of a permanent episcopal organization that could lobby on behalf of Catholic interests. In yet another historical irony, the American bishops saw centralization as a bulwark against the very thing they deplored – the centralization of the state. Gibbons called the steps taken towards national organization “measures which I regard as the most important since the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.”\(^{594}\) The majority of the hierarchy agreed.

Patrick Carey describes three principles that finally guided the American Catholic bishops of the Progressive Era: the bishops were “modernist” in their administrative practices, “antimodernist in intellectual orientation” and “Americanist in loyalties.”\(^{595}\) The same might be said of American Catholic intellectuals in general. Though they embraced technological progress and were willing to utilize the practical benefits modernity afforded when it came to organizing charities and administering schools, Catholics “were convinced that the question struck much deeper than most Progressives were prepared to admit.”\(^{596}\) Only by attending to the fatal flaws of Protestant-inspired

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\(^{593}\) McKeown, “National Bishops' Conference,” 574-575.
\(^{595}\) Carey, *Roman Catholics in America*, 67.
modern philosophy – so the argument went – could America hope to overcome the challenges posed by modernity and find its true destiny.\textsuperscript{597}

Neo-Scholasticism ties these three seemingly incongruous positions together. It allowed American Catholics to incorporate science and technology into their administrative organization and social relief (pragmatic administrative practices), to present an integrated Scholastic philosophy that countered some of the more debilitating trends of modernity (anti-modern philosophy), and to use this philosophy to propose the restoration and renewal of the United States of America (Americanist in loyalties). In the final analysis, second phase Americanism, and the entire Progressive Era Church’s attempt at inculturation, rested on a Neo-Scholastic foundation.\textsuperscript{598}

\textbf{The Significance of Progressive Era Catholicism}

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a remarkable period of growth for the American Catholic Church, what William M. Halsey terms “a period of arrival.”\textsuperscript{599} In 1908, Rome itself acknowledged the maturation of the Catholic Church in the United States when Pius X removed the country from the jurisdiction of Propaganda Fide.\textsuperscript{600} With that, “America was no longer regarded by the Holy See as missionary territory.”\textsuperscript{601} The American Catholic Church had finally come of age.\textsuperscript{602}

Of course, coming of age is never without its tribulations. American Catholicism faced a number of complex and interrelated problems in the Progressive Era that tested its institutional and intellectual resources. However, it would be an understatement to say

\textsuperscript{597} Novick, \textit{Noble Dream}, 37.
\textsuperscript{598} Slawson calls Thomism “a cardinal element of this view” (\textit{Foundation and First Decade}, 17).
\textsuperscript{599} Halsey, \textit{American Innocence}, 6.
\textsuperscript{600} Ellis, \textit{Catholicism}, 124.
\textsuperscript{601} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{602} Ibid.
that Progressive Era American Catholicism was not successful in its attempt at expansion and renewal. In terms of structural development alone, the period ranks as one of the most significant in U.S. Catholic history. From 1890 to 1920, many of the most important contemporary Catholic organizations – from Catholic Charities to the USCCB, from the NCEA to the ACHA – were born. So were two generations of American Catholic writers – the literary converts of the Catholic Revival – including “Katherine Anne Porter, Ernest Hemingway, Dorothy Day, Thomas Merton, Robert Lax, Claire Boothe Luce, Robert Lowell, Tennessee Williams, Wallace Stevens and Walker Percy.”  

Today, the majority of American Catholics can trace their ancestry back to one of the millions of immigrants who landed on the shores of the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The development of the Catholic subculture, sometimes referred to as the Catholic “ghetto,” and the ongoing debate over Catholic assimilation into the American mainstream have their roots in Progressive Era debates over citizenship.

John A. Ryan’s participation in the New Deal and later Catholic participation in the social reforms of the 1960’s would have been impossible without the developments of Progressive Era Catholicism. The early twentieth century also served as the backdrop to later developments in American Catholic thinking on religious liberty. The explosion of the parochial education system, the expansion of Catholic higher education, the recovery of Thomistic thought, and the current debate over government mandates in health care inevitably lead the contemporary scholar of American Catholicism back to the

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604 Schmiesing, *American Catholic Intellectuals*, 65; 88; 90.
Progressive Era. Even the self-identified liberal and conservative wings of contemporary American Catholicism – social justice Catholics and natural law Catholics – are bound by the limitations of Progressive Era categories of thought in their debates over the meaning and role of government, the nature of religious authority and the most effective means of aiding the poor. In fact, the Progressive Era resonates today with all of the force and vitality it did a century ago, leading the historian of American Catholicism to agree with Pestritto and Atto when they argue that the period is central to understanding contemporary polity.605

The Progressive Era may have been the period in which contemporary American Catholicism had its intellectual origins. However, even more central to the present study, the Progressive Era was the period in which John J. Wynne, S.J., flourished and embarked on his most ambitious publishing ventures. It is therefore to Father Wynne that we now finally turn our attention.

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605 Pestritto and Atto, Progressivism, 1.
CHAPTER THREE

EVER BRIGHT LIGHT.  

JOHN JOSEPH WYNNE, S.J. (1859-1948)

“We are a people who respect belief, but who value action more.”

- John J. Wynne, S.J., 1909

Like many of his Progressive Era peers, John J. Wynne had an eclectic career. However Wynne separated himself from most of his contemporaries in one notable way. He never stopped moving. He was by his own admission a doer more than a thinker.

“We are a people who respect belief, but who value action more,” he wrote in America’s inaugural editorial. He even explained that, “one of his motives in becoming a Jesuit was that every moment of his time could be devoted to one good work or another.”

Wynne remained faithful to the motive throughout his life. One provincial commented that Wynne was “very pious, most amenable” and though he had “too many ideas,” he was at least “absolutely obedient.” Despite his obedience, Wynne’s “too many ideas” could at times fluster his fellow Jesuits, especially those not accustomed to his “punishing

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606 From an inscription on the back of a photograph of Wynne in ANYPSJ. See John J. Wynne, S.J., Folder Wynne, John. J. Died 11/30/48, ANYPSJ.
608 Ibid.
work ethic.” At every moment Wynne multitasked as “he planned for the next step, the next goal, calmly, smoothly, and seamlessly moving from one task to the next.” Once, he even wrote to Edward A. Pace to explain that he thought it best to start a new project, “if only to accelerate what we have already got going.” So “relentless and meticulous, organized and disciplined,” was Wynne’s work ethic, so perpetual was his motion, that Anderson describes him somewhat unflatteringly as “sharklike.”

Wynne spent the majority of his seventy-two years in the Society of Jesus starting new projects. Fortunately, his long career passed through three major phases that, although overlapping to a considerable degree in both chronology and content, allow one to categorize and classify his activity. Each of these phases will be explored in the rough chronological order in which they occurred. First, for the five years between 1882 and 1887, Wynne worked as an educator. Then, starting shortly after ordination in 1891 and continuing through the late 1930’s, he was employed as an editor of various publications while working simultaneously on the causes of the North American Martyrs and “his beloved” Kateri Tekakwitha. At the same time, from 1923 until his death in 1948, Wynne worked as the vice-postulator for the canonization causes.

**Early Years and Education**

John Joseph Wynne was born to Maurice and Mary (née Donnellen) Wynne in New York City on September 30, 1859. Little is known about his early years beyond the few bits of personal information he shared over the course of his lifetime. Though no

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611 Anderson, *Death and Afterlife*, 144.
612 Ibid.
613 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Edward A. Pace, January 20, 1915, Correspondence Box 1 Folder 11, 1915-1916, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.
614 Anderson, *Death and Afterlife*, 144.
615 The period corresponds to his regency in the Society of Jesus.
information exists on his father’s ancestry, he did indicate that his mother had been a guardian of Archbishop John MacHale of Tuam, County Mayo, Ireland. The cause of her guardianship is unknown, though Wynne’s birth in 1859 likely means that his mother emigrated during the first great wave of Irish immigration to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. From comments Wynne made during his fiftieth jubilee as a Jesuit, it is clear that his mother maintained contact with MacHale, and that the archbishop was solicited for advice concerning Wynne’s education. Little else is known about Wynne’s family situation beyond two references he made to his sisters.

John Wynne lived nearly ninety years, seventy-two of which were spent in the Society of Jesus. In those nine decades – from 1859 to 1948 – he witnessed a staggering amount of change in the nation and the American Catholic Church. Wynne was born thirty-one years before Frederick Jackson Turner declared the West closed and died just nine years before the space race began. By the time of his death, New York City, “the center of American Catholic life,” had grown ten-fold to a population of nearly eight million people.

St. Francis Xavier College

Though he did not have the same illustrious academic pedigree of many of his contemporaries, Wynne did follow the same general pattern of uniting an academic

617 Wynne, “Retrospect,” 84.
618 Ibid.
619 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Edward A. Pace, November 9, 1921, Correspondence and Statements, 1921-1925, Folder 1921, Catholic Education Association, ACUA; John J. Wynne, S.J. to M.J. Madigan, December 8, 1925, Folder Jesuit Relations, ANYPSJ. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to contact St. Bernard’s to inquire about Wynne’s familial records.
background in the sciences with studies in philosophy and theology. After an elementary education under the Christian Brothers at St. Francis Xavier, Wynne graduated from Saint Francis Xavier College in Manhattan (today, St. Francis Xavier High School).\footnote{Wynne maintained a lifelong connection with Xavier, and served for a time as the Moderator of the Xavier Alumni Sodality. See Wynne, “Retrospect,” 4. Xavier itself is a product the reorganization of the parochial system during the Progressive Era. In 1897, the college and high school were formally separated, and in 1912 the college itself was closed. For a brief overview of Xavier’s early history, see Xavier High School (New York), “History,” Xavier High School, http://www.xavierhs.org/s/81/index.aspx?sid=81&gid=1&pgid=1654 (accessed November 25, 2012).} Founded in 1847 by Father John Larkin of the New York Province of the Society of Jesus, Xavier has a long and illustrious history as an academic institution, and has produced many notable prelates and politicians. In addition to Wynne, notable alumni from American Catholic history include Charles G. Herbermann, Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., Thomas F. Meehan, Rev. Francis P. Duffy, John J. Burke, C.S.P., and John Courtney Murray, S.J.\footnote{This list is derived in part from Xavier’s “Hall of Fame,” available at Xavier High School (New York), “Hall of Fame,” Xavier High School, http://www.xavierhsalumni.org/s/81/images/editor_documents/hall_of_fame_list_2012.pdf (accessed November 25, 2012). For Duffy, see Georgina Pell Curtis, ed. The American Catholic Who’s Who (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1911), s.v. “Duffy, Francis,” where it is revealed that the priest received a Master’s Degree from Xavier in 1894; for Burke, see Sheerin, Never Look Back, 19.} The extensive influence Xavier graduates had on New York City politics during Theodore Roosevelt’s tenure as Police Commissioner and Governor carried over to later influence in national politics during the Roosevelt presidential administration, and likely inspired Xavier alumni like Wynne, Burke and others to conclude that American Catholicism had a providential role to play in national reform.\footnote{Sheerin, Never Look Back, 19. This development is extraordinary given the Jesuits anti-Americanist reputation and the international representation among Xavier’s faculty. One might even argue that New York Catholicism in general, and St. Francis Xavier College/High School in particular, had a decisive influence on the development of American Catholic intellectual life in the twentieth century. This point becomes more clear when one considers that Xavier alumni figured prominently in three major theological developments of twentieth century American Catholicism: Duffy was a central figure in American modernism, Burke a central figure in second phase Americanism and the formation of the NCWC, and Murray a central figure in the development of Catholic thinking on religious liberty.}

Looking back on his early years as a student, Wynne credited his mother with laying a firm foundation in literacy, a foundation that would become one of the dominant
themes of his life.\textsuperscript{625} Mathematics also had a decisive impact on Wynne’s formation, instilling by his own admission a “habit of order or system” to the way he worked.\textsuperscript{626} The observation was astute. In fact, Wynne was often noted for his organizational skills. In a letter dated October 26, 1909, Shahan complimented Wynne for his “practical and orderly mind.”\textsuperscript{627} Wynne was similarly complemented for the “splendidly organized” and efficient way in which he ran the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart}\textsuperscript{628} and the thoroughness with which he prepared Kateri Tekakwitha’s cause for beatification.\textsuperscript{629} Scholastic theology undoubtedly contributed to Wynne’s talent for systematization. Wynne openly admired the scholastics’ ability to use language “with unmistakable precision” and to pass “from point to point in an exposition and argument with lucidity and precision.”\textsuperscript{630} In fact, precision was a trait Wynne himself possessed.\textsuperscript{631} Fellow Jesuit and \textit{America} editor-in-chief Francis X. Talbot said of Wynne, “He was tall, thin

\textsuperscript{625} Wynne, “Retrospect,” 81. Wynne admits that he inherited his determination from his mother Mary, who appears from Wynne’s account to have been a feisty character unafraid of conflict. In a story recounted to the \textit{New York Post} in 1936, Wynne explained that during the Civil War draft riots in New York, his mother held him—a four year old child—in her arms as she stood down a mob threatening to enter their home because they hid valuables belonging to a Southern mill owner. Later in the story, he tells of how a small African-American child took refuge in their home in order to avoid being lynched. Wynne was quoted as saying “There were times when citizens had to act independently of government, in [undecipherable] to preserve peace and order, when the government failed to do so.” See “Indian Girl Image on Filing Cabinet Is Office Shrine,” \textit{New York Post}, December 5, 1936, 5.

\textsuperscript{626} Wynne, “Retrospect,” 82.

\textsuperscript{627} Thomas J. Shahan to John J. Wynne, S.J., October 26, 1909, Box 30 Folder 10, AA.


\textsuperscript{630} John J. Wynne, “A Day in the Middle Ages” (Lecture of Chicago Medievalists, no date, Catholic Encyclopedia Collection 20, (Folder “New Literature, A”) Box 16, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA), 30. According to a letter in the archives of the Catholic Encyclopedia the lecture was given in 1927. See: Michael F. Girten, “The Medievalists Chicago Chapter,” December 13, 1927, Catholic Encyclopedia Collection 20, Box 15, R 35 (Folder Wynne, John J), Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.

\textsuperscript{631} Anderson, \textit{Death and Afterlife}, 144.
and handsome, and spoke with extreme precision in a high-pitched tone.”632 He was also remembered for having a genteel manner and what Anderson calls an “urbane and diplomatic charm.”633 Wynne’s generosity extended especially to non-Catholics, towards whom he was “unfailingly magnanimous, inclusive, even courtly” when working on the martyrs’ causes.634 Talbot neatly summarized Wynne personality: “In his manner he was the aristocrat; in his thoughts, the scholar.”635

At times, Wynne’s precision and organizational skills could take on staggering proportions. In 1937, he sent out a reminder about the feast of St. Isaac Jogues to every single bishop of the United States, plus thirteen thousand five hundred pastors and eight hundred school leaders.636 A cursory glance at Wynne’s correspondence through the years reveals that, far from being atypical, such mass campaigns were the norm for a man who was complimented by his collaborators for having “natural gifts of administration and guidance,”637 “indomitable energy” and a “fertility of resources in leadership.”638 Though at times he complained that he could barely keep up with the letters he received,639 Wynne worked until a few days before his death.640

The final factor that clearly influenced Wynne during his formative years was the international character of the Society of Jesus at Xavier College.641 The same international perspective was repeated at the Jesuit novitiate at West Park, New York,

633 Anderson, Death and Afterlife, 162.
634 Ibid., 154.
635 Talbot, “Men Who Made America,” 68.
637 Shahan quoted in “Chronicle,” The Catholic Historical Review 12, no. 2 (July 1926): 308.
639 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Edward A. Pace, January 30, 1919, Correspondence Folder 13, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.
640 Wynne, Personnel File, ANYSJ.
641 Wynne, “Retrospect,” 83-84.
and again at Woodstock College in Maryland. The melting pot known as the Society of Jesus in the United States would contribute decisively to Wynne’s international perspective as founder of the Catholic Encyclopedia and America. It also informed his approach to the canonization of the North American Martyrs. In each case, Wynne’s approach mirrored the diversity that animated his home city of New York.

Wynne retained his interest in math and science into young adulthood. Despite two to three hours of study each day, in addition to sports and recreation, his love of learning eventually led him to take courses beyond St. Francis Xavier College. His facility with numbers likely motivated the decision to take two years worth of business courses at night, an irony considering that his two largest publishing ventures – the Catholic Encyclopedia and America – would both suffer financial hardship. During his final year of college Wynne also dabbled in medicine and attended lectures and clinics at the New York School of Medicine. In his later years, Wynne offered a possible explanation for his fascination with medicine. As a five year-old child suffering from an unspecified illness he was given up for dead and prepared for burial, only to come out of a “trance” five hours later. The experience seems to have made a lasting impression. “When finishing college I thought of studying medicine,” Wynne explained, “but my parents thought I needed a rest, and, apparently, did not wish to perpetrate on the world a physician practicing before he would be entitled to vote.”

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642 Wynne, “Retrospect,” 86; 92.
643 Anderson, Death and Afterlife, 148; 162.
644 Wynne, “Retrospect,” 82.
645 Ibid.
646 Ibid.
647 Ibid., 106.
648 Ibid., 84.
As it turns out, the desire for recreation proved central to Wynne’s vocation as a Jesuit. In the summer of 1876 he participated in a retreat at the Jesuit novitiate in West Park, New York, an event he attended largely because several friends were going, but also because he thought it might help him discern a career. The retreat proved providential, though the vocational decision Wynne made clearly took him by surprise. After making the Spiritual Exercises, the sixteen year-old Wynne spent an entire night sitting on the roof of the retreat center before finally deciding at dawn, in a burst of rapturous laughter, to enter the Society. By month’s end, he had returned to West Park as a young novice.

At the novitiate Wynne came under the mentorship of Isador Daubresse, S.J., the Flemish-born Master of Novices whose weekly commentary on “events of importance” made a lasting impression on Wynne. However, poor health once again plagued the aspiring Jesuit, who was initially “thought too frail to endure the unremitting tasks of life in a religious order.”

Wynne survived, and in time began to thrive. He was originally scheduled to go to Louvain for advanced studies, but the 1879 unification of the New York and Maryland Provinces of the Society of Jesus landed him instead at Woodstock College in Maryland. Woodstock College in the late nineteenth century was in many ways a place of contradictions, a place where the maxim that “error has no rights” came into

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649 Ibid., 84.
650 Ibid., 83; 85.
651 Ibid., 85.
652 Ibid., 86.
653 Wynne, Personnel Folder, ANYPSJ.
654 Wynne, “Retrospect,” 92.
conflict with the American ideal of liberty and justice for all” and with a strain of American Jesuit spirituality that vigorously defended the American system of separation. Despite Woodstock’s overtly anti-American tone, the young scholastics never seem to have registered a complaint. Rather, Woodstock was a place where “energy abounded.”

Wynne’s Woodstock years began immediately after Camillo Mazzella, the College’s influential first dean, departed to teach at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome. Mazzella, an Italian native exiled during the Risorgimento, was directly responsible for what Ciani calls Woodstock’s “Pedagogy of Exile.” Ciani explains, “What Mazzella and his [European] colleagues set out to create [at Woodstock] was a complete course of scholastic theology – based on Aquinas and Jesuit thinkers – which also dealt with modern questions.” Mazzella’s approach to modern questions was most famously conveyed in Rerum Novarum, which he co-wrote for Pope Leo XIII. However, the balanced treatment Mazzella gave to the labor issue in the encyclical was noticeably lacking in his approach to American culture. In an 1870 letter to Jesuit Superior General Peter Jan Beeckx, Mazzella bluntly stated that “one of his goals” was to “keep our own [the Jesuits] from being infected by the ideas they breathe in this infected [American] atmosphere.” In particular, Mazzella targeted American-style separation

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655 Ciani, Ocean, 90.
656 Ibid., 105-107.
657 Ciani, Ocean, 105.
658 McDonough, Men Astutely Trained, 155.
661 Mazzella quoted in Ciani, Ocean, 80.
662 Mazella quoted in Ciani, Ocean, 80.
of Church and state, which he argued could only be tolerated hypothetically as the lesser of two evils; the ideal situation would be a state that actively promoted the one true religion of Roman Catholicism.\footnote{Ciani, Ocean, 91-94.}

Wynne’s Woodstock years coincided with the tenure of Mazzella’s “protégé,” Salvatore Maria Brandi, S.J.\footnote{Ibid., 89; 103.} The Italian-born Brandi was, like most of the Italians at Woodstock, deeply affected by the \textit{Risorgimento}. He arrived at Woodstock in 1875 to complete his own studies in theology after being exiled from Rome and Naples; he later became a professor of theology at the college after graduating in 1879.\footnote{Ibid., 61; 71; 96; 1.} Welcomed by Leo XIII as an expert on the American situation, Brandi is widely believed to have been the author of \textit{Longinqua Oceani}\footnote{Ibid., 114; 89 FN 24.} and later co-author of Pius X’s encyclical \textit{Il Fermo Proposito}\.\footnote{Ibid., 313-314.} Though he never departed from his mentor’s theology, Brandi was known to be temperate of character and inclined to practical efficiency; he was a successful professor among Woodstock’s young scholastics, nearly all of whom studied with him during his tenure.\footnote{Ibid., 99; 102-103; and especially 109-114, where Ciani discusses American Jesuit attempts to prevent Brandi from being sent back to Rome.}

Though Wynne would later indict Woodstock as an academic failure, the college did inspire one of his most successful publishing ventures. In his own telling, it was at Woodstock “that the germinal idea for the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} first entered his mind as he browsed through the shelves of books in Woodstock’s library.”\footnote{Wynne repeated this point “many times” to the unnamed author of “The Lily of the Mohawks,” 3-4, Folder Wynne, John. J. Died 11/30/48, ANYPSJ.} The
encyclopedia was part of Wynne’s Woodstock-inspired desire to do everything in his power “to make up for the lack of literature in English by Catholics.”

**Educator: “the Catholic literary giant of America”**

With his philosophical studies complete, from 1882 to 1883 Wynne taught as a professor of physics and classics at his alma mater, St. Francis Xavier’s College in New York, where he also served as head coach of the football team. Wynne was eventually sent to Boston College where from 1886 to 1887 he taught as a professor of higher mathematics and French, and worked as the university librarian. In 1887, he was sent back to Woodstock for theology, during which time he certainly studied under Brandi. Wynne explained that once back at Woodstock, where the universal system of Aquinas was de rigueur, “the concept of the Catholic Encyclopedia grew, nourished considerably by that approach to Theology which the Society has so wisely ordained.”

Wynne was himself ordained – to the priesthood – on August 24, 1890, by Cardinal James Gibbons. He celebrated his first Mass at his home parish, St. Bernard’s Church on West 14th Street in Manhattan, just a few blocks away from his alma mater, Xavier College. Wynne then returned to Woodstock, finished the theology course and

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670 Wynne, “Retrospect,” 93.
672 Wynne, “Retrospect,” 92; 5.
675 *Ciani, Ocean*, 102-103; 112.
676 “The Lily of the Mohawks,” ANYSJ, 4-5.
677 “From Local Parishes,” *The World* (New York), September 6, 1890, 10. See also Xavier, *Fifty Years*, 6. The date given for Wynne’s ordination is the subject of some confusion. The correct date seems
in 1891 joined the editorial staff of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*; it was the same year that Brandi returned to Italy to join the staff of *Civiltà Cattolica*. Thus his brief career as a teacher – but not his work as an educator – came to an end.

Throughout his career John J. Wynne was a vocal advocate of Catholic education, and his notoriety led him to participate in some of the most significant Catholic educational initiatives of his day. He was a founding member of the National Catholic Welfare Council’s Bureau of Education in 1919, a member of the Education Bureau’s executive committee, and a founding member of the National Catholic Education Association. Evidence suggests he may have also been involved in the organization of the Association of Catholic Colleges.

Wynne’s long career as an editor never lessened his desire to return to the classroom. He played a formative role in the development of Knights of Columbus

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679 Notes and Comment, *The Catholic Historical Review* 34, no. 1 (Apr., 1948): 85. Scant reference is made to Wynne in the archives of the NCEA. Wynne’s role may be gleaned from a letter in the archives to Bishop Francis Howard. See John J. Wynne, S.J. to Francis W. Howard, June 27, 1905, Box 3 Folder 8, Archives of the National Catholic Education Association, ACUA. In the letter, Wynne advises Howard to send circulars about a convention – likely an NCEA convention – to “leading newspapers.”

680 The evidence is gleaned from John J. Wynne, S.J., to Francis W. Howard, February 27, 1911, Box 3 Folder 8, Archives of the National Catholic Education Association, ACUA.
schools for returning veterans after the First World War. From 1918 to 1924, he lecturered at Fordham University’s Graduate School and the College of the Sacred Heart in Manhattanville, New York.

Though Wynne never held a permanent academic position, he was described in the *New York Times* as, “the Catholic literary giant of America” and as “the embodiment...of the intellectual activity of the Catholic Church.” For his many accomplishments as a Catholic educator, Wynne was granted an honorary doctorate in Sacred Theology from Catholic University of America in 1926 and an honorary doctor of letters from Fordham University in 1930.

*Editor and Publisher: “A Literary Broadswordsman”*

If the Progressive Era was a golden age of print, John J. Wynne, S.J., was one of the giants of Catholic publishing. An early member of the Catholic Writers Guild of America, Wynne’s editorial ventures made him one of the most influential Catholic editors of the first half of the twentieth century and one of the most important in U.S. Catholic history. Throughout his career, Wynne wrote, edited and published magazines and magazine articles, encyclopedias and encyclopedia articles, dictionaries, hagiographies, introductions and prefaces to popular devotional works, pamphlets, etc.

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683 McDowell, “70 Years As Jesuit,” 22.
686 The name was given Wynne in the Knights of Columbus magazine *The Columbiad*. See “A Literary Broadswordsman,” *The Columbiad* 13, no. 12 (December 1906): 9.
687 It is unclear if Wynne was involved in the Guild’s founding, though from his “Retrospect” and in a letter to Pace from 1922 it is clear that he participated in the organization. See Wynne, “Retrospect,” 103; John J. Wynne, S.J. to Edward A. Pace, March 28, 1922, Correspondence and Statements, Box 2 Folder 1922, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.
leaflets, memorandums, missives and missals. What follows is a brief summary of Wynne’s more notable works.

Wynne’s first exposure to publishing came in an unexpected way. In 1891, while recovering from the flu on Keyser Island in Connecticut, Wynne translated a French edition of Francesco Giuseppe Bressani’s *Life of Father Joques*. The translation was passed among several Jesuits until it came to the attention of the Jesuit provincial, Thomas J. Campell, who was involved in the nascent causes of the Jesuit Martyrs of North America. The translation led Campell to assign Wynne, only recently ordained, to the editorial staff of *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, a devotional journal founded in 1866 at Georgetown University by Benedetto Sestini, S.J., as the publishing organ of the Apostleship of Prayer for the United States. At the time, the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* was also being used as a vehicle for promoting the canonization of the Jesuit martyrs.

Providentially, then, it was the very Ignatian experience of convalescence that redirected Wynne’s career from educator to editor. Moreover, the circumstances of that convalescence are fascinating and therefore worth noting in detail. Wynne recalled

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689 Wynne recalls the event in “Retrospect,” 94-95. The dates given for Wynne’s tenure at his various positions are often contradictory. When in doubt, I have chosen to use the oldest extant chronology that I could obtain unless substantial evidence exists to the contrary.


691 Curiously, and perhaps out of modesty, Wynne never mentioned the similarity between his own experience of convalescence and that endured by Ignatius.
the event in a letter he wrote to fellow Jesuit Henry Woods on January 15, 1934. The
following extract from the letter, though long, is worth citing in its entirety due to the
light it sheds on the incident:

I wonder if I ever told you this story: you will recall how the Spring before our ordination there
was an epidemic of flu in Woodstock. You had one of your liver or heart attacks and I was one of
the flu victims. When recovering, Brother Dic, who had been up night and day, told me that I was
to get an eggnog that night and I was to be let out the next day. Some scholastics were helping, I
think Fathers Singleton and Raymond. Somehow, instead of getting the eggnog I got a dose of
strychnia which had been prepared for you.

I took it, thinking it was an ante-dose to the eggnog, but the eggnog never came. The strychnia so
worked on my heart and nerves that they sent me to Kayser Island [sic] to live in the open air and
recover my sleep. There Father Loyzance was in charge, and he had already started work for the
Cause of the Jesuit Martyrs. Seeing that I was restless, he asked me if I could translate some
French. I did. It was [François-Joseph] Bressani’s narrative of [St. Isaac] Jogues capture, torture
and death.692

I never thought of it until after the fourth year when the accident occurred at St. Inigoes.693 I was
asked to help out on the Messenger of the Sacred Heart. Meantime the Provincial, Father
Campbell, had heard about the translation.694 When I suggested that we might use it in the
Pilgrim, then the organ of the Shrine at Auriesville, he approved.

It was this that led the Fathers who were with me on the Messenger, Van Rensselaer and Lamb,
and afterwards Campbell himself, to go deeply into the study of the Martyrs, with the result that
they were finally canonized, and with the result that I am now asking for the beatification of
Caterine Tekakwitha, and that I am already privately assured that it will take place.

692 In his “Retrospect,” Wynne notes that he handed the translation to “the priest in charge, never
thinking that he was actually working for the beatification of Father Jogues” (94).
693 On July 3, 1891, St. Inigo’s Villa was struck by lightning, killing three Jesuit scholastics and
injuring nearly two dozen more Jesuits. At the time, Wynne was the acting superior of the community. For
Wynne’s account of the incident see, John J. Wynne, “The Accident at St. Inigo’s Villa,” Woodstock
Letters 20, no. 3 (Woodstock College, 1891): 389-395.
694 Thomas J. Campbell, S.J. was a former provincial of the Society and the individual with whom
the idea for America originated in the late nineteenth century. Along with Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., Campbell
was one of the few Jesuits with whom Wynne maintained a close professional relationship. He succeeded
Wynne as editor of America in 1910. For more on the way Wynne and Campbell’s careers intersected, see
11. It is interesting to note that Francis X. Talbot, S.J., was no fan of Campbell, considering him (as some
considered Wynne), too strident. Talbot wrote of Campbell: “Perhaps my focus is not clear, but I regarded
him, when I first met him some thirty-five years ago, as a man carved in granite, a scowling scholar, with
down-pointing lines creasing his rugged face. He was then sixty-two years old, had been a severe
Provincial of the Maryland-New York Province, a former editor of the Messenger, and the author of books
on the pioneer priests and laymen of North America. Subsequently he was to publish a thick volume, The
History of the Society of Jesus. Though seemingly endowed with all the intellectual qualities required for an
Editor-in-Chief, he rested in the uneasy chair for less than two years. Before his retirement, it was judged
that greater peace would prevail by abandoning the residence on Washington Square and merging the staff
with the larger community of St. Ignatius Church and Loyola School. With the establishment on Eighty-
Third Street, the era of bristling pioneers declined and milder-mannered editors were gathered for the
I do not know what dose you got that night, if you got any, or what consequences it may have had in your after life, but that small goblet of the strychnia mixture had strange results in my life.\textsuperscript{695}

Wynne became editor of the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart} within a year of being placed on the journal’s staff.\textsuperscript{696} In the same year – 1892 – he assumed the directorship of two closely related ventures: the Apostleship of Prayer for the United States and the Shrine of Our Lady of the Martyrs in Auriesville, New York.\textsuperscript{697} Under his leadership the number of centers associated with the Apostleship grew exponentially from 1,600 to nearly 8,000.\textsuperscript{698} Concurrent with Wynne’s appointment as director of the Auriesville shrine, he also became editor of its journal, \textit{Pilgrim of Our Lady of the Martyrs}.\textsuperscript{699} Wynne also became the promoter for the beatification causes of the Jesuit Martyrs.\textsuperscript{700}

In 1902, while still editor of those journals, Wynne founded the \textit{Catholic Mind}, which functioned as a clearinghouse for Catholic information and the dissemination of authoritative statements from the hierarchy. The journal reflected Wynne’s accommodation of American Catholic print media to two of the major trends in Progressive Era publishing – the development an authoritative “colorless press” and the desire for fact-based reporting.

In 1902, Wynne successfully split the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart} into two journals, with the first retaining the name and devotional purpose of the original magazine, and the second, \textit{The Messenger}, dedicating itself to more intellectual and timely content. Thus, by 1902 he was editing four journals: \textit{The Messenger of the Sacred

\textsuperscript{695} John J. Wynne, S.J. to Henry Woods, S.J., January 15, 1934, Box 63 Folder 16, AA.
\textsuperscript{696} Xavier, \textit{Fifty Years}, 6.
\textsuperscript{697} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{699} Xavier, \textit{Fifty Years}, 6.
\textsuperscript{700} Ibid.
Heart, The Messenger, Pilgrim of Our Lady of the Martyrs, and The Catholic Mind. The same year, in August of 1902, Wynne re-released in pamphlet form “his most famous piece,” an essay written in defense of Catholic interests in the Philippines called “The Friars Must Stay.” Originally published in The Messenger, the essay offered a pointed critique of American foreign policy in the Philippines. Wynne, who had already written several articles on the issue in the pages of the Messenger, sent a copy of the essay to President Theodore Roosevelt pre-publication, “and on the President’s request it was brought to the attention of the State Department.” The article “changed the whole policy of the United States in its dealings with the Church in the Philippine Islands, and drew favorable comment from President Theodore Roosevelt.” Wynne eventually became deeply involved in settling the Catholic question in the Philippines and was consulted by Roosevelt for advice.

In 1903, Wynne released another notable pamphlet, “A Chapter of Errors in Appletons’ Universal Cyclopedia and Atlas: An Article Entitled ‘Poisoning of the

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704 Wynne, Personnel Folder, ANYPSJ.

705 Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 67. Some of the correspondence is located in the ANYPSJ.
The pamphlet, which also originally appeared in *The Messenger*, proved providential in the creation of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. That same year, Wynne published *The Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII*, a collection of some of Leo’s more notable writings. The work – yet another catalogued presentation of authoritative information – became a standard academic reference for Leonine scholars in the first half of the twentieth century.

In 1904, probably as a result of the notoriety he received after penning “Poisoning of the Wells,” Wynne worked as an associate editor and contributor to the popular *Encyclopedia Americana*. In 1905, he began work on the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and related publications, which engendered the creation of the Encyclopedia Press. He also oversaw the publication of “The League of Knowledge Bulletin,” a series of pamphlets on particular topics designed to help readers understand entries from the *Encyclopedia*.

In 1908, as part of his plan to launch a national Catholic weekly, Wynne toured the major cities of Europe, making stops in England, Ireland, Belgium and Rome. In 1909, the weekly finally saw print when Wynne converted the *Messenger* into *America*, the first national Catholic weekly in the United States. The America Press was founded to publish the magazine, as well as pamphlets and books.

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709 John J. Wynne, S.J., Annual Report of the America Press, December 31, 1909, Folder America 1900-1909, ANYPSI. The report may also be found in Box 62 Folder 20, AA.
In 1911 Wynne contributed to the compilation of the first edition of the *American Catholic Who’s Who*.\(^{710}\) At Cardinal Farley’s request, he worked on an ecumenical program for the reunion of churches and in 1913, also at Farley’s request, he joined the editorial committee of the *Constructive Quarterly* along with fellow *Catholic Encyclopedia* editors Thomas J. Shahan and Edward A. Pace.\(^{711}\) The journal, a non-denominational and ecumenically-minded periodical founded by Silas McBee, was intended to serve as a platform for ecumenical dialogue.\(^{712}\) Theodore Roosevelt wrote an introduction for the first issue in *The Outlook* in which he personally praised Wynne’s participation as evidence of the journal’s high quality.\(^{713}\)

From 1914-1917, Wynne edited *Anno Domini*.\(^{714}\) In 1924, he established the Universal Knowledge Foundation, which started publication of a second encyclopedia set known as the *Cyclopedia of Universal Knowledge*, as well its attendant pamphlets and literature.\(^{715}\) Wynne even made plans to publish a children’s encyclopedia and textbooks, though there is no evidence that this project ever came to fruition.\(^{716}\)

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\(^{710}\) Curtis, *Who’s Who*, n.p. Wynne was thanked for his efforts in the editor’s preface.

\(^{711}\) Wynne, Retrospect,” 103; Loomie, “Obituary,” 63.


\(^{714}\) Xavier, *Fifty Years*, 7.

\(^{715}\) Pamphlets from the Universal Knowledge Foundation can be found scattered throughout Wynne’s holdings at the Archives of the New York Province of the Society of Jesus (ANYPSJ) and the Catholic Encyclopedia Archives at Catholic University of America (ACUA). For unknown reasons, the encyclopedia never progressed by the second volume.

\(^{716}\) For the children’s encyclopedia, see John J. Wynne to Thomas J. Shahan, July 30, 1925, Shahan Correspondence Series 69, Box 16 Folder 6, Thomas J. Shahan Papers, ACUA. For the plan to publish textbooks, see “Universal Knowledge Foundation,” *Catholic Historical Review* 10, no. 1 (April 1924): 174-178.
In 1926, Wynne contributed an article on Claude Allouez, S.J. (1620-1689) to the *Dictionary of American Biography*.\(^{717}\) In 1929, he and Pace compiled and edited *The New Catholic Dictionary*.\(^{718}\) The dictionary was published by the Universal Knowledge Foundation and was intended to serve as a complement to the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.\(^{719}\)

Wynne wrote leaflets, pamphlets and booklets throughout his life. His topics were as eclectic as his personality and publishing interests, ranging from a “Guide to Educational and General Psychology” and a “Guide to the Principles of Educational Methods” to “The Lily of the Mohawks” and “Priest and People Cooperate in Holy Mass.”\(^{720}\) This final pamphlet displays the particular interest Wynne had in making the liturgy accessible to laypeople in English.\(^{721}\) The interest originated with a 1914 dinner conversation Wynne had with Archbishop John Ireland.\(^{722}\)

At dinner in his house one evening he [Ireland] deplored the fact that there was no English translation of the missal which the people could follow. He said he thought it was impossible to make one. Thereupon I told him I would try to do it, with the result that it was done and has met with great favor.\(^{723}\)

\(^{717}\) This is learned from a letter Wynne wrote to Allen Johnson in 1926, Catholic Encyclopedia 20, Box 15 R 35 (Folder Wynne, John J), Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.


\(^{719}\) “Catholic Dictionary To Be Issued in May,” *The Fordham Ram* (October 18, 1929): 3.

\(^{720}\) John J. Wynne, *Priest and People Cooperate in Holy Mass* (New York: Home Press, 1938); John J. Wynne, *Guide to Educational and General Psychology: Topics and Questions, with Reading References for Guidance in Study and Discussions* (Pamphlet, Fordham University, 1924) originally published as *Syllabus in Education and General Psychology* in 1922; *Guide to the Principles of Educational Methods: Topics and Questions, with Reading References for Guidance in Study and Discussion* (Pamphlet, Fordham University, 1925). I have not been able to locate the last two of these items, which are listed under Wynne’s name in *The Guide to Catholic Literature*, 1888-1940 (Dertoit: Walter Romig and Company, 1940), 1221.


\(^{722}\) Wynne, “Retrospect,” 100; See also John J. Wynne, S.J. to Archbishop John Ireland, June 26, 1915, Folder Ireland, Most Rev. John, ANYPSJ.

\(^{723}\) Wynne, “Retrospect,” 100.
Wynne’s subsequent English-language liturgical books and pamphlets – clearly part of his attempt to inspire a Catholic literature in English – included the *Requiem Mass and Burial Service from the Missal and Ritual,*724 *The Mass: The Holy Sacrifice with the Priest at the Altar: on Sundays, Holy Days and Other Special Days of Observance,* and *The Mass Book for All: The Mass Book for Every Day in the Year,* written with Edward A. Pace.725 Wynne and Pace’s daily missal received wide commendation, with the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* lauding the all-English translation as “the easiest and most pleasant to read” of all the missals then available.726

Wynne complemented his liturgical translations with practices aimed at spreading Catholic devotions. He wrote numerous prefaces and introductions to devotional works. In 1900, he organized the first Holy Hour in the United States. In 1914, he organized the League of Daily Mass in the United States.727 He even extended his liturgical catechesis to non-Catholics by participating in an inter-religious program sponsored by the N.C.W.C. and the faculties of Columbia Teacher’s College and Union Theological Seminary in New York.728

As might be expected of a Progressive Era Catholic educator turned editor who advocated practical action, John J. Wynne was also heavily involved in social reform. Over the years, Wynne managed to participate in a number of noteworthy initiatives. In 1901, he served as a founding member of the American Federation of Catholic

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727 “The Lily of the Mohawks,” *ANYPSJ,* 11.
Societies. He also served on the organization’s Executive Committee and Advisory Board. Wynne’s membership in the American Federation ended in 1917, though he remained a member of the New York County Federation of the Society until his death in 1948. From 1912 to 1917, Wynne served a five-year tenure as Chaplain to the New York Chapter of the Knights of Columbus. After his chaplaincy ended, he continued to work with the Knights on a number of initiatives related to education, the American war effort and the fight against socialism. Along with Archbishop John Ireland he was a Vice-President and General Council member for the Individual and Social Justice League of America, an interreligious organization dedicated to fighting socialism in labor unions and churches. He was a founding member of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1919 and the association’s Vice President in 1921, and a founding member and executive committee member of the National Catholic Welfare Council’s Bureau of Education in 1919.

**Vice-Postulator: “Father Wynne, The Red Man’s Friend”**

John J. Wynne exhibited a lifelong passion for the Native American population. The origins of this interest are not difficult to locate. As a Jesuit novice and scholastic in the late nineteenth century he was regaled with stories of missionary heroism and sacrifice among members of the Order through the *lettere edificanti*. “These lively if

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735 Staff, “Fr. Wynne, the Red Man’s Friend,” *The Calumet* (February 1935): 4
736 Literally, “edifying letters.”
inflated descriptions of missionary adventure were published and republished in every language and in every country where Jesuits could be found” and “inflamed Europeans with a desire to convert Native Americans.” Undoubtedly, the Europeans who ran Woodstock College passed this enthusiasm on to their students. Moreover, Woodstock during Wynne’s days as a young scholastic functioned as a stopover for European missionaries, many of them exiles of Italy’s Risorgimento, who were on their way to the American West. At Woodstock, Wynne would have imbibed the missionary atmosphere – America itself was at this time missionary territory – and would have been familiar with hagiographies of the North American Martyrs in publications like the Jesuit Relations. He even directly participated in the education of one influential European missionary, Bishop Joseph Raphael Crimont, S.J. A native of France, Crimont came to the United States in 1886 and was ordained by Cardinal Gibbons in 1888. After two years serving among the Crow in Montana, Crimont traveled in 1894 to the Yukon where he was later made Apostolic Prefect and then Apostolic Vicar of Alaska. In Dogsled Apostles, Alma Helen Savage explains that Wynne and several friends at Woodstock tutored the French-speaking Crimont in English when he first arrived in the United States.

Wynne’s involvement in the canonization causes of the North American Martyrs and Kateri Tekakwitha was not incidental. The causes had been formally proposed to the Holy See at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884 and were actively advanced...

737 McKevitt, Brokers of Culture, 108.
738 Ibid., 82.
739 Alma Helen Savage, Dogsled Apostles (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1942), 64.
740 Ibid.
741 Ibid., 72.
by members of the Society of Jesus in the United States. Wynne was involved with the causes from the very beginning. His interest was likely spurred on by the fact that Joques was both a Jesuit and the first Catholic priest to set foot on the island of Manhattan. In 1885 Wynne took an early group of pilgrims from New York City to Auriesville and by 1891, he was working as the shrine’s director. By 1896, he was already being cited as an expert on the canonizations. During his tenure as the shrine’s director he increased the shrine’s property to nearly 600 acres.

Wynne had a transnational understanding of the martyrs’ cult. From the beginning, his approach “was border-blind, seeing all the candidates nominated for sainthood in the 1880s as being ‘American’ in the broadest sense.” “Throughout his career, Wynne would tirelessly fight [both] narrow nationalist interpretations of the martyrs’ cult” by Americans and Canadians and “factionalization of the…cult into competing national articulations.” In 1895, as director of the shrine, he distributed a memorandum about the causes in which he urged that Rene Goupil and Kateri Tekakwitha be added to the proposed combination of the New York and Canadian...

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742 The Position of the Historical Section of the Sacred Congregation of Rites on the introduction of the Cause for Canonization and on the Virtues of the Servant of God Katharine Tekakwitha, The Lily of the Mohawks (New York: Fordham University Press, 1940), 6. The formal petition submitted by the Third Plenary Council can be found on pages 444-446. The petition from the U.S. bishops was complemented by an effort made by the Canadian hierarchy, which Anderson chronicles in Death and Afterlife. The results of the preliminary investigation into the lives of the martyrs were presented to an ecclesiastical tribunal in Quebec presided over by Cardinal Begin. Wynne participated in the investigation and collection of documents, and he was present in Quebec in 1903 when the evidence was submitted to the tribunal. See Notes and Comment, Catholic Historical Review 2, no. 3 (October 1916): 362.

743 Anderson, Death and Afterlife, 147. For Anderson’s account of Wynne’s participation in the canonization of the North American Martyrs see 144-155; 159-164; 269.


746 “Former Director,” Leader-Republican, 7.

747 Anderson, Death and Afterlife, 147-148.

748 Ibid., 148.

749 Ibid., 162.
causes. The memorandum, an early example of Wynne’s “continentalist” and “inherently cooperative” approach to the canonizations, offered a number of additional detailed suggestions for aiding the causes, all of which Wynne would himself eventually participate in, from writing hagiographies to praying for miracles to searching the shrine property for relics.

In the early 1920’s, as his editorial responsibilities started to decline, Wynne began to devote a considerable amount of time to the canonizations. In 1922, he published Kateri Tekakwitha: Catherine, the Lily of the Mohawks, a popular hagiography of Tekakwitha’s life. In 1923, he became the vice-postulator for the Jesuit martyrs. In 1925, he published his most popular book-length manuscript, The Jesuit Martyrs of North America. The title represented another example of Wynne’s transnational approach to the martyrs. “In all of his published work, Wynne refers to the group of eight collectively as the ‘North American’ martyrs, an umbrella term he coined and popularized.”

In the United States, Wynne was eventually regarded as the individual “largely responsible” for the martyrs’ 1930 canonization. Afterwards, Wynne became the foremost American spokesman on behalf of Tekakwitha and in 1931 became the vice-postulator for her canonization cause. From his office at Fordham, Wynne directed the

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750 John J. Wynne, S.J., “Memorandum of Father Wynne About Process of Martyrs,” September 6, 1895, 1, Box 5 Folder 12, AA. The memorandum, written during Wynne’s tenure as director of the Shrine at Auriesville, was presumably circulated to fellow Jesuits and those interested in the canonizations. It contains valuable information about Wynne’s collaborators on the causes.

751 Anderson, Death and Afterlife, 160; 149.

752 Wynne, S.J., “Memorandum About Martyrs,” 2.

753 Xavier, “Retrospect,” 7; Anderson, Death and Afterlife, 147. The dates given in various publications for Wynne’s tenure as vice-postulator for the causes in contradictory. I have chosen to follow his personnel file since that contains the official record of his ministry, which corresponds to Anderson.


755 Anderson, Death and Afterlife, 148.

756 Notes and Comment, The Catholic Historical Review 18, no. 2 (July 1932): 272.
cause and the Tekakwitha League.  From there he edited a monthly leaflet called “The Lily of the Mohawks” and actively encouraged devotion to the martyrs and Tekakwitha among Fordham students.

Wynne’s efforts on behalf of Kateri Tekakwitha coincided with a passionate interest in Native American affairs. As early as 1905, the *Indian Sentinel* noted that the Society for the Propagation of the Faith Among Indian Children was “greatly indebted” to Wynne for his support. A 1935 article in the *Calumet*, a publication of the Marquette League for Catholic Indian Missions, hailed Wynne as “The Red Man’s Friend.” Wynne served as a director of the league from its inception.

In his later years, the Shrine at Auriesville became something of a sanctuary for Wynne, who did a considerable amount of his writing there and who would return “whenever circumstances and health permitted.” During this time he assisted Bishop John M. Gannon of Erie, Pennsylvania in compiling a book with brief biographical entries and bibliographic sources for 116 clerics and laymen martyred in the territories of

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760 Staff, “Fr. Wynne, the Red Man’s Friend,” *The Calumet* (February, 1935): 4. A folder containing a portion of the Marquette League’s correspondence may be found at the Archives of the New York Province of the Society of Jesus in New York. The remainder is located at The Department of Special Collections and University Archives at Marquette University.
761 Ibid.
762 “Former Director,” *Leader-Republican*, 7.
the United States. In 1946, Wynne returned to the shrine to quietly celebrate his 70th jubilee as a Jesuit. It was a marked change from his fiftieth jubilee, when more than 800 people gathered at New York’s Biltmore Hotel to celebrate the anniversary. In June of 1948, just a few months before his death, Wynne donated a statue of Tekakwitha to the shrine. “At the time of his death, he was [also] making arrangements for erection of a memorial chapel” there.

Native Americans fondly remembered Wynne for the work he did on behalf of Kateri Tekakwitha. Evidence of their appreciation can be gleaned from a photograph taken of Wynne wearing a Native American headdress that is kept in his personnel file at the Jesuit Archives in Manhattan. The photo, taken when Wynne was made an honorary Iroquois chief, achieved a certain amount of notoriety when it appeared on the cover of the May 19, 2008 issue of America. The article omitted the inscription Wynne typed on the back of the picture:

Ondessonk, ‘Ever Bright Light,’ Same name as Indians gave Father Jogues, given me July 1, 1934 at Caughnawaga, Canada, when inducted honorary chieftain of the Iroquois for my efforts for the beatification of Tekakwitha, venerated by them as ‘Lily of the Mohawks,’ one of their Five Nations.

Conclusion

John Joseph Wynne, S.J., died on November 30, 1948. He was eighty-nine years old.

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767 “Former Director,” Leader-Republican, 7.
768 This is not to deny the “dark side” of the cult, which Anderson aptly notes in Death and Afterlife, 11.
769 The picture was part of the issue’s lead story on Wynne. See Keane and McDermott, “A Man of Independent Character,” 9-12.
770 Wynne, Personnel File, ANYPSJ.
The young man once considered too frail to survive the rigors of religious life had been a Jesuit for more than seven decades. Wynne left no important theological treatises, having spent the majority of his life compiling and editing the writing of others, and his most accessible personal writings – mostly variations on a hagiographical theme – quickly became outdated. Fortunately, enough gems managed to survive that one is able to construct a general theological position: a sermon here, a book review there, an editorial that he signed, a comment that he made to a news reporter. Most importantly, Wynne wrote letters. Lots of letters. And those letters more than anything else reveal a man who both embodied the spirit of his age, and who was profoundly critical of it.

771 Wynne’s age at the time of death is occasionally given as 90 years, though he was in fact 89 (1859-1948).
CHAPTER FOUR

THE GUARDIAN OF LIBERTY\textsuperscript{772}

\textit{“freedom and democracy, not for one nation, but for all nations...”}

- John J. Wynne, S.J., 1917\textsuperscript{773}

In 1903, as the nation roared forward into the twentieth century a burgeoning empire, a popular Jesuit priest from New York wrote a brief article for Harper’s Weekly about the state of the American Catholic Church as the new century dawned. The essay merited enough political attention that a copy made its way to the desk of President Theodore Roosevelt pre-publication.\textsuperscript{774} The article was called “The Outlook for Catholicism.” The priest’s name was John Joseph Wynne.

\textit{“The Outlook for Catholicism”}\textsuperscript{775}

Wynne was not the original choice for authorship of the article. His name was submitted by New York Archbishop John Farley, who declined the offer to pen the article

\textsuperscript{772} The title of the chapter is taken from a lecture Wynne gave of the same name. See John J. Wynne, S.J., “The Guardian of Liberty” (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1917).

\textsuperscript{773} Wynne quoted in “Must Be Free,” Kentucky Irish American 39, no. 23, December 8, 1917, 3.


\textsuperscript{775} John J. Wynne, S.J., “The Outlook for Catholicism,” Harper’s Weekly, August 1, 1903, 1275-1276.
and suggested Wynne as a substitute. Farley’s recommendation illustrates the trust the archbishop had in the Jesuit editor’s ability to present the Catholic position in a less than friendly venue. *Harper’s Weekly* was an elite journal of opinion with a national readership and a progressive worldview. In the late nineteenth century it had become a forum for America’s foremost political cartoonist, Thomas Nast. In September of 1871, Nast released two of the most notorious anti-Catholic political cartoons in American history in the pages of *Harper’s Weekly*, “The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things” and “The American River Ganges,” which famously depicted Catholic bishops disguised as crocodiles emerging to devour American school children. The message in *Harper’s Weekly* was clear. Roman Catholics were a threat to the American way of life.

Never one to gloss the benefits of Catholicism, Wynne began his article with the same sense of triumph and optimism displayed by so many American Catholics of the Progressive Era. The appointment of American-born bishops to the Philippines meant “great progress, if not serious changes” for the American Catholic Church, which until recently had been “mission country.”

Now…bishops will begin to go out to countries which are really foreign, even though they form part of our possessions. With American bishops for leaders, our young clergy will soon follow, and in a short time will appear the power of the Church as a factor in the pacification of the islands, and in the gradual assimilation of the people to American ways and ideals.

The subtext was unambiguous. Like the United States itself, American Catholicism had finally come of age. Catholics were no longer foreigners in their own land, but were

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776 J. I. Lewis to John J. Wynne, S.J., March 31, 1903, Box 14 Folder 57, AA. See also Editor of *Harper’s Weekly* to J.I. Lewis, March 23, 1903, Box 14 Folder 57, AA.
780 Ibid.
781 Ellis, *Catholicism*. 124.
now fully American. The Church would soon demonstrate to all the power it had to act as an agent for the assimilation of foreigners, and American Catholic missionaries would soon demonstrate their willingness to spread not just the Catholic faith, but also the American way of life.

However, the progressive celebration of the American way of life ended as quickly as it began. American Catholics would not just conquer foreign lands for God and country, but they would also transform their own nation. “Never before was the Catholic Church in this country capable of doing what it can now do for the spiritual, intellectual, and social benefit of its own members and of the country at large,” Wynne announced. 782 What could Catholicism do? Restore society by rejecting modern developments in religion and philosophy. Wynne predicted that Catholicism would aid the nation by putting an end to religious sentimentalism, inspiring a rejection of skepticism and a return to dogma, and encouraging faith rooted in action rather than words. 783

Without any aggression or fanatical proselytism, it [Catholicism] will act as a safeguard against the delusion of spiritualism, the extravagances of Zionism and Christian Science, the spiritual paralysis of skepticism, the blight of atheism or agnosticism, personal or race suicide, the materialism or commercialism that would make this world the sum of human destiny, and the gradual disintegration of the Christian Church. 784

In this litany of ‘isms,’ Wynne rejected much of the progressive worldview. But he was just getting started. He next turned his attention to the influence Catholicism would have on American culture. 785 “It is chiefly in social matters that the Catholic Church will show its influence,” he predicted. 786 As the defender of the worker and the

783 Ibid.
784 Ibid.
785 Ibid.
786 Ibid.
poor, of both Catholic and non-Catholic alike, the Church was in a unique position to solve society’s problems, particularly “the problems raised by socialism, anarchy, and the irritable relations between capital and labor.” Catholicism would bring harmony.

Wynne backed up his argument with a simple demographic fact. The Church had numbers, and therefore the future, on its side. And it was willing to rally the troops.

Catholic working-men are numerous enough to influence the sentiment of all the labor unions in the United States. Catholic citizens are numerous enough, and they would readily find millions to supplement their number, to stop one source of social distress which makes employers more exacting and employees more and more impoverished – namely, the excessive taxation imposed to meet extravagant expenditures for official and public service.

If Wynne was no fan of progressive era taxation, he was no fan of government control of education either. He offered Catholic schools and charities as an example of the Church’s superior efficiency. With operating budgets one-half to one-third below that of the states, and with equal to superior results, “The private schools and charitable institutions which Catholics support” were “an object-lesson in civic economy which must ultimately assert itself in our sociology.”

Despite the antagonism, Wynne happily noted that old prejudices were finally giving way to confidence in American Catholic patriotism and proper appreciation of the Church’s position in society. The danger to American Catholicism no longer came from without, but rather from within, among Catholics who failed “to recognize their power for good in the community, and through indolence or timidity desist from exercising their conservative, progressive and beneficent activities.”

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787 Ibid., 1275-1276.
788 Ibid., 1276.
789 Ibid.
790 Ibid.
791 Ibid.
Wynne’s “conservative-progressive” vision must have baffled his non-Catholic contemporaries. At the very least, it rankled the editors of *Harper’s Weekly*. Though Wynne’s “Outlook” touched on all of the salient issues of the Progressive Era – assimilation, immigration, capital, labor, economics, public education, taxation and citizenship – it did so in a way that defied neat progressive categorization. In fact, Wynne had submitted the article several months before it went to press, and he had been inquiring of *Harper’s* editors for some time about when it would finally appear. After publication, Wynne expressed displeasure to Farley that the editorial staff of *Harper’s* curtailed his article and left out what they did not like – mostly statistical data that bolstered the demographic argument.

**Catholic Education:** “the very fountain and source of what is best in life.”

John J. Wynne believed that “the habit of reading must start at home,” and his many reference works were designed in response to the reading habits of Progressive Era American Catholics. That is, they were designed to stimulate Catholic reading at a time when periodical readership was at its all time high in the United States, but suffering a paradoxical low among the American Catholic laity. Wynne was clearly frustrated with the poor reading habits of American Catholics, for want of which his own publications frequently suffered financial hardship. In a letter written to Edward A. Pace as the *Catholic Encyclopedia* neared completion, he complained, “We must, therefore, devise

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792 Editor of *Harper’s Weekly* to John J. Wynne, S.J., June 30, 1903, Box 14 Folder 57, AA.
793 P. J. Hayes to John J. Wynne, S.J., September 21, 1903, Box 14 Folder 57, AA. Comparing the article that ran in *Harper’s Weekly* with the digitized original in Roosevelt’s papers illustrates the difference between the two essays.
As late as 1926, with the success of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *America* firmly established, Wynne declared that there was still “one important thing” that he hoped to inaugurate: a Catholic literary revival. 797 “For want of this very thing,” Wynne complained, “although the progress of the Church has influenced for good the world at large, it has not influenced it in the degree of measure that would be possible if Catholics were doing their part in the literature of the language which is most extensively and most potently used in the world today.” 798 He explained:

Our Catholic writers, with few exceptions, write on religion only. Not five of them command attention in general literature. Until that number is multiplied a hundredfold, we shall never be able to communicate and to impress on the world at large the principles, the traditions, the ideals, the abundance of knowledge which we possess, and we shall fail, therefore, to do our part in creating a public opinion which is the chief means of correction of the disorders which prevail in the world about us, and of imparting to others, whether they become Catholic or not, the treasures by which we have life and have it so abundantly. 799

Wynne was also concerned about the quality of reading material presented to Catholics. In 1924, he announced a plan to publish Catholic textbooks in order to put “an end to the inconsistency of erecting school buildings of great expense, recruiting an army of teachers under great sacrifices and then providing them with books which either lack the principle things they should teach, or even emphasize the very opposite.” 800 Despite this concern, Wynne was not beyond offering practical “do-it-yourself” advice to those lacking access to a formal education. In 1920, Wynne told one young woman not to be

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797 Wynne, “Retrospect,” 104.
798 Ibid, 104.
799 Ibid., 104-105.
anxious about attending school because she could educate herself by reading “nice” books and by writing; he even sent her some books to read.\textsuperscript{801} In time, Wynne’s advocacy of Catholic literacy was so substantial that Cardinal Hayes appointed him a member of New York’s archdiocesan Literature Committee during the early days of the Catholic literary revival.\textsuperscript{802}

With notoriety came substantial political influence. When it came time to round up Catholic opposition to the plan to create a federal department of education in 1920, Edward Pace contacted both Wynne and New York Congressman Bourke Cockran, “a democrat of national stature,” and urged the two to “line up delegates against the Smith-Towner lobby” at the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco.\textsuperscript{803} The connection was not incidental. When Cockran died in March of 1923, Wynne gave the eulogy at the requiem mass in New York that was presided over by Hayes and attended by Governor Alfred E. Smith and many members of Congress.\textsuperscript{804} Cockran was just one of the many politicians, prelates and financiers Wynne associated with during the early twentieth century. In addition to President Theodore Roosevelt, Wynne had access to some of the most influential figures of his day. When Edward McGlynn returned to his parish in 1894 after an eight-year absence, Wynne was already named as one of the “more distinguished priests” who sat with Archbishop Michael Corrigan in the

\textsuperscript{801} Wynne to Catherine Loughlin, June 16, 1920, ANYPSJ.
\textsuperscript{803} Slawson, \textit{Foundation and First Decade}, 86-87.
sanctuary. Several decades later, when Walter Lippmann wanted advice about the situation in Mexico, he called on Wynne.

For many years Wynne also kept up a correspondence with fellow Xavier alumnus Eugene A. Philbin, a justice of the New York State Supreme Court and a Regent of the University of the State of New York. Philbin, a close confidant, also served on the Board of Directors of the Encyclopedia Press. Wynne’s letters with Philbin ranged over matters related to education, the presidential appointments of Theodore Roosevelt, and the settlement of Catholic claims in the Philippines. In these matters and several others Philbin was a trusted friend, often sharing with Wynne letters from important government and Church officials, asking for his help and seeking his advice on appointments.

Wynne on Pedagogy

One direct insight into Wynne’s opinion about education appeared in a 1916 article he wrote for the New York Times entitled, “Catholic School System Growing Rapidly.” After an introduction that included a statistical breakdown of the Catholic education system, Wynne noted that the number of non-Catholics actually increased as

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805 “Pomp At St. Stephen’s,” The World (New York), December 31, 1894, 12.
806 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., March 28, 1933, Box 32 Folder 23, AA; Sheerin, Never Look Back, 122. Beyond Lippmann, evidence of Wynne’s substantial political connections can be gleaned from the frequency with which he showed up in newspaper accounts of the funeral masses for important politicians and wealthy public figures. For example in 1915, Wynne assisted and gave the eulogy at what the New York Times called “one of the largest funerals ever held” in New York City, the Mass for New York State Supreme Court Justice, Tammany Hall insider and fellow Xavier alumnus Justice John J. Delany. See “Throng At Delany’s Bier,” The New York Times, July 18, 1915, 15.
807 Eugene A. Philbin was appointed New York County District Attorney by Roosevelt in 1899. He later became a member of the New York State Board of Regents (1904) and was appointed to the New York State Supreme Court (1913). For a brief online biography of Philbin, see New York State Supreme Court Appellate Division First Department, “Appellate Division First Department: Eugene A. Philbin,” http://www.nycourts.gov/courts/ad1/centennial/Bios/eaphilbin2.shtml (accessed December 4, 2012).
one approached the higher levels of education, so that in the professional schools Catholics were “often outnumbered by those of other creeds or none at all.” Despite the poor Catholic showing in higher education, Wynne noted that Catholic students met state level standards of education, put in more hours of study than their non-Catholic peers, and were just as prepared to defend their country. In acknowledgment of the ecumenical sensibilities of the day, he also noted that in secondary schools and colleges Catholics even learned about other religions and denominations, as well as “the arguments for agnosticism, deism, rationalism, and how to answer them.” He concluded that the success of the Catholic education system could be seen in the marked growth in number of schools, the fact that immigrants were retaining their faith despite prophecies to the contrary, the fact that Catholic churches were full, and the fact that Catholics were not victims of broken homes and divorce.

Moving on to pedagogy, Wynne touched on a number of points salient to the progressive debate about education. In every instance, he proposed a response rooted in both Scholastic theology and the practical spirit of action urged in Pius X’s encyclical *Ex Spremii*. Wynne’s concern with the content of Catholic education was complemented by a similar concern with process. He was a staunch advocate of the modernization and streamlining of the entire education system. In this sense, he was sympathetic to progressive reform. Yet, he adamantly rejected attempts to remove religious education from the classroom. He argued instead – like Pace – for the practical relevance of

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810 Ibid. The numbers would seem to corroborate one of Ellis’ major complaints in *American Catholics and the Intellectual Life*.
811 Ibid.
812 Ibid.
813 Ibid.
814 Wynne, “Retrospect,” 83.
religion and explained that parochial education went beyond imparting doctrine to serve as a civilizing influence in society.\textsuperscript{815} He also rejected the popular progressive pedagogical criticism that Catholicism was inferior because it relied on rote memorization. Catholicism, Wynne argued, was realized systematically in daily life. “It is taught not merely by lesson and recitation during the hours assigned for it, but by example and practice all through the day and every day in the year.”\textsuperscript{816} It was a way of life that expressed itself in the classroom, recreation, the scientific laboratory, and the chapel.\textsuperscript{817} It accepted no separation between the natural and the supernatural. “In this way religion is not treated as a thing apart from other interests in life,” Wynne explained, “but as the very fountain and source of what is best in life.”\textsuperscript{818}

Wynne’s emphasis on religious practice was a critique of the privatization of religion. “It is all very well to declaim about the Golden Rule, about the brotherhood of man, about love of country” he wrote, but “Unless the thirty or forty pupils in a class are grounded in these in their hourly dealings with one another they will be more phrases without meaning.”\textsuperscript{819} The passage illustrates an important point. Wynne’s practical action was always unapologetically Catholic. What Wynne deplored more than anything else was the separation of content and process: the sentimentalization of religion at the expense of an active and publically engaged life of faith. Wynne’s critique of the public school system focused on just such a separation. Beyond this criticism, Wynne was conciliatory towards public schools. Catholic schools were not in competition with

\textsuperscript{815} Wynne, “Catholic School System,” X6.
\textsuperscript{816} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{817} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{818} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{819} Ibid.
public schools, except occasionally in a friendly manner.\(^{920}\) He judiciously distanced himself from those who would speak poorly of public schools. “Occasionally some one speaks of the public schools as godless, but that does not mean that every Catholic is prompted to detract the good work they are doing. Surely it would bring censure on any teacher in the Catholic schools to speak disparagingly of a public school or of its pupils.”\(^{821}\) He reminded the reader that many priests, bishops and their teachers had been educated in public schools.\(^{822}\) There was, therefore, no reason for antagonism or distrust.\(^{823}\) However, he was firm in once again reiterating that religion was a necessary component of education.

For the Sunday school is not enough, and the home is not always so circumstanced that it can provide thorough and systematic training of this sort. Even an extra hour or so added to the regular school time every day, as advocated by some who favor the Gary system, will not satisfy the needs of the children. To be effective religion must be an integral part of any school course, and it must be taught by those who live it in experience as well as by profession.\(^{824}\)

Wynne anticipated and dismissed the claim that religious pluralism would make it difficult to incorporate religion into the school curriculum:

To say that it is impossible to make it part of an educational course is proved false by the fact that in over 7,000 educational institutions it is a part, and taught in such a manner as to influence the conduct of the pupils. Why claim that it must be forever ostracized in common school programs of study, because it is impossible to teach any one religion that will satisfy all? Is it possible to teach any one system of philosophy that will satisfy all? Or, is there any course of history that will satisfy all? Those who appreciate its value find no difficulty in determining how to teach it.\(^{825}\)

Wynne’s final comments reveal the ambiguous nature of his approach to education. Certainly, as an American Catholic he was not atypical in his acceptance of the public education system, though he was probably in the minority. There is even evidence to suggest that his openness on the education question brought him into conflict

\(^{920}\) Ibid.  
\(^{821}\) Ibid.  
\(^{822}\) Ibid.  
\(^{823}\) Ibid.  
\(^{824}\) Ibid.  
\(^{825}\) Ibid.
with his own religious order. In a 1902 letter, he revealed the opposition he encountered from fellow Jesuits when he proposed a journal dedicated to education. “I quite agree with you that we should have an Educational Review,” he explained in the letter, noting that he wanted one ten years ago in 1892.\footnote{\textit{\textsuperscript{826}}} He continued:

> If it were to serve no other purpose than to advertise and defend the existence of our colleges, while stimulating and directing our own activities, it would be worth while…But, BUT, if you knew what the powers that be think of such proposals – how I was treated when I proposed to have a review – you would say, indeed, that it needs a mandate, nay, as in Spain, the immediate action of the General.\footnote{\textit{\textsuperscript{827}}}

What strikes one as peculiar – and what probably upset his fellow Jesuits beyond his support for public education in general – were the seeming contradictions in Wynne’s approach to the entire question of education. On the one hand, he seemed to be indifferent to public education. As long as Catholics were permitted to educate in the manner they saw fit, he had no quarrel with public schools. Thus, he argued for the relevance and effectiveness of Catholic education, while simultaneously accepting the good work public schools were doing. On the other hand, he actively fought the Smith Towner Bill’s attempt to federalize education. Clearly, Wynne was afraid that a federally controlled education system would result in European-style repression of Catholic schools. Given the anti-Catholic rhetoric of the Progressive Era, this was a legitimate fear. Wynne’s conciliatory remarks towards public schooling may have therefore been part of a calculated attempt to ward off the same kind of conflict the Church had experienced in Europe. Let Catholics be, and they would have no quarrel. But Wynne seems to have been suggesting something more than just a truce.

The central point in Wynne’s piece was that religion was an essential part of every successful school curriculum, both public and private. Whether or not Wynne was

\footnotetext[826]{John J. Wynne, S.J. to Shandelle, October 4, 1902, Box 16 Folder 19, AA.} \footnotetext[827]{Ibid.}
naïve for imagining Catholicism might be given fair treatment in public schools (or that Catholics would give fair treatment to Protestantism) is a reasonable question. But the question did not seem to trouble Wynne, who argued that the diversity of systems in philosophy and history did not prevent those subjects from being taught, and that in any event religion in general had a salutary effect on society. Implicit in Wynne’s understanding was an acceptance of religious pluralism. What can be deduced from these statements? Was Wynne suggesting a kind of religious relativism? It is highly unlikely. There is too much in Wynne’s writings to suggest that he thought anything other than that Catholicism was the best of all possible religions and the solution to society’s ills. He even referenced the satisfaction American Catholics had with the “security” of their “own position” in the pages of America. 828 How then might one explain Wynne’s comments?

It is certainly not possible to discount the prospect that Wynne believed Catholicism, when allowed to participate in the marketplace of ideas, would emerge victorious in the battle for the nation’s soul. However, once again there is little in Wynne’s writings after 1900 to suggest that he was at all concerned with converting the nation to Catholicism. In fact, as we shall see towards the end of the chapter, he seemed to suggest precisely the opposite, or at least to suggest indifference when it came to converting the country. What Wynne seemed to want more than anything else was for Catholicism to be given a place at the table, an opportunity to present itself for public consideration, and an opportunity to work for the common good. In short, Wynne seemed to be arguing for a version of social transformation that did not necessarily involve the conversion of the United States. The full significance of this position will be parsed at the end of the chapter after we have explored Wynne’s understanding of the

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state. For now, we will pause to explore the intellectual foundation of Wynne’s approach to education, which will ultimately prove to be the lynchpin of his thought: Neo-Scholasticism.

**Neo-Scholasticism: “greatest of all philosophical systems”**

John J. Wynne was an ardent Neo-Scholastic who once stated that Pope Leo XIII “saw too clearly the need of this very philosophy for rectifying the evils of the world.”

Like his colleague Pace, Wynne the scientist saw no barrier preventing the integration of scientific knowledge with theology. Rather, he extolled the virtues of Scholasticism, which he called the “greatest of all philosophical systems” and “a sound and civilizing philosophy.”

Wynne presented a summary of his understanding of Neo-Scholasticism in a sermon at St. Albert’s Church in New York on the death of Cardinal Mercier in January of 1926. For an individual not given to theological reflection, the sermon is a rare first-hand account of the way he understood Scholastic theology’s role in the coordination and systematization all human knowledge.

Wynne began the sermon by emphasizing the practical and universal aspects of Catholic education. He noted that Mercier understood Scholasticism as a system, “not merely of indoctrinating priests with a knowledge of sound philosophy, but also of attracting to its study the men who were to rule the political, literary, social and economic destinies of his country.” In other words, Scholasticism was not an abstract set of principles, as the pragmatists contended, but a system designed to gain traction in the real

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831 Ibid.
832 Ibid.
world. It was well suited to address the political, literary, social and economic realities of the modern world. It was therefore well suited to the Society of Jesus, which prided itself on the ability to educate the best and the brightest of each generation.\(^\text{833}\)

Systematic integration was a hallmark of Mercier’s thought. Mercier knew that all truth was one, including the truth of the natural law that informed “human dealing in society, in government, in politics, in science, as well as in religion.”\(^\text{834}\) Scholasticism had therefore had both methodological and epistemological implications.\(^\text{835}\) Since scholasticism was a method for integrating and explaining the facts of reality, Mercier rejected any attempt to separate supernatural and temporal knowledge.\(^\text{836}\) Divine revelation could only be known, could only be made incarnate, through human experience in the world. It followed that history – the human experience of God’s saving activity in the world – was a necessary discipline.\(^\text{837}\)

Scholasticism would necessarily correct the errors of modern philosophy which, overly steeped in empiricism, could not provide for the deeper meaning of reality.

According to Wynne, Mercier intended Scholasticism to:

- bring the old philosophy into touch with the advances of modern science;
- to bring reason back into its place as the torch and the guide of scientific inquiry;
- to give men an informative philosophy, and to put an end, so far as may be, to the philosophy of doubt introduced by Descartes;
- to make thinkers face truth objectively, and to have done with weaving subjectively out of their own minds vague speculations as vaguely expressed, that only confuse minds and can never enlighten...Above all, the eminent philosopher was seeking unity in human science and human thought. He believed in the laboratory as much as in the library: reasoning and investigation were to go hand in hand: no science was to be overlooked, but the contents of all were to be co-ordinated and brought into unity by the application of principles which would stand every test of a cultivated reason.\(^\text{838}\)


\(^{835}\) Ibid., 3.

\(^{836}\) Ibid., 6.

\(^{837}\) Ibid., 7.

\(^{838}\) Ibid., 3.
Balancing the need for scientific inquiry with the need to provide for the deeper meaning of existence informed Wynne’s approach to one of the more difficult scientific questions of the day: evolution. In 1923, Wynne wrote:

We do not condemn evolution in our prospectus. We condemn only the exaggerated way in which it is taught, as if it were a fact and not merely a theory; as if it be applicable in every field of knowledge, among others in religion, ethics, etc.; or, as if all advance of progress must be considered evolution.839

In 1925, Wynne explained his position in the New York Times. “The subject of evolution is neither outlawed nor ignored in the Catholic Encyclopedia nor in the general book edited by me under the title Universal Knowledge.” Wynne clarified that Catholics were not opposed to evolution *per se*, but to materialistic reductions of the human person. “No matter what science might discover regarding the origin of the human body,” he argued, “it could never explain the origin of the human soul.”841 Though Wynne refused to comment on the Scopes Trial in Dayton, Tennessee, he admitted that he disapproved of attempts to legislate the teaching of evolution. “It is a matter for scientists, rather than jurists,” he said, “and scientists are very few in number and slow to speak.”842 Wynne opposed legislation because he “doubted the competence of any court to pass upon the legality of scientific truth.”843 He also explained that Catholics “are not in favor of making laws against the teaching of evolution if it be taught properly.”844 He only requested scientific objectivity, arguing that, “Evolution should be taught as a scientific

839 Wynne to Rev. Julius E. DeVos, October 23, 1923, Catholic Encyclopedia 20, Box 15 R35 (Folder Wynne, John J.), Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.
841 Ibid.
842 Ibid.
843 Ibid.
844 Ibid.
hypothesis, with the facts which tend to support it and the facts which tend to discredit it impartially displayed. It should neither be preached as dogma nor attacked as heresy.”

Wynne’s comments demonstrated a remarkable openness to science that no doubt originated in his training as a mathematician and scientist. However, given the reminder to American Catholics in *Longinqua Oceani* that “An education cannot be deemed complete which takes no notice of modern sciences,” Wynne’s openness to science is not as strange as it might first seem. Rather, his approach to scientific study was commensurate with *Longinqua’s* admonition that Catholics be leaders, rather than followers, in the field of scientific inquiry.

Wynne’s embrace of Neo-Scholasticism is proof that he never rejected the theological foundation he received at Woodstock College. He was of a single mind with American Catholic thinkers like Tierney, Shanahan, Pace, et al., and with Popes Leo XIII and Pius X, when he argued that Neo-Scholasticism would serve as a corrective to the modern tendency towards skepticism and subjectivism. By providing an overarching framework of rational inquiry, Neo-Scholasticism promised to provide the kind of objectivity and systematic unity that progressive thinkers like Albion Small recognized as a necessary but lacking component of national identity.

Even so, Neo-Scholasticism was not a frequent theme in Wynne’s repertoire of works. Wynne was personally far less concerned with Neo-Scholastic thought than he was with history. A doer more than a thinker, a scientist more than a philosopher or theologian, it was almost inevitable that Wynne – always obsessed with practicality and

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845 Ibid.
847 Ibid.
demonstrable facts – would gravitate towards an interest in history and journalism at a
time when “scientific facts” dominated intellectual life. Yet, it would be impossible to
separate Wynne the historian from Wynne the Neo-Scholastic. As we saw in chapter
two, Progressive Era American Catholics saw in history a concrete manifestation of
objective Catholic truth in the material world. Wynne was no exception. Like many of
his American Catholics peers, Wynne used history to argue that Neo-Scholasticism was
both the source of American freedom and, even more importantly for a nation seeking
renewal, the answer to the riddle of American democracy.

**American Catholic History: The Jesuit Martyrs and “the epic of our origin”**

John J. Wynne’s lifelong fascination with the Jesuit martyrs and Kateri
Tekakwtha was symptomatic of American Catholicism’s broadening interest in history
during the Progressive Era. In fact, when not being lauded as an educator and editor,
Wynne was remembered by many of his contemporaries as an eminent historian.
Wynne’s status as an amateur historian mirrors that of Walsh, and was typical of the
period. Novick explains that, “much of the most distinguished historical work
continued [during the Progressive Era] to be produced by those without Ph.D.’s or
professorships.” It is no surprise then that shortly before his death in 1948, Thomas F.
O’Connor cited Wynne as one of the surviving “veterans” of the “renaissance of
American Catholic historical studies” in the early twentieth century.

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(February 1926): 582.
851 Ibid.
852 O’Connor, “Trends,” 7. The extent to which scholars have overlooked this historical
“renaissance” in Progressive Era Catholicism is revealed in the fact that the majority of the names
mentioned are largely forgotten. The anonymity of American Catholic authors is acknowledged by Peter
Novick, who writes that among prominent Catholic historians between the two world wars, the most
When discussing Wynne’s work on behalf of the canonizations, for which he did the bulk of his historical writing, it is important to note that his efforts were not strictly devotional, but rather an example of the manner in which Progressive Era American Catholics systematically and theologically reinterpreted history — and especially American history — in a way that placed the Roman Catholic Church at the center of the narrative. This recovery had an obvious apologetic objective, insofar as it argued that Catholics played a major role in the nation’s founding, and therefore had a rightful claim to American citizenship. Scientific history was an essential part of this Catholic apologetic, because it provided a historical methodology that allowed American Catholic historians to use facts to objectively state their case. Obviously, the recovery also had a clearly stated evangelical objective. In addition to the edification of Jesuits, priests and laity in the United States and Canada, it was hoped that the beatifications would inspire the conversion of Native Americans and Protestants to Roman Catholicism. In fact, it prominent — including Gaillard Hunt — were all converts (Noble Dream, 174 FN 10). Novick attributes the lack of prominence in part to anti-Catholicism in the profession (Noble Dream, 174 FN 10).

853 Allan Greer argues in the “Natives and Nationalism” that Tekakwitha’s cause was initially “set in motion” by American “nationalism acting on and through the Catholic Church of the United States” (265-266). In other words, the historical recovery of Kateri Tekakwitha was part of Progressive Era American Catholicism’s attempt to re-narrate the Church into the nation’s founding. Greer ultimately calls Tekakwitha’s cause part of a “campaign to provide the Catholic Church of the United States with a symbol in the form of an Indian maiden from another century that could anchor this ‘foreign’ religion in American soil” (272). Greer’s account is accurate, however it fails to highlight a second motivation behind Tekakwitha’s cause, at least from Wynne’s perspective. Wynne frequently referred Tekakwitha as the prize convert of the Jesuit Martyrs. Her conversion, in Wynne’s narrative, therefore cannot be separated from the frequent reference he makes to the ways in which the Jesuit missionaries helped to settle and civilize the continent, the implication being that Catholicism was not just present at the founding, but also actively contributed to the nation’s progress. For Greer’s full argument, see “Natives and Nationalism: The Americanization of Kateri Tekakwitha,” The Catholic Historical Review 90, no. 2 (April 2004): 260-272.

854 For the ways in which Wynne used the canonizations to foster American Catholic identity, see Anderson, Death and Afterlife, 144-155; 159-164. Though Anderson highlights the ways in which Wynne linked American Catholic identity to the martyrs’ cult, she fails to parse the theological edifice upon which the connection rested.

855 Anderson, Death and Afterlife, 154; 162. See also “Memorandum for Letter to Father Renaud of Canada,” Box 5 Folder 12, AA. The letter is undated and unsigned. Though the letter makes reference to Father Wynne in the third person, and would therefore suggest that Wynne was not the author, he did on
would be virtually impossible to separate the two objectives – apologetics and a
refutation of the Reformation – in Wynne’s historiography, since so much of his
apologetic rested upon a critique of Protestant historiography. And since Wynne’s
historiography ultimately had a theological objective, namely, to re-narrate Catholics into
the nation’s founding, his work coincided with all three of the objectives of Progressive
Era American Catholic historiography presented in chapter two: it was apologetic, it
refuted the Reformation, and it had a theological objective.

Apologetics were often at the forefront of Wynne’s historical writings, and for
good reason. They provided a basis for the accommodationist pole of inculturation. That
is, apologetics provided for Catholic assimilation into the American mainstream. Hence,
Wynne, as much as any other American Catholic thinker of his era, attempted to
demonstrate the historical contiguity between Catholicism and the founding of the United
States by presenting irrefutable “facts” that would demonstrate Catholicism’s presence in
the pre-colonial and colonial history of the nation. A major component of this approach
to history involved refuting the historiographical myth of post-Reformation Catholic
decline.

A frequent theme in Wynne’s writing was the providential role Catholicism
played in shaping the events of history. In the preface to the *Great Encyclicals of Leo
XIII*, he wrote, “The late pontiff, by adapting himself to his age and studying carefully its
needs and possibilities, has so far influenced its thought and tendencies and so plainly
altered its currents of events, as to have opened a new era in its history.”

occasional refer to himself in the third person when detailing the work of projects in which he was one player
among many. The letter appears to be in a hand similar to Wynne’s.

856 Wynne, *Great Encyclicals*, 4. Wynne’s entire preface rests upon the historical significance of
Leo’s pontificate and its implications for “science…education, sociology, and statesmanship.” (4).
comments, we find an unmistakable example of inculturation in Wynne’s thought. Leo adapts himself to the age in order to transform its future. The implication was that Catholicism would do the same in America. Religion was, for Leo, as for Wynne, “the chief factor of true progress,” such that the great pontiff never failed “to provide a remedy” for the evils affecting humanity.

It is clear that this approach to history was subtly, but intimately, tied to Wynne’s broader public defense of Catholicism. In a 1922 letter to Peter Guilday, Wynne wrote, “If I were capable, I should choose [to write] about persons, events and things generally that history does not and never can record.” The statement is revealing. At first glance, it suggests an individual interested in the arcana of Western history. However, given the very public nature of Wynne’s work, and when considered in light of his broader public defense of Catholicism in an era during which the merits of the Church were much maligned, it becomes clear that Wynne’s desire to reveal what history had forgotten was intimately bound up with the desire Progressive Era American Catholic historians had to present the Catholic Church as the forgotten interpretive key to Western history. For this reason, Wynne could be disparaging of those who failed to attend to historical study. Arguing in 1939 that history was an essential discipline that should be “the biggest element in all education,” he stated in The Fordham Ram, “I doubt if Adolf Hitler would have contemplated the now accomplished subjugation of Poland if he had learned from his history books that Poland has refused to be conquered in the past.”

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857 Ibid., 3.
858 Ibid., 6.
859 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Peter Guilday, September 23, 1922, American Catholic Historical Association 1919-1922, Correspondence P-Z, 1922, ACUA.
860 “Eightieth Birthday,” Fordham Ram, 1.
One gets a clearer sense of how Wynne understood Catholicism’ role in the early history of the United States in a 1925 article he wrote for the *Catholic World.*\(^{861}\) The article, entitled “North America’s First Blessed,” presents a concise summary of the argument he made in the *Jesuit Martyrs of North America*, published the same year.\(^{862}\) The article began by noting that the martyrs “were as much Americans as Cotton Mather, Roger Williams, or the Massachusetts missionary Eliot.”\(^{863}\) Again, we see apologetics at work. Though Mather was born in the colonies, Williams and Eliot were both born in England, making them no more (or less) American than Jogues and his compatriots.

Wynne added that Jogues’ rescue by Dutch Reformed settlers in Albany and subsequent transfer to to the ethnic melting pot of Manhattan was “all the more remarkable” given that “in Europe men were at one another’s throats over religious differences.”\(^{864}\)

The implication was obvious. America was different. It was ecumenical and pluralistic, and Catholics had participated in its creation from the very beginning. Lest anyone doubt this, Wynne explicitly stated that, “The martyrs came to this part of the New World to develop civilization as well as religion among the savage aborigines in

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\(^{861}\) Wynne, “North America’s First Blessed,” 580. In the 1920s, Wynne became involved in a bitter and protracted dispute over the publishing rights to the *Jesuit Relations.* A folder containing Wynne’s correspondence related to the dispute can be found at the Archives of the New York Province of the Society of Jesus in New York. A summary of Wynne’s complaint can be found in a letter he wrote to the editor of the *New York Times.* See John J. Wynne, “Jesuit Relations: Father Wynne Protests Abridgment Purporting to Tell the Whole Story,” *The New York Times*, November 15, 1925, E12. Wynne’s complaint seems to have been over the Jesuits’ right to publish the materials in their entirety, and over the lucrative amount of money the Relations would afford those who published them. For the value of the *Jesuit Relations* see Walsh, *American Jesuits* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), 75 FN 1; 77 FN 2. For Wynne’s financial concern, see Laurence J. Kelly, S.J. to Francis X. Talbot, S.J., November 19, 1925, Box 32 Folder 24, AA.

\(^{862}\) Wynne was famous for recycling material, which might suggest everything from a lack of creativity to a lack of time. However, given his extensive experience in the media, in all likelihood Wynne’s repetition was born of a deep awareness that in the age of mass media one must always deliberately attempt to stay on message.

\(^{863}\) Wynne, “First Blessed,” 577.

\(^{864}\) Ibid.
what was then known as New France.”

They came to convert the “pragmatists of their time” who were “skeptical” about the “external symbols” of religious faith: the native tribes who insisted on trying things out before acting on them and who had been taught by Protestants to be suspicious of Roman Catholicism. Of course, the native’s pragmatism and skepticism, taught to them by Protestants, is a clear allusion to the pragmatism and skepticism of progressives, many of whom emerged from liberal Protestantism. Whether or not Wynne intended in the article to implicate Protestantism in the rise of pragmatism is debatable, though Wynne’s historiography was not beyond critique of Protestants or support of the Teutonic sympathies of the day. In this sense, his work satisfied the second objective American Catholic historiography, which was refutation of the Reformation.

One thing, however, was abundantly clear. For Wynne, as for so many American Catholic historians of the Progressive Era, the witness of the missionary martyrs proved that Catholics participated in forging America’s destiny from the start. The missionary emphasis was deeply influenced by the progressive milieu, which struggled with questions of American identity. But it was also deeply influenced by American Catholicism’s status as mission territory. Wynne himself argued that the missionaries’ contribution to American civilization was indisputable because it was recorded as historical fact in the Jesuit Relations, which were “the earliest and most reliable sources of our [American] history.” Wynne cited no less an authority than the great Protestant

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865 Ibid., 578.
866 Ibid., 578; 579.
historian George Bancroft when he boldly declared, “Neither myth nor legend is needed for the Homer who will write the epic of our origin.”

Unfortunately, in his recourse to Bancroft, Wynne showed the tension with which American Catholic historiography stood in relation to progressive historiography. At precisely the time Wynne was citing the authority of Bancroft, scientific historians of the Progressive Era were determined “to distance themselves from their ‘literary’ and ‘gentleman amateur’ predecessors of the early nineteenth century,” of which Bancroft was perhaps the foremost example. The problem lay in the very type of history conducted by Wynne and his fellow American Catholics. Novick explains, “They did not hesitate to ‘tell,’ in an era that preferred the writer to ‘show’; to make their political and moral judgments explicit.” More importantly, “The combination of the ‘intrusive’ authorial presence, the explicit moralizing, and overt partisanship, made their work unacceptable to the historical scientists.”

In any event, for Wynne the missionaries proved that Catholics were at the vanguard of progress. They “had given up the Old for the New,” and “their labors accomplished much for these higher purposes.” In particular, the “heroic founders” were responsible for “much that survives in our American life today, east of the Mississippi, along the Lakes, and on both sides of the St. Lawrence.”

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868 Wynne, “First Blessed,” 582.
869 Novick, Noble Dream, 44.
870 Ibid., 46. For a parallel discussion of the way Wynne treated the writings of Protestant historian Francis Parkman, see Anderson, Death and Afterlife, 154-155.
871 Novick, Noble Dream, 46. Moralizing presented a problem for progressive historians when it came to national unity. Novick asks, “How could they reconcile the seemingly contradictory demands of history for moral and patriotic indoctrination, and history as objective science?” (70).
872 Wynne, “First Blessed,” 578.
873 Ibid., 582.
The emphasis Wynne placed on the settlements founded by the early Jesuit explorers reveals that the practical achievement of the martyrs was never far from his mind. Indeed, he explicitly argued that the historical record provided in the *Jesuit Relations* proved that Catholics had made significant scientific contributions to society. “These relations are the work of experts in many fields, geography, orography, meteorology, astronomy, climatology, philology, and ethnology.”\(^{874}\) They also contributed ideas on political economy.\(^{875}\) Eventually additional missionaries arrived; women opened hospitals and convent schools.\(^{876}\) In other words, Catholics provided social relief. The missionaries were all willing to suffer hardship, and even death, in deference to the “law of progress.”\(^{877}\) However, unlike citizens of the present day, for whom progress meant searching after vain novelty, the Catholic missionaries “were the children of a time when men were born and things were done that have had a lasting influence.”\(^{878}\) They lived during “the birth-time of much genius that we love today.”\(^{879}\) In other words, they were among the pillars of modern culture. Moreover, they were docile and gentle though surrounded by savages.\(^{880}\) They were not a threat. The allusion to anti-Catholicism is unambiguous. Though at first objects of suspicion, the Black Robes (as the priests were known) soon came to be honored by the natives.\(^{881}\) Though forgotten by their own people after the suppression of the Order and the French

\(^{874}\) Ibid., 580.  
\(^{875}\) Ibid.  
\(^{876}\) Ibid.  
\(^{877}\) Ibid., 581.  
\(^{878}\) Ibid., 583.  
\(^{879}\) Ibid.  
\(^{880}\) Ibid.  
\(^{881}\) Ibid., 581. In Wynne’s narrative the French were typical of Old World Catholicism’s antagonism towards the Church and its inability to implement a just democratic system, while the United States was typical of New World democracy that allowed Catholicism to flourish.
Revolution, their memory was finally resurrected because the Church “has a long memory.”

John J. Wynne was a vociferous promoter of the memory of the Church. In addition to historical writings, he faithfully retained membership in the ACHA until his death. He maintained an extensive correspondence with the ACHA’s founder, Peter Guilday, who with James J. Walsh later served as one of the editors of the revised edition of the Catholic Encyclopaedia. In one letter dating from the ACHA’s early history, Wynne even joked with Guilday that he would offer to pay the membership dues for fellow Jesuit Thomas J. Campbell if he [Campbell] was not yet a member of the organization. In 1920, Guilday personally asked Wynne for permission to submit his name for the vice-presidency of the young association. “There will be no obligation involved,” he told Wynne, “and we should have the great benefit of your name and prestige.” Wynne accepted the invitation and in 1921 served as one of the ACHA’s vice-presidents during the presidency of James J. Walsh. Also at Guilday’s suggestion, Wynne presented a paper called “The Historical Basis of the Encyclopedia” at the third annual meeting of the ACHA in New Haven, Connecticut.

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882 Ibid., 583.
884 I am indebted to Catholic University of America archivist John Shepherd for noting the extent of Wynne’s correspondence with Guilday. Due to time limitations, I was unable to examine all of the correspondence.
885 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Peter Guilday, November 29, 1921, Correspondence U-Z 1921, Archives of the American Catholic Historical Association 1919-1922, ACUA.
886 Peter Guilday to John J. Wynne, S.J., December 4, 1920, Correspondence U-Z 1920, Archives of the American Catholic Historical Association 1919-1922, ACUA.
887 The suggestion came in a letter Guilday wrote in December of 1922. See Peter Guilday to John J. Wynne, S.J., December 7, 1922, Correspondence P-Z 1922, Archives of the American Catholic
Wynne belonged to two additional professional historical associations. He was a member of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York and the founder of the Gilmary Society in New York in 1938.\footnote{888} Always the advocate of Catholic literacy, Wynne insisted as early as 1903 that the USCHS assemble a library.\footnote{889} Literacy also figured prominently in the Gilmary Society, to which Wynne left the copyright of the Catholic Encyclopedia.\footnote{890}

**Church and State: “The Guardian of Liberty”**

It was not until Wynne turned to a discussion of the state that the theological objective of his historiography became explicit. However, in order to fully understand Wynne’s theological approach to the issue of church and state, we must travel back to the late nineteenth century. In 1899, as the Americanist controversy raged on both sides of the Atlantic, one popular Catholic magazine was curiously silent on the issue: the Messenger of the Sacred Heart, then under the editorial direction of Wynne. It wasn’t until after Leo XIII issued Testem Benevolentiae that Wynne finally spoke about Americanism in the pages of the journal, and when he did his tone was both conciliatory and enigmatic.

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\footnote{888} Wynne is listed as a member of the Historical Society as early as 1903. In 1950 he was eulogized as one who “for many years lent his devoted support to this Society.” See, “Annual Meeting,” Historical Records and Studies 3 (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1904): 517 and “Necrology,” Historical Records and Studies 38 (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1950): 115.

\footnote{889} Wynne made the comments at the society’s annual meeting in New York on February 4, 1903. See Historical Records and Studies vol. 3 (1904): 519.

The Americanist Debate

In one sense, Americanism was simply a North American skirmish in the Church’s ongoing battle with the modern world.\(^{891}\) It is not insignificant, for example, that Pius X deliberately singled out the Americanists shortly before condemning modernism as the “synthesis of all heresies.”\(^{892}\) However, the origins of Americanism predate the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From the beginning, American Catholics were a minority presence in the United States and wrestled with the implications that America-style democracy and Protestant cultural hegemony would have for their status as citizens of the new republic. Despite both Roman and nativist suspicions, the assertion of a providential fit between Catholicism and America has been a central theme of American Catholicism, and particularly of the American Jesuits, dating back to the time of the country’s first Catholic bishop, John Carroll.\(^{893}\) As the years turned into decades, American Catholics started to notice a curious trend that seemed to bolster their claim. The Protestant majority was coming undone at precisely the moment Catholics were assuming elite demographic status as the nation’s single largest religious denomination. Some American Catholic intellectuals, in what might be termed a unique Catholic expression of manifest destiny, started to wonder if it might not be America’s


\(^{892}\) Pius X, *Pascendi*, 38.

destiny to convert to Roman Catholicism. However, not all American Catholics were convinced.

_American Catholicism Confronts the Age_

Over the course of the late nineteenth century “a split evolved in the American Catholic mind” between those who would accommodate, and even assimilate aspects of, American culture, and those who would maintain a more defensive posture. By the middle of the 1890s the situation became so acute that a “general rupture” occurred over the proper way to respond to a number of pressing pastoral concerns stemming directly from the broader changes affecting American society. In response, Catholic leaders “broke into at least two major opposing parties in their evaluation of the times and assessments of the proper relationship of the Church to the age.”

Some American Catholics favored accommodation to the spirit of the age in a manner redolent of, though not identical to, progressivism. Others accepted the practical benefits afforded by science and technology, but rejected any synthesis of progressive political philosophy with Catholic theology and ecclesiology. Those who favored accommodation to the spirit of age, the Americanists (also called liberals), drew their inspiration from Isaac Hecker. Like Hecker, the Americanists saw a providential fit between the United States and Roman Catholicism. They wanted to take what was best from the age while simultaneously “preserving the essentials of faith and ecclesial government.” It would ultimately be this desire to preserve the essentials of Catholicism that would prevent the majority of Americanists from slipping into

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894 Carey, _Roman Catholics in America_, 52-53.
895 Ibid., 52.
896 Ibid.
897 Carey, _Catholics_, 52.
Americanists may have appropriated the spirit of the age, but they did not uncritically embrace all of its ideas.

The Americanists displayed clear sympathies with both the republican tradition and the progressives’ evolutionary approach to history. They argued that the separation of Church and state was inevitable, the truth of which could, according to Bishop John Lancaster Spalding, be found in the teachings of Christ. The Americanists’ evolutionary outlook made them confident in the future. “Although Americanists saw the dangers in modern society, they emphasized what was good in it. They were sympathetic to the progressive, optimistic, developmental spirit of the age, and saw the Catholic Church as a fundamental historical force for religious and cultural improvement.

“Repeatedly they characterized American culture as democratic, activist, opportunistic, energetic, and aggressive – values they cherished.” Yet, like their secular counterparts, prominent Americanists from the period peppered their sermons with a “confident tone of apocalyptic urgency.” They could “feel the cultural consensus of Protestant America coming undone” and instinctively “rushed to fill the cultural and religious vacuum with Catholicism.”

Against the Americanists stood the conservatives (also called refractaires), “who accepted the material achievements of the modern age and appreciated the accomplishments of modern science and technology, but…were extremely critical of what they perceived to be a spirit behind these developments that was essentially hostile

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898 Reher, “Continuity or Discontinuity?,” 99. Modernism, and by extension progressivism, were predicated upon a rejection of the unchanging natural law tradition that was essential to the Americanists’ defense of American-style democracy.
899 Carey, Roman Catholics in America, 58.
900 Carey, Roman Catholics in America, 59.
901 Portier, “Americanism and Inculturation,” 155.
902 Ibid., 154.
to faith and all religious authority.”

The conservatives argued that “the primacy of the spiritual order…revelation, supernatural grace and ecclesiastical authority” were necessary “for a proper understanding of the human condition and destiny.”

For the conservatives, “the church could not, without losing its integrity and identity with the apostolic tradition, accommodate itself to the outward forms of modern culture and modern patterns of thought,” especially those forms that denigrated the Church’s dogmatic teaching and episcopal polity.

Standing behind the conservative critique was a deep-seated fear of the excesses of American nationalism. Although they were patriotic, the conservatives expressed concern over an American chauvinism “that almost made an idol of the nation” and which “tended to forget that Catholicism transcended nationalism and was separate from many values in American society.”

Neither could conservatives accept “a progressive or developmental view of history that saw the United States as the harbinger of the future.” When conservatives looked at the American landscape, they saw a world infected with “individualism, rationalism, socialism, and materialism,” a world with which there could be no compromise.

New York City took on special significance in the debate. As the national hub of commerce, arts, culture, industry, and publishing, and with its massive immigrant population, New York came to embody the Progressive Era demographic shift towards

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904 Ibid., 60.
905 Ibid., 53.
906 Ibid., 60.
907 Ibid.
908 Ibid., 59.
urban and cosmopolitan settings and the philosophical shift towards a progressive worldview.

Carey lists several issues that eventually divided Americanists from their conservative coreligionists.\textsuperscript{910} For the present argument, five are germane. The first major conflict erupted in the 1880s over the Americanization of German Catholic immigrants.\textsuperscript{911} For Americanists, like progressives, German language and ethnicity would have to be subordinated in favor of assimilation and national unity.\textsuperscript{912} For the conservatives, more akin to seeing the Church through a transnational lens, such contempt smacked of chauvinism. On a more basic level, the “German Problem,” which later became the “Italian Problem,” was simply the American Catholic version of Progressive Era debates about national identity and cultural accommodation.

The second issue that divided the Americanists from their conservative brethren was the proposed Catholic University of America, which the Americanists supported but which conservatives and even some members of Propaganda opposed.\textsuperscript{913} Beyond Catholic University, education in general was a primary area of contention, with Americanist support for public education infuriating those bishops who had worked so hard to build up the parochial school system after the mandates of the Third Plenary Council in 1884.\textsuperscript{914}

The last three issues affected not just Catholics, but Catholic relations with American society. The first involved the “new sciences.” The Americanists generally

\textsuperscript{910} The following section relies on Carey’s presentation of the issues in The Roman Catholics in America, 54-59. The section will present five of Carey’s eight issues.
\textsuperscript{911} Carey, Roman Catholics in America, 54.
\textsuperscript{912} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{913} Ibid., 55.
\textsuperscript{914} Ibid., 51-52; 56.
supported “some kind of dialogue with and appropriation of the new scientific methods and the dynamic worldview of the period.”

The second involved “Catholic cooperation with non-Catholics and participation in religious events that were sponsored by either nondenominational groups or by specific Protestant denominations.” Carey explains that, “Participation, cooperation, or even public discussions with Protestants and other non-Catholic religious traditions had, particularly since the days of Pius IX, been discouraged because they were perceived to be actual or potential forms of indifferentism or violations of communio in sacris, a Catholic prohibition against participating in non-Catholic services.” In response to the ongoing debate, Leo officially prohibited Catholic participation in “non-denominationally organized religious discussions” in 1895.

The final (and closely linked) issue was the relationship between Church and state in America. The Americanists assumed a position closely resembling that of Hecker, arguing that American-style separation was beneficial for the Church and a solution to the problem of anticlericalism in Europe. This position was deeply rooted in the republican tradition of American Catholicism, a tradition that progressivism threatened to undo. On this point, the Americanists therefore diverged sharply from both secular progressives and from Rome in their support of the republican tradition. As we have seen, Cardinal Gibbons himself was worried that changes made to the Constitution would

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915 Ibid., 59.
916 Ibid., 57.
917 Ibid.
918 Ibid.
919 For more on the republican tradition in American Catholicism, see David O’Brien, Public Catholicism, 9-33.
create a potential European style “collision” between the Church and the federal government.

*John J. Wynne and the Americanist Controversy*

John J. Wynne most certainly felt “certain tensions” when it came to Americanism. Ciani identifies several. On the one hand, Wynne was a proud American who fought anti-Catholicism in the mainstream press. On the other hand, being a Jesuit from New York brought with it certain ecclesial obligations, not the least of which was obedience to New York Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan, one of the fiercest opponents of Americanism. And John J. Wynne was noted for being “absolutely obedient.” Moreover, the Jesuits were staunch supporters of both Corrigan and the anti-Americanist wing in U.S. Catholicism.

To Ciani’s list, we can add a six more tensions. First, Wynne’s openness to public schools would have created friction with the majority of American bishops and with his own Jesuit order, which was heavily invested in parochial education. Second, Wynne would have felt the additional weight of his Woodstock education under Mazzella’s protégé Brandi, who played a significant role in the development of the Roman response to Americanism. In fact, Brandi played a central role in managing the crisis from behind the scenes in Rome. In particular, Brandi was a close confidant of New York Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan and his “chief contact with Rome.” Third, like the Americanists, Wynne actively campaigned on behalf of the English language and

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921 Ibid., 30-31.
922 Ibid., 31.
924 Ibid., 31.
925 Ibid., 185-245; Curran, *Corrigan*, 317; 346-347; 335.
even translated English language missals at the suggestion of Archbishop John Ireland. Fourth, despite his polemics, Wynne tried to maintain positive relations with Protestants and frequently engaged in ecumenical activities. Fifth, Wynne maintained a general openness to the new sciences. Finally, Wynne was a native New Yorker who celebrated his city’s cosmopolitan history as a “boiling pot of races and nations” and who championed its role as a beacon of progress.

As it turns out, it was in New York that the young John Wynne first encountered the religious order at the heart of the Americanist controversy, Isaac Hecker’s Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle. In a letter written to John J. Burke, C.S.P, in 1919, Wynne freely admitted the likely origin of his silence during much of the Americanist controversy. “My affection for the Paulists came to me with the dawn of reason, as my father was a devoted attendant at 59th Street, and a friend of men like Rosencranz [sic], Brown, and their associates of happy memory.” Wynne’s comments reveal that his father attended the original Paulist church granted the order by Archbishop John J. Hughes, the Church of St. Paul the Apostle, located near Columbus Circle in Midtown Manhattan. Moreover, Wynne’s comment about being formed in the Paulist intellectual womb was not hyperbole. The Paulists were founded in 1858, just a year before

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926 Wynne’s relationship with Ireland got off to a rocky start after criticisms leveled at the archbishop in the pages of the Messenger of the Sacred Heart. See John J. Wynne, S.J. to Archbishop John Ireland, June 29, 1898, Folder Wynne, John J. Died 11/30/48, ANYPSJ; Archbishop John Ireland to John J. Wynne, S.J., June 18, 1898, Folder Wynne, John J. Died 11/30/48, ANYPSJ. In time, the relationship between the two warmed considerably. Ciani chronicles the saga in “Sufficiently Indicated,” 117-118 FN 8.


928 “Father Wynne, 77, Sees Peace For Americas,” New York American, December 8, 1936, newspaper clippin in Box 63 Folder 16, AA.

929 John J. Wynne, S.J. to John J. Burke, C.S.P., September 15, 1919, Box 153 Folder 14, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops Office of the General Secretary, ACUA.
Wynne’s birth in 1859. Hecker died in 1888. Although Wynne never mentions Hecker by name, he likely knew the man and almost certainly heard him preach.  

In light of these tensions a picture emerges of John J. Wynne – proud American, proud New Yorker, open to public education, champion of the English language, ecumenically-minded, open to the new sciences, friend of the Paulists – that seems to suggest sympathy with Americanism. A few more of Wynne’s characteristics only seem to confirm this analysis. First, like the Americanists, Wynne was optimistic about the future of both America and the American Catholic Church, and seemed to accept an evolutionary approach to history. “Progress” was a word Wynne used throughout his life. Second, like the Americanists, Wynne “saw the Catholic Church as a fundamental historical force for religious and cultural improvement” and was “activist, opportunistic, energetic, and aggressive” in his approach to American culture. He was also sympathetic to progressive advancements in education, history, journalism, and the new sciences. Finally, through his work on the Catholic Encyclopedia, Wynne developed a close relationship with Catholic University of America. For all of these reasons, Wynne’s silence in The Messenger of the Sacred Heart almost certainly seems to have been the result of Americanist sympathies.

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930 Sheerin notes that the Paulists likely instilled openness towards Protestants in John J. Burke, C.S.P. (Never Look Back, 191). It is likely that Wynne’s exposure to the Paulists had a similar affect.  
931 As late as 1936, Wynne explained that he thought the American continents were only at the beginning of their growth, and that he imagined them expanding to provide a light for the warring nations of Europe. Wynne was especially confident in the U.S.-Canadian relationship, though he was also optimistic that distrust between the United States and South America was disappearing. “Peace For Americas,” New York American, December 8, 1936.  
932 Carey, Roman Catholics in America, 59.  
933 For example, Wynne tried to broker a deal with Archbishop Curley and Rome to send Jesuits to the Catholic University of America. See C. Joseph Neusse, The Catholic University of America: A Centennial History (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1990), 315.
There is only one problem with this conclusion. Wynne explicitly rejected Americanism. In his original proposal for *America* magazine, written just a year after *Testem Benevolentiae*, Wynne stated that a national Catholic weekly was needed in part to overcome the excessive nationalism and Americanism of the Catholic press.

The Catholic weekly newspapers, besides being too local and limited, are all of them either too political and partisan or tainted with the nationalist spirit— that is to say, the few which are not aggressively pro-Irish, pro-German or pro-Canadian, like the *Pilot*, the *Freeman’s Journal*, the *New World*, the *Review* (of St. Louis), etc., and occasionally the *Standard and Times*— are occasionally too Americanist, like the Monitor, the Western Watchman, the Hartford Transcript, Northwestern Chronicle, Milwaukee Citizen, etc., which last two are professedly liberal.934

In continuity with his rejection of nationalistic interpretations of the Jesuit Martyrs, Wynne argued that a new national Catholic weekly would serve as a transnational corrective for American Catholics “by keeping before them the interests, need and progress of the Church in other countries,” by saving them from “the tendency to nationalism, so frequent nowadays,” and by “inspiring them with love and respect for their fellow Catholics in every part of the world.”935

In light of Wynne’s rejection of Americanism, two questions immediately surface. First, what explains Wynne’s silence in *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart* in the period leading up to Leo’s 1899 promulgation of *Testem Benevolentiae*? Ciani deduces that Wynne’s silence may have been a calculated attempt to remain neutral during a period of internecine turmoil. To support this argument, he notes the conciliatory headline Wynne chose for the issue of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* immediately after *Testem* was issued, “A Message of Peace from His Holiness, Leo XIII,” and Wynne’s attempts in subsequent months to preserve the reputation of all parties involved in the debate.

934 John J. Wynne, S.J., “Proposal for the Publication of a Periodical Review or Magazine by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in the United States and Canada,” 3, Box 62 Folder 19, AA.

However, Ciani does not seem entirely satisfied with his own explanation. In particular, he notes the curious fact that in the aftermath of the debate Wynne refrained from publishing any letters that denied the presence of Americanism. Instead, “It seemed important to him that it be admitted that Americanism did exist in the United States.” Ciani observes, “It seems almost as if Wynne were unwilling to take sides in the question, a stance which may have been politically shrewd since most histories of the controversies show the tide turned several times in favor of one or the other of the parties involved.” He adds that such shrewdness “may have been helpful for the future of Wynne and his publications since it assured him of the support of his ordinary, Corrigan, at that time, and spared him and his journal the slightest hint of suspicion” well into the modernist years “when other religious organs and spokesmen experienced mounting tension and suspicion.” Clearly puzzled, Ciani admits that it is unclear if Wynne “had any other motive than principle for treating the topic as he did.”

It is unlikely that any other explanation is needed for Wynne’s silence beyond his reputation as a peacemaker. Despite being known as a fierce defender of Catholic interests – “an instinctive brawler,” as he was recently described in the pages of America – Wynne also regularly attempted to settle disputes in a private manner when dealing with persons of prestige or power. Given the personalities involved in the Americanist debate, as well as Wynne’s reputation for obedience to his superiors, he judged it inappropriate to publically take sides in the debate in the pages of a popular devotional

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937 Ibid., 38; 118 FN 20.
938 Ibid., 33.
939 Ibid.
940 Ibid., 38.
941 Ibid., 33-39.
magazine. Wynne stated this explicitly in the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* when he wrote, “we are glad that we have carefully refrained from taking any part in it [the debate]…feeling sure that those who were prominent on either side would finally submit their cause to the Holy See and abide by its decision.” More importantly, Wynne jealously guarded the Church. After one spat with John Ireland, Wynne admitted in a private letter to the archbishop that he was careful to exclude from the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* “any article, or even expression that might in any way offend our prelates and priests generally to whom we owe so much for their cooperation with us.” When founding *America*, Wynne also repeatedly stated that he did not want the journal to be a forum for contentious issues. In the end, Wynne’s effort to maintain neutrality by refusing to impugn known Americanists was likely a tacit attempt to preserve the reputation of both his fellow Catholics and the church during a contentious period in American Catholic history.

This leaves a second question unanswered, namely, How does one reconcile the tension between Wynne’s rejection of Americanism and his apparent acceptance of Americanist ideas? Ciani hints at an answer when he writes that, “While disagreeing with the Americanists’ position,” Wynne’s prime concern must have been “to present American Catholics as loyal to the Holy See and good Americans simultaneously.” Ciani suggests that Wynne made this argument by maintaining, “the distinction between political and ecclesiastical Americanism made by the pope and by the various episcopal letters of submission.” In other words, “the Pope did not condemn appropriate

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944 Wynne to Ireland, June 29, 1898.
946 Ibid., 38-39.
American patriotism or even the American political system, laws or sensibilities.”\textsuperscript{947} It was this very separation, Ciani concludes, that stood behind Wynne’s neutrality in the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart} and “his effort to prove that Catholics could be truly American.”\textsuperscript{948} In fact, the separation ultimately stood behind, and reconciled, Wynne’s entire position on the relationship between church and state.\textsuperscript{949} 

\textit{Wynne on Religious Liberty}

In the decades after \textit{Testem Benevolentiae}, Wynne gradually came to vocalize a view of religious liberty and the separation of church and state that suggested something new was at work in American Catholic thinking. In the beginning, Wynne’s voice was in close conformity to papal teaching, which clarified that while unique and permissible, the American system was not ideal.\textsuperscript{950} 

Wynne’s first great act of political protest in defense of religious liberty came with the publication of \textit{The Friars Must Stay!} The publicity the pamphlet garnered, and the successful resolution it engendered with the Roosevelt administration, established Wynne as one of the foremost American Catholic political agitators of his day.\textsuperscript{951} 

Wynne’s proposed solution to the Philippines question hewed close to the papal position. In particular, Wynne questioned the strict application of the principle of separation “for a

\textsuperscript{947} Ibid., 35. 
\textsuperscript{948} Ibid., 38-39. 
\textsuperscript{949} The distinctions \textit{Testem Benevolentiae} made allowed Wynne to define his apparent Americanist sympathies as an affinity for “certain endowments of mind which belong to the American people” and his support for democracy as love for the “political condition and the laws and customs” that governed America (Leo XIII, \textit{Testem Benevolentiae Nostrae} (Concerning New Opinions, Virtue, Nature And Grace, With Regard To Americanism), January 22, 1899, http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo13/13teste.htm (accessed March 10, 2014). 
\textsuperscript{950} cf. Leo XIII, \textit{Testem Benevolentiae}, 1899. 
nation that was overwhelmingly Roman Catholic.”\textsuperscript{952} What is most interesting is not that Wynne argued on theological grounds, but rather on political grounds. Simply put, Wynne found the American government’s position inconsistent. “If we do not insist in the Philippines on trial by jury, which is fundamental in our Constitution…why should we be so eager to insist on the separation of Church and State?”\textsuperscript{953} Wynne thought the answer lay in American anti-Catholicism, which made a necessary fetish of the principle of separation.\textsuperscript{954} Wynne’s argument is particularly fascinating because it turns the American argument against Catholicism on its head, viz., that if they had their way, Catholics would abolish the principle of separation of Church and State. Wynne was aware that Rome allowed a certain amount of latitude in deciding the issue of separation based on cultural context. On the other hand, Americans rejected in principle anything other than strict separation, but then violated the principle in practice. Wynne was, in effect, suggesting that the Church was more honest in stating and practicing its position.

Ciani labels Wynne’s response to the Philippines question “appropriately subtle.”\textsuperscript{955} He explains, “Wynne felt himself challenged to defend the Church and its priests [in the Philippines] while commending the American principle of separation of Church and State.”\textsuperscript{956} In this way, Wynne was simply working out the principles set by Leo XIII in \textit{Testem Benevolentiae}.

Wynne also adopted a shrewd linguistic tactic that he would employ at length in his future defense of Roman Catholicism in the United States: he referred to Catholics as

\textsuperscript{952} Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 54.
\textsuperscript{953} Wynne quoted in Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 57.
\textsuperscript{954} Ibid., 56-57.
\textsuperscript{955} Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 54.
\textsuperscript{956} Ibid.
Christians in an attempt to appeal “to a wider American constituency on the issue.”\textsuperscript{957} He adopted the same tactic when discussing the Augustinian priests at the center of the conflict. Rather than call them priests, he simply called them “regulars.”\textsuperscript{958}

With the Philippines question successfully resolved, Wynne soon began to lend his support to other political protests staged by American Catholics. In 1908, he nuanced the position he took on separation in the Philippines and publically argued that the separation of church and state in France was good for the church.\textsuperscript{959} Over the years that followed, he publically protested everything from French spoliation and the Armenian genocide to the loss of the Papal States; he was a fierce defender of the Irish right to self-determination.\textsuperscript{960}

Wynne complemented his protests with an explicit rejection of overt proselytism. As early as 1903 he predicted in the pages of \textit{Harper’s Weekly} that “without any aggression or fanatical proselytism,” the American Catholic Church would “act as a safeguard” against the many ‘ism’ of modernity. The following year, in 1909, he again made reference to proselytism and politics in his editorial comments for \textit{America’s} first issue when he promised that the journal would strictly avoid “proselytism and “all unnecessary controversy” in an attempt to appeal to both the Catholic and non-Catholic

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{957} Ibid. Ciani notes that in later articles, Wynne stressed Catholicism over Christianity (57-58).
\item \textsuperscript{958} Ibid. In this way, he made the priests a normative part of the Filipino landscape.
\end{itemize}
segments of society.\textsuperscript{961} He also implicitly suggested respect for religious liberty when he wrote that the journal aimed to become a “representative exponent of Catholic thought and activity without bias or plea for special persons or parties.”\textsuperscript{962}

Just a few days later, Wynne parsed comments Pius X made about the role of women in politics by carefully distinguishing between the suffragist movement and the legislative process. According to the \textit{New York Times} report, Pius told a delegation of Italian women that, “Woman can never be man’s equal,” and “cannot therefore enjoy equal rights. Few women would ever desire to legislate, and those who did would only be classed as eccentrics.”\textsuperscript{963} Wynne responded to Pius’ comments by admitting that Catholics were wary of the suffragist movement largely because they were afraid that political agitation would distract women from their primary domestic responsibilities and therefore compromise the integrity of the family.\textsuperscript{964} However, Wynne held out the possibility of granting women the right to vote by distinguishing the question in teleological terms and by framing the question as one of individual liberty.

But as a matter of fact I do not think that the Pope meant to direct his words against the movement for suffrage. Neither he nor the Church, I am sure, is opposed to the extension of liberty for women or any one else to an extent where it does not interfere with the exercise of their proper functions; neither he nor the Church opposes the suffrage for women so long as it does not go beyond the bounds of their particular domain.\textsuperscript{965}

He concluded:

When he [the pope] speaks of their legislating – probably he means that he would not have women appear in parliament; he wishes to preserve women’s domestic qualities and institutions, and undoubtedly opposes any such demonstrations as we see from suffragettes hereabout. So far as the extension of women’s franchise goes – that they could take a hand in bringing about

\textsuperscript{962} Ibid., 5-6.  
\textsuperscript{964} Wynne quoted in ibid.  
\textsuperscript{965} Wynne quoted in ibid.
legislation which falls within their domain, such as that bearing on the schools and on child labor – I do not think he would oppose [sic] it.\textsuperscript{966}

When America became embroiled in the First World War in 1917, Wynne again pointed out the inconsistency of American foreign policy.\textsuperscript{967} At issue was Ireland’s independence from Great Britain, a cause that President Woodrow Wilson was loath to support. “Ireland must be a free and independent republic,” Wynne declared.\textsuperscript{968} Nevertheless, he was an ardent patriot and actively campaigned with both the NCWC and the Knights in support of the war effort.\textsuperscript{969} What Wynne ultimately wanted was equal rights for Roman Catholics, not just in America, but everywhere in the world. More importantly for the present argument, he believed American style democracy was the best way to guarantee these rights.

We have entered the war for our own American ideals and not for the ideals of any other nation. The President put this clearly – for freedom and democracy, not for one nation, but for all nations, big and small. Why clamor about Alsace-Lorraine and not about Poland? Why clamor about Belgium and not about Ireland?\textsuperscript{970}

Wynne understood that anti-Catholicism colored the debate, so he was quick to assert Irish patriotism. “Persistent attacks on certain men of our race in New York and elsewhere, attacks on their citizenship and their loyalty to America,” he said, “are without a particle of evidence to back them up.”\textsuperscript{971} Insisting that none were more loyal to America than the Irish, Wynne threatened to organize a nationwide campaign of

\textsuperscript{966}Wynne quoted in ibid. The issue was again visited, presumably under Wynne’s influence, in an unsigned editorial in America, “What the Pope Did Not Say,” America 1, no. 4 (May 8, 909): 102.
\textsuperscript{967}“Must Be Free,” Kentucky irish American, 3.
\textsuperscript{968}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{969}“Many Notables Among 2,000 in K of C Stand,” The Evening World (New York), March 25, 1919, 5.
\textsuperscript{970}“Must Be Free,” Kentucky Irish American, 3.
\textsuperscript{971}Ibid.
protest. His threat was not an empty gesture. By this point he had gained sufficient stature to deliver on his promise.

Wynne’s comments were symptomatic of the broader Irish American dissatisfaction with the policies of President Woodrow Wilson. A particular point of contention was the way Wilson “lashed out at hyphenates in his 1915 State of the Union message.” Wynne was among the more prominent American Catholics who fought back. In 1916, he led a chorus of protestors who rejected Wilson’s attempt to “bribe” Catholic voters into supporting the Democratic Party in the upcoming presidential election. In a speech against Wilson, Wynne took the moral high ground and stated that Catholics generally “deplored the injection of religion into politics and the appeal to racial feelings” because these would “arouse indignation” and “failure.”

“The Guardian of Liberty”

Wynne’s dismissal of the injection of religion into politics was not an empty gesture. The sentiment he expressed in 1908 over French separation laws, in 1909 in the first issue of America and again in his complaint against Wilson echoes the position he expressed in the 1917 lecture, “The Guardian of Liberty.” Originally published in pamphlet form as a supplemental reading guide to the Catholic Encyclopedia, the piece was likely the basis for “The Church, The Guardian of History,” a lecture that Wynne delivered at Fordham’s Graduate School in 1918 as part of his “History of Civilization” course. The lecture represents the most comprehensive extant statement of Wynne’s opinion on the relationship between church and state.

972 Ibid.
973 Slawson, Foundation and First Decade, 16.
975 Ibid.
Wynne began the lecture with a simple historical observation: “The history of civilization is in great measure the history of the struggle for human liberty.” He followed this observation with a second: “The chief factor in that struggle is the Church founded for the purpose of teaching truth which would set men free.” He continued, “For the past two thousand years this Church has been liberating men from every form of tyranny, of ruler over subject, of master to slave, of man to woman, of false teachers over human reason, of the individual man over himself.”

In lieu of a comprehensive narrative, Wynne’s lecture offered a series of theological interpretations of various “scenes” from Western history that illustrated “the struggle of the Church for human liberty.” The didactic nature of the lecture was unmistakable, since each epoch in history allegorically represented some major aspect of the church’s battle with progressivism. However, in typical Wynne fashion these vignettes were complemented throughout with an exhaustive list of facts: names, places, dates and historical details, both in the lecture itself and in the cross-referenced notes in the margins that corresponded to articles in the Catholic Encyclopedia.

The key to history, as one would expect, was the person of Christ, who taught in both word and deed, that, “You shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.” Citing Christ’s command to go and “teach all nations,” Wynne spent the remainder of the lecture explaining the ways in which the Church historically confronted human civilization in an attempt to bring liberty and justice to the world.

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977 Ibid.  
978 Ibid.  
979 Ibid.  
980 Ibid.  
981 Ibid.
Wynne’s first target was the Roman Empire, which was “built upon slavery in every sphere.” In a direct jab at progressive government intrusion, Wynne explained that it was inevitable that Christians would be “considered as enemies of the State” because they taught, “that in very human being there is an inherent freedom which no one can forfeit, no one appropriate.” Moreover, Ancient Rome, like Wynne’s America, was unable to see that the church was the solution to its problems. For three centuries the early Christians “were forced to live thus persecuted by the State, though they alone had the means of saving the State from destruction.” Finally, with the conversion of Constantine, Christians won their “first great victory over slavery, freedom of religion, of worship, of conscience.” Even so, it took three more centuries for the Church to eliminate the slavery of ancient Rome, because “the Church is not revolutionary. It does not seek all of a sudden by force to change men or their institutions.” Rather, acting as leaven, the Church “changed the hearts, the moral being,” of Roman society until “slavery gave way to the democracy which the Church finally established among men by impressing on them all their equality with one another as before God.” This equality extended even to women, who “In the struggle for human freedom…became the strong ally of Apostles and Popes.” Wynne’s claims – that the church essentially eliminated slavery, invented democracy and gave the equivalent of universal suffrage to women – might have sounded shocking to outside observers, but to American Catholics of the Progressive Era, they were relatively common fare.

982 Ibid.
983 Ibid., 4.
984 Ibid.
985 Ibid.
986 Ibid., 4-5.
987 Ibid., 5.
988 Ibid.
However, it wasn’t until the Middle Ages that Christianity finally flowered. Wynne waxed that “To call these times the Ages of Faith is to speak of them as the Age of Freedom.”989 And “The first fruit of this freedom was a development and expansion of the human spirit such as the world had never known.”990 In particular, “Schools and Universities flourished as never before. The great scholastic philosophers, reconciled faith with philosophy...all of them champions of free-will and personal responsibility to authority, human and Divine.”991 At the medieval universities special branches of knowledge were cultivated in medicine, theology and canon law, while modern languages, literature, art, architecture, science, and education developed.992 This great explosion of knowledge “necessitated the invention of printing by Gutenberg” and eventually “sent missionary and explorer in quest of new worlds.”993

Like so many American Catholics, Wynne faulted the Reformation with causing the decline of the medieval synthesis and the eventual dislocation of modernity. Though considered “an effort to reform the Church...[the Reformation] was really a Reaction against all that the Christian Church had succeeded in accomplishing in 1500 years.”994 It was therefore “the death knell of freedom.”995 Luther taught that humans have no free will, and with Melanchthon, “proclaimed the unlimited powers of ruler over subject,” while “Calvin taught a predestination which would destroy personal freedom and inspire those who assume they are predestined to oppress others whom they consider

989 Ibid., 12.
990 Ibid.
991 Ibid., 13.
992 Ibid.
993 Ibid.
994 Ibid., 16.
995 Ibid.
reprobate.” Encouraged by Luther and Melancthon, national sovereigns began to assert their power and to treat their people “as beasts,” and soon Roman Catholics suffered persecution. In time, the Reformation killed the guilds, which “had finally made labor free and respectable,” and the monasteries, which were “the medieval bulwark against poverty.” Spoliation by the wealthiest landowners followed.

Wynne made explicit his thesis that the roots of democracy lay in Neo-Scholastic thought when he argued that the later American framers of the Constitution “instinctively recoiled from experimenting with the radical theories of government of a Voltaire, a Rousseau, a d’Alembert,” and instead “conceived a form of government that would be Catholic in the sense of being all things to all men, and Catholic also in that its one watchword is liberty.” Hence the Church worldwide “was in sympathy with the free spirit of America.” In time the American system became a beacon to weary “Catholics in older nations, who had grown accustomed to oppression from their governments,” and who recognized in America “that the democracy of our country guarantees, among other liberties, freedom of conscience and religion.” Wynne exclaimed, “How well the Church which teaches truth to make men free flourishes in the land of the free!”

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996 Ibid.
997 Ibid. All four were Protestants.
998 Ibid., 16-17.
999 Ibid., 17.
1000 Ibid.
1001 Ibid., 19.
1002 Ibid.
1003 Ibid.
1004 Ibid.
of emancipating men’s minds from error, and of imparting her true spirit of freedom to
the millions of her children who have come hither to escape the tyrannies of their
lands.”

Wynne’s lecture could hardly have been more allegorical. In addition to showing
his correspondence with Progressive Era American Catholic thought, when read in light
of contemporary events, it also implicitly addressed many of the major concerns facing
Progressive Era American Catholics, with the Roman Empire, and later the modern
“autocratic” European state, representing the encroachment of progressive governments;
the Church’s defense of women referencing the women’s suffrage movement; the early
Christian heresies representing the heresies of modern philosophy; the medieval period
representing Catholic contributions to political theory, labor reform and education; the
Reformation representing a break from the progress of Catholicism and a turn towards
socio-political decline; and the contemporary exclusion of the Church from civil society
serving as the final explanation for anarchy, tyranny, slavery, revolution, and the First
World War. In each case, the church and often enough the pope played an explicitly
salvific role in political society by acting as a leaven in civil society. Catholics were
therefore not revolutionary, but rather salutary for the nation.

Wynne’s narrative agreed in principle with Leo’s assertion that religion was the
true source of freedom, because it offered the “fuller and freer kind” of liberty found in
Christ. Wynne would also not disagree with Leo’s statements about individualism,
the active and passive virtues, Protestant thought, or an evolutionary understanding of

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1005 Ibid., 18.
1006 Ibid., 1-20.
1007 Leo XIII, Testem Benevolentiae, 1899.
dogma and doctrine. However, for Wynne the separation of Church and state was key to the Church’s operative success throughout history. It naturally followed that any attempt to change the American system envisioned by the founders, either through progressive legislation or through an alternative political system like socialism, represented a threat to the freedom of the Church and by extension to the stability of society. Like Roosevelt, Wilson and other progressive historians, Wynne chose to base his argument in history. Medieval society – buttressed by the Scholastic theory of the separation of spheres – was a natural historical and theological trope in Wynne’s argument that nevertheless allowed him to agree that the spiritual order was primary “for a proper understanding of the human condition and destiny.”

Separation of Church and State

Wynne’s comments about church and state in the lecture merely served as precursors to his final endorsement of American-style democracy. In the years following the lecture, years immediately after the Progressive Era, Wynne increasingly spoke publically, and positively, about the American system of government and the benefits it afforded American Catholicism. Responding in 1921 to the charge that Catholics in the United States wanted to provoke a war with Great Britain, Wynne again rejected the injection of religion into politics:

Real Americans, and least of all Catholic Americans, never dream of war with England, or any country, until they have sufficient provocation to it. The Catholic bishops of this country, and its Catholic priests also, are minding their sole object in life, the preaching of the Gospel and the salvation of souls.

1008 Ibid.
1009 Carey, Roman Catholics in America, 60.
1010 It is significant that articles featuring Wynne speaking positively about democracy appear largely after the 1914 ascendance of Pope Benedict XV to the papal throne.
1011 “Catholic Editor Answers Dr. Parks,” New York Evening Post, March 24, 1921, 11.
He followed these observations with a remarkable example of American Exceptionalism that once again conflated the Christian doctrine of salvation with the political liberty guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution:

When they [Catholics] choose to speak for the liberty of Ireland, Poland, or for any other country, and to protest against tyranny, they are merely following their Master, who came to teach the truth that sets men free, the whole tradition of His Church, which was the undoing of slavery and serfdom, and the sacred tradition handed down to us by the founders of this Republic, built as it is on the broad foundation stone of liberty, and bound by its very nature to an uncompromising opposition to tyranny wheresoever exercised.\textsuperscript{1012}

After blithely indicating that the United States was the “mighty nation that saved her [England] from utter defeat by Germany,” Wynne stated that peace would only come to the world when “brute force gives way to moral force.”\textsuperscript{1013} He then predicted that Ireland would ultimately prove “indestructible” in its quest for freedom “because its ideals and its whole life are spiritual, and therefore, unconquerable by tanks and machine guns and all the other engines of war.”\textsuperscript{1014}

In 1922, Wynne once again celebrated the American system of separation in an article that appeared in \textit{Columbia} magazine under the title “A Great American Name.”\textsuperscript{1015} The article was superficially a review of Peter Guilday’s book, \textit{The Life and Times of John Carroll}, but Wynne used the opportunity to sing the praises of democracy. He began the essay began by noting that Carroll was the principal individual responsible for several important facts about American Catholicism: first, that the Catholic Church enjoyed more agreeable relations with the government in the United States “than in any other country in the world;” second, that the laws discriminating against Catholics were eliminated as the thirteen original states federated into a single union; third, that the states

\textsuperscript{1012} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{1013} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{1014} Ibid.  
inserted into their constitutions “clauses providing for toleration and equality for religious bodies of every denomination;” and finally, that Rome finally came to “recognize and respect” the American system of separation that allowed individual religions to flourish “in so far as they would be potent for the nation’s moral and material welfare.”

Recognition and respect for the new political order was a familiar refrain in Wynne’s post-1920 writings. The Jesuit Archbishop John Carroll, America’s “first great prelate from the company of America’s first great patriots” [i.e., members of the Society of Jesus], was prescient in his ability to see that the old order would eventually give way to the new “in its political and other institutions.” Despite revolutions in Europe and the suppression of the Jesuits, Carroll succeeded marvelously “in convincing even the most tenacious lovers of the old order that the new republic was founded on sound principles,” and his “foresight and firmness” of conviction aided the conversion of Catholic immigrants “to loyalty to the republic and to love for democracy in its best sense.” For all he did to establish an independent Catholicism in the United States, to secure Roman approbation of the American system of government, to resist “foreign encroachment under the pretext of religion,” and to secure the allegiance of Catholics “in civil matters to lawfully constituted government, in religious matters to the Vicar of Christ,” Wynne declared that the name of John Carroll ought to be a household name known by all Americans.

\[^{1016}\] Ibid.  
\[^{1017}\] Ibid.  
\[^{1018}\] Ibid. Here Wynne sounds conspicuously like the bishops of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, who wrote in 1884 that the American founders built “wiser than they knew;” the phrase would be picked up by John Courtney Murray, S.J., a few decades later in *We Hold These Truths: Catholic Reflections on the American Proposition* (Kansas City, MO: Sheed and Ward, 1960). For the connection see Portier, “Americanism and Inculturation,” 152-153.  
\[^{1019}\] Ibid.
In 1933, Wynne again reiterated his commitment to democracy and religious liberty when he lent his own hand to the debate over the origins of religious liberty in “The Dongan Charter of Religious Liberty.”\textsuperscript{1020} The piece offered a brief biography of New York’s Catholic colonial Governor Thomas Dongan, who maintained close ties with several Jesuit Priests. Wynne argued that Dongan’s 1683 charter of religious and political liberties proved that Catholicism was instrumental in both restoring stability to colonial New York after the Dutch defeat and in inaugurating “the movement for liberty which finally won for all the colonies freedom from England, and even for British possessions the freedom they would otherwise have never known.”\textsuperscript{1021} Wynne advised that Dongan’s charter was worthy of particular attention, “In these days of amending the Federal Constitution and of revising State, county, and city charters.”\textsuperscript{1022} His laudation of Thomas Dongan served as a final exclamation point to an editorial journey that started more than three decades before in silence in the pages of the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart}.

\textit{A Jesuit Strain in American Catholic History}

John J. Wynne may have been opposed to Americanism in its original incarnation, but his praise of Carroll and Dongan show clear sympathy with Second Phase Americanism. What was Second Phase Americanism? After the first wave of Americanism passed in the first decade of the twentieth century, a new wave arose during the second decade among American Catholics like Wynne who would once again link

\textsuperscript{1020} Wynne, “Dongan,” 296-297. The article, written nearly fifty years after “Maryland and the Controversies as to Her Early History” appeared in the \textit{American Catholic Quarterly Review}, shows the historical extent to which the origins of religious liberty featured as a question in American Catholic dialogue.

\textsuperscript{1021} Ibid. It is likely that Wynne agreed with James J. Walsh, who credited Jesuit influence on the charter in \textit{American Jesuits}, 46-47.

\textsuperscript{1022} Wynne, “Dongan,” 296.
Church and state, this time in defense of liberty against progressive attempts to redefine the state. In the first wave of Americanism, America would save the Church; in the second, the Church would save America.

Beyond an affinity with Second Phase Americanism, Wynne’s position represents a convergence of several distinctly Jesuit traits hitherto unexplored in U.S. Catholicism. The Society’s original emphasis on free will in sixteenth century debates with the Jansenists and Protestant Reformers certainly had an influence on Wynne, as did (by Wynne’s own admission) the intellectual legacy of Bellarmine and Suarez and the historical experience of the Jesuit missionaries in colonial and pre-colonial America. Wynne’s position is evidence that the Jesuit strain in American Catholic intellectual life did not disappear at Woodstock College, but rather survived in various forms as a counterpoint – sometimes harmonious, sometimes dissonant – until it finally led to the synthesis offered by Wynne’s fellow Xavier alumnus John Courtney Murray in the mid-twentieth century.

The reasons for the survival are clear enough. First, the success of the Jesuits in the United States beginning in pre-colonial days with the Jesuit martyr missionaries, and later with John Carroll, Calvert and Associates in Maryland, and Dongan in New York, all enabled Wynne and other members of the Society to imagine an alternative political paradigm grounded in democracy and religious liberty. Rather than persecution, this system of government allowed the Jesuits to flourish at precisely the time the Order was being suppressed in Europe. The survival of the Jesuit strain undoubtedly informed what

1023 Slawson, *Foundation and First Decade*, 22.
1024 Ibid.
1025 Wynne, “Retrospect,” PAGE.
1026 Ciani makes the same claim in *Ocean*, 107. Although it is perhaps significant that Murray did not himself study at Woodstock.
William L. Portier calls the “incipient traditions of theological reading and writing” in American Jesuit spirituality.\footnote{Portier, Divided Friends, 227.}

Second, Wynne’s approach represented a transitional stage in the history of American Catholic thinking on church-state issues that prefigured the writings of Murray in the mid-twentieth century.\footnote{Carey suggests this point when he writes that the shift of focus to contemporary life that America afforded made the later thought of Murray possible (Roman Catholics in America, 69). What follows is an attempt to expand upon Carey’s claim.} In this sense, Wynne differs from both the earlier Americanist tradition embodied in Hecker, and Second Phase Americanism, both of which wanted to convert the nation to Roman Catholicism. To understand why, one need only closely examine Wynne’s language when discussing national reform.

Wynne clearly thought that American-style separation was beneficial for the Church, beneficial for society and a solution to the problem of anticlericalism in Europe. For this reason, he seemed unwilling to tinker with a system that had been so central to Catholic success in the United States. The crucial point is that for Wynne, tinkering did not just seem to mean progressive governmental intrusion. It also seemed to mean that Wynne was wary of American Catholic attempts to convert the nation. Though he never said this explicitly, it can be gleaned from a number of comments he made about the role Catholicism would play in shaping the fabric of American life. Although Wynne impugned the Protestant Reformation for causing social decline, he was usually very careful to avoid any sense of Catholic triumphalism. Moreover, Wynne remained remarkably consistent in maintaining his position throughout his life.

For example, as early as 1903 Wynne wrote in the Encyclopedia Americana that when “meeting with no official opposition, the Church has prospered and is even
regarded by many non-Catholics as a strong power for the preservation of the republic from the new social dangers that threaten the United States as well as the whole world.\textsuperscript{1029} What is striking about Wynne’s statement is the way in which he describes the church using the indefinite article, as “a” strong power for the preservation of the nation, rather than the definite article, “the” strong power. Wynne echoed this pluralistic tendency in his 1909 inaugural editorial for \textit{America} when he wrote that “the most salutary influences of religion are needed to safeguard” society.\textsuperscript{1030} What strikes the reader in this passage is the way in which Wynne again cites religion, rather than Catholicism, as the safeguard of society. Further, Wynne explained that \textit{America} would take up “questions of the day” in order that Catholics might “give information and suggest principles that may help to the solution of the vital problems constantly thrust upon our people.”\textsuperscript{1031} The goal of the journal would be to afford Catholics “proper influence on public opinion.”\textsuperscript{1032} What is missing from both of these statements is any sense that Catholicism held the definitive answer to society’s problems. Rather, Catholicism would be one voice among many for the betterment of society.

In the decades that followed, Wynne was more direct in his acceptance of religious pluralism. In 1922, he stated that Rome “came to recognize and respect the new order of things in this country of mixed religions where no one of them was to be established as supreme, but all [were regarded] as equal and deserving the favor of the state in so far as they would be potent for the nation’s moral and material welfare.”\textsuperscript{1033} In 1926, he explained that unless Catholics developed a literary culture in English, they

\textsuperscript{1029} Wynne, \textit{Encyclopedia Americana}, s.v. “Catholic Church, Roman.”
\textsuperscript{1030} Wynne, “Editorial Announcement,” 5.
\textsuperscript{1031} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1032} Ibid.
would fail “to do [their] part” in communicating the Catholic position to society “whether they become Catholic or not.”

In this last statement, two things immediately strike the reader. First, Wynne talks of Catholics doing “their part” in the regeneration of society. Second, and more importantly, Wynne makes conversion to Catholicism optional.

**Conclusion**

Throughout his life John J. Wynne hewed closely to papal teaching. He found inspiration for social renewal in Pius X’s plan for “restoring all things in Christ,” particularly Pius’ call for the practical application of Catholic principles to society.

Wynne was politically active, focused on national unity, and convinced that reform would only succeed if it rested on a Scholastic foundation. And, like Pius, he was concerned with the destructive tendencies of nationalism and found a solution in the transnationalism of the Catholic Church.

In the final analysis, John J. Wynne typified Progressive Era American Catholicism. He actively engaged progressive thought on history, the state, education, and philosophy. Though he adopted and accommodated to some progressive intellectual developments (he was modernist in administrative practices and in his receptivity to progressive ideas), he was unwilling to tinker with the fundamentals of Catholic theology or the U.S. Constitution (he was anti-modernist in his intellectual orientation), largely because he was Americanist in his loyalties (he saw a providential fit between America and Roman Catholicism).

What set Wynne apart from Pius and many of his Progressive Era peers was his pluralistic approach to social reform and his final lack of urgency to convert the nation to

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1036 Ibid., 67.
Roman Catholicism. Wynne seemed to think that social transformation was possible without national conversion. Thus, he diverged in an important way from the Americanist tradition. Where Americanists wanted to explicitly convert the country to Roman Catholicism, Wynne seemed to accept the idea of a non-denominational public square.\textsuperscript{1037} Where Hecker, Ireland and Keane refused “to accept American religious pluralism as a permanent or natural state” and “assumed that a shared cultural and political life would have to include a shared religious life,” Wynne seemed comfortable with the ambiguities and tensions of a mixed religious culture.\textsuperscript{1038}

This is not to suggest that Wynne thought one religion was as good as any other, or that he was not concerned with converting non-Catholics. Wynne was not a relativist. He firmly believed in the truth of Roman Catholicism, and he did occasionally speak of conversion.\textsuperscript{1039} He even suggested that in the case of the Philippines, separation of Church and state would be arbitrary at best, and ideological at worst. However, Wynne was also deeply steeped in the republican tradition and the success it had afforded the Catholic Church (and the Society of Jesus) in the United States. In Wynne’s estimation, pluralism had decisive theological advantages for Catholicism. It not only prevented the church from becoming too embroiled in nationalistic urges, it also reminded believers about the primacy of the church’s transnationalism, important considerations in the heyday of nationalism, colonialism and imperialism.\textsuperscript{1040}

\textsuperscript{1037}Portier, “Inculturation As Transformation,” 113 FN 13.
\textsuperscript{1038}Portier, “Inculturation As Transformation,” 112; Portier, “Americanism and Inculturation,” 154; Wynne, “Great Name,” 11.
\textsuperscript{1039}This becomes particularly clear in light of Wynne’s quotation of Newman on the truth of the Catholic Church in John J. Wynne, S.J., “The Early Years,” in America 51, no. 1 (April 14, 3934): 6.
\textsuperscript{1040}For an excellent discussion of the problems associated with pluralism, see: Gavin D’Costa, The Meeting of Religions and the Trinity (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2000).
John J. Wynne was an important transitional figure in the history of American Catholicism who prefigured the thought of John Courtney Murray. What Wynne seemed to want more than anything else was for Catholicism to have a public, though not necessarily exclusive, voice on issues related to the life of the nation. This vision informed his repeated insistence that Catholics were not a political threat, that Catholics could be good Americans, that the Catholic contribution to American society would primarily be social in nature,\textsuperscript{1041} and that this contribution would ultimately safeguard both ecclesial and civil institutions.\textsuperscript{1042} The bulk of Wynne’s professional life was spent one way or another arguing in defense of these claims, which were fundamentally claims in support of American Catholic inculturation. What Wynne failed to consider was the withering effect pluralism would have on religion itself and the limited power Neo-Scholasticism would have to combat the intellectual currents of modernity.

\textsuperscript{1041}Wynne, “Outlook,” 1275.
\textsuperscript{1042}Wynne, “Editorial Announcement,” 5.
CHAPTER FIVE
THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA

“No one who is interested in human history, past and present, can ignore the Catholic Church...”

- Preface to the Catholic Encyclopedia, 1907

Before proceeding, it will be helpful to review what has been discussed so far. The introduction presented the thesis that John J. Wynne’s life and work, particularly his founding of the Catholic Encyclopedia and America, represented attempts at American Catholic inculturation. The argument employed an incarnational model of theological inculturation developed by Peter Schineller, S.J., and was based on William L. Portier’s assertion that the two-step process of accommodation and transformation implicit in Schineller’s model was “more adequate for talking, both theologically and historically, about the life and thought of Catholics in the United States.”

The first four chapters of the dissertation explored what Peter Schineller calls the three poles of inculturation. Chapter one corresponded to the first pole of inculturation, “The Situation.” It surveyed the progressive worldview in order to understand the cultural context within which American Catholicism operated in the late nineteenth and

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1044 Portier, “Americanism and Inculturation,” 140.
early twentieth century. Chapter two corresponded to the second pole of inculturation, “The Message.” It explored the ways in which American Catholics used the Catholic tradition to respond to the progressive worldview as part of their effort to present an alternate plan for social regeneration. Chapters three and four corresponded to the third pole of inculturation, “The Agent.” These chapters presented an overview of the life and thought of Wynne, who dedicated himself to creating resources that facilitated American Catholic inculturation. Throughout the first four chapters, an attempt was made to stress the dialectical process of accommodation-transformation inherent in Progressive Era America Catholicism.

The final two chapters of the dissertation will present historically and theologically contextualized overviews of the Catholic Encyclopedia and America, respectively, in order to demonstrate the validity of the thesis.

“Poisoning the Wells”\textsuperscript{1045}

At the dawn of the twentieth century American Catholics shared the collective understanding that an authoritative reference source was needed to accurately represent topics related to Roman Catholicism. “The market was flooded with general and special encyclopedias, but all of them fell short in presenting the Catholic story with committed integrity.”\textsuperscript{1046} The need for accurate representation was particularly acute in the golden age of print media because Catholics were increasingly becoming the victims of nativist fears and misrepresentation in the secular press.

As a young scholastic wandering the stacks of Woodstock’s library, John J. Wynne dreamed as early as the 1880’s of systematically compiling an authoritative Catholic reference for the English-speaking world. Wynne’s vision of a Catholic Encyclopedia in English would likely have remained a dream had he not providentially penned an article critical of Appleton’s Universal Cyclopaedia And Atlas in the June 1902 edition of The Messenger. If the ultimate cause of the Catholic Encyclopedia lay in Wynne’s Woodstock experience, the errors and misrepresentation Wynne found in Appleton’s Cyclopaedia were the proximate cause for action.

Wynne’s essay, which catalogued a litany of grievances, was entitled, “A Chapter of Errors in Appleton’s Universal Cyclopaedia And Atlas: An Article Entitled ‘Poisoning the Wells.’” True to form, Wynne showed his article to the editors of Appleton’s Cyclopaedia pre-publication. When he did not receive satisfaction, he printed the article in the June 1902 issue of The Messenger. The essay garnered instant notice. In July of 1902, Wynne’s mentor and friend Salvatore Maria Brandi, S.J., wrote from his office at Civiltà Cattolica to “sincerely congratulate” him for the “masterly essay.”

By October 1902, The Catholic World labeled Wynne “the leader of a very useful crusade,” and stated that the article had “done a great deal to arouse Catholics to a sense of the many injustices that they suffer at the hands of scholarly men who simply perpetuate opinions that they have formed without looking into their truthfulness.”

1049 Ibid.
1050 Ibid.
Wynne’s critique of *Appleton’s Cyclopedia* began by shrewdly appealing to the ecumenical spirit then prevalent among progressives in the United States. “How long,” he asked, “is every assertion, however ridiculous, to be at once accepted, or at least tolerated, if only it tends to discredit the Catholic Church? How long in regard of her, and of her alone, are all rules of criticism and common sense to be cast to the winds?”

More importantly, he asked, “How do they form such [erroneous] views?”

Why do so many of the writers of our periodicals and university professors seem wedded to the ‘traditional Protestant views’ which have so often proved erroneous, and calmly pronounced the judgment that Catholics are, as a rule, ignorant and obscurantist, unprogressive, enslaved by ecclesiastical authority, and an element to be ignored in the public or social life?

The answer, Wynne explained, lay in the “poisoned” well from which “reporters, essayists and book-makers” drank: the popular encyclopedias of the day. After relating with incredulity Appletons’ claim to fairness – Wynne pointed out that only one of the eight hundred editors of the encyclopedia was a “Catholic of note” – he concluded, “Now at last…we must have a work which a Catholic can use without being offended at every page.”

Over the next sixteen pages, Wynne methodically catalogued why an authoritative Catholic resource was needed by identifying more than thirty offensive articles in the encyclopedia with his typically exhaustive – one might say encyclopedic – attention to detail. He was particularly incensed by the way in which the authors, many of whom came from Ivy League schools, “ignored Catholic contributions to culture.” It is impossible to do justice to Wynne’s style in such a brief exposition of his complaint.

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1052 Wynne, “Poisoning,” 3.
1053 Ibid.
1054 Ibid., 4.
1055 Ibid.
1056 Ibid., 4-5.
1057 Ibid., 5-20.
Suffice to say that his indictment included extensive quotation, censure of arguments made in individual articles, critique of the bibliographic reference works listed, complaint against reference works omitted, excoriation of the authorities cited or overlooked, denunciation of the topics neglected, and condemnation of the erroneous reporting of historical facts.

The first article Wynne castigated was George P. Fisher’s entry on the “Reformation,” which in Wynne’s opinion implied that “learning makes for Protestantism,” an implication that he complained occurred throughout the encyclopedia. After a lengthy excursus on Fisher’s article, Wynne proceeded to fault other positions taken in the encyclopedia, including the way Teutonic science was pitted against the Vatican’s Syllabus, Monasticism was posited to be the cause of social decay, Catholic theology was dismissed, Catholic hagiography was historically misrepresented, Catholic leaders like Governor Dongan were omitted, and Catholic associations and institutions were ignored.

Wynne concluded that the editors of the encyclopedia had the “pretended intellectual superiority of Protestantism” as one of their goals, with the result that, “an anti-Catholic animus” and “bigotry” pervaded the entire work. Worse, he charged that the publishers did not care as long as “they could make it pay.” Wynne therefore

1060 Ibid., 8.
1061 Ibid., 8-9.
1062 Ibid., 10-11.
1063 Ibid., 16.
1064 Ibid., 18. In his list of important Catholics, Wynne includes Mazzella (17-18).
1065 Ibid., 19.
1066 Ibid., 8.
1067 Ibid., 11-12.
1068 Ibid., 12.
urged subscribers to return their volumes, request revisions, or demand refunds. Only by telling the truth could Christians finally expect ecumenical unity “among churches or individuals.”

The Origins of the Catholic Encyclopedia

“Poisoning the Wells” caused enough of a stir in Catholic circles that it was eventually reprinted in pamphlet form. John L. Ciani notes that, “The pamphlet was offered free of charge, but people kept sending checks to defray the printing costs.” American Catholics also “followed Wynne’s lead and successfully boycotted” Appleton’s Cyclopaedia. The firm suffered a financial setback as a result. In time, seventy-five thousand copies of Wynne’s pamphlet were distributed throughout the United States, with the result that the editors of “several great encyclopedias” inaugurated “reforms in their method of treating [the] doctrines, practices, and history of the Catholic Church.”

The success of the campaign against Appleton’s “proved John Wynne’s point that a Catholic publication could unite Catholics and shape public opinion in matters that affected them.” In his campaign against Appleton’s, Wynne learned what many publishers of the early twentieth century knew: “Print was power.”

Wynne was not satisfied with the success of the pamphlet campaign. Among other things, he called for the establishment of Catholic Truth bureaus and the boycotting of textbooks printed by offending publishers. Finally, “After a careful consideration,”

\[\text{References}\]

1069 Ibid., 19-20.
1070 Ibid., 20.
1072 Ibid., 46.
1073 Ibid., 49.
1075 Ibid., 47.
1076 Ibid.
1077 Ibid., 49; 119 FN 36.
Wynne “determined that publication of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, in English, was one of the imperative needs of the time.” To this end, on December 8, 1904, the Robert Appleton Company was formed – ironically under the patronage of the Appleton family – to publish the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.\textsuperscript{1079}

One month later, in January of 1905, Wynne was one of five prominent Catholic “teachers and lecturers” gathered in New York City to lay the groundwork for the enterprise.\textsuperscript{1080} The five, who formed a Board of Editors to see to the encyclopedia’s publication, included “Charles G. Herbermann, Professor of Latin and Librarian of the College of the City of New York, Edward A. Pace, then Professor of Philosophy in the Catholic University, Condé B. Pallen, Editor, Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, then Professor of Church History in the Catholic University” and Wynne.\textsuperscript{1081} They “held their first editorial meeting at the office of *The Messenger*, on West Sixteenth Street, in New York, on January 11, 1905,’ and ‘On February 25 [of that same year] they signed a contract to publish the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.’”\textsuperscript{1082}

**Publication of the *Catholic Encyclopedia***

“The first volume of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* was released in March 1907.”\textsuperscript{1083}

Fourteen more volumes followed over the next five years. In 1912, the same year the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1078} Natalena Farrelly, *Thomas Francis Meehan (1854-1942): A Memoir by M. Natalena Farrelly* (New York: United States Historical Society, 1944), 24.
  \item \textsuperscript{1079} Linehan, “The Catholic Encyclopedia,” 206.
  \item \textsuperscript{1083} Lombardo, “A Voice of Our Own,” 9. Linehan indicates that a second volume was released in 1907, two volumes were completed in 1908 and 1909, and then three each in 1910, 1911, and 1912 (“The Catholic Encyclopedia,” 214). Marthaler has the final volume dated as 1913 (“Making and Remaking,” 55). The confusion seems to be the result of both dates being used on printed editions of the encyclopedia. However, the fifteenth volume was originally released in 1912.
\end{itemize}
fifteenth volume was completed, the name of the publishing company was changed to The Encyclopedia Press, with Pallen acting as president. The final volume, an index that was not originally planned, was released in 1914 at the suggestion of subscribers. The complete encyclopedia encompassed more than “thirty thousand subjects, under twelve thousand seven hundred and fifty titles” and “three thousand and twenty-nine cross references.” It also incorporated several thousand images. To coordinate such extensive content, the editors developed a systematic though flexible step-by-step procedure for publication.

In order to facilitate the writing of articles, topics were divided into thirty-two different departments, with each editor being given supervision of several departments related to his area of academic expertise. Supervision meant that the editor in charge of the department directed the selection of topics, the assignment of space, the selection of contributors, and the allotment of time for each article. Herbermann, who served as editor-in-chief, was given most of the secular subjects, including “literature, archaeology, art, civil history and civil law, music, national topics and science.” Shahan received charge of “Church history and patrology, biography, canon law, dioceses and missions.” Pace was given “philosophy, apologetics, catechetics and homiletics,

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1085 Ibid., 215.
1086 Ibid., 214-215.
1087 Ibid., 215.
1088 “The Making of the Catholic Encyclopedia,” New Advent, August 26, 2013. One gets a sense of the magnitude of the editors’ accomplishment from comments Marthaler makes about the editors of the New Catholic Encyclopedia being “unaware of the magnitude and complexity of the work” (“Making and Remaking,” 57). Marthaler notes that the index volume alone was so complex that the editors resorted to the “pioneering use of an IBM computer” to complete the volume on time (“Making and Remaking,” 58).
1090 “The Making of the Catholic Encyclopedia,” New Advent, August 26, 2013. The Board, to which the editors also belonged, was given final authority over content.
1092 Ibid.
education, and dogmatic theology.” Wynne supervised “hagiography, liturgy, religious orders, Scripture, and ascetical, moral, and mystical theology.” Pallen served as managing editor. Thomas F. Meehan, noted historian of American Catholicism, served as associate managing editor.

When it came to securing writers, Wynne expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of the American Catholic press. In 1905, he wrote to Pace advising against the choice of editors and writers from the Catholic press, whom he considered generally incompetent. Instead, in true progressive fashion the editors sought technical expertise and reached out around the world to find the most authoritative and competent authors on each subject. To solicit qualified writers, the editors requested that “Bishops in English-speaking countries, heads of religious orders and congregations, officers of Catholic universities, seminaries, colleges, schools, and learned societies in Europe and America” submit the names of possible collaborators. In the end, “Scholarship, not official position, was the test by which contributors were selected.”

In order to expedite the selection of so many authors, Pace, Shahan and especially Wynne made individual trips around the world on behalf of the encyclopedia. Shortly after the creation of the editorial board, Pace traveled to England and Ireland, while Shahan traveled throughout Lower Canada. A few years later, in 1908, Wynne made an exhausting trip that took him through much of the United States and Western

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1093 Ibid.
1095 Ibid., 210.
1096 Ibid., 213; Farrelly, Meehan, 25.
1097 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Edward A. Pace, January 23, 1905, Correspondence and Statements, 1904-1920, Box 1 Folder 1, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.
1099 Ibid., 210-211.
1100 Ibid., 210.
The trip included visits to publishing houses, meetings with over four hundred writers, “conferences with leading ecclesiastics,” and a private audience with Pope Pius X. Everywhere Wynne went, he received promises of help as well as praise for the quality of the first four volumes of the encyclopedia and for the international character of the work. In Rome, bishops visiting the Pontifical Collegio Pio Latino Americano gave Wynne the names of one hundred specialists on topics related to Mexico and South America. Plans were made to supplement existing sales in England, Holland, Belgium and Germany with distribution in China, the Philippines and Spain. After Wynne returned home, he wrote a one hundred page summary of the trip, which he edited down into a four-page extract and distributed in pamphlet form to the encyclopedia’s many supporters.

The final list of contributors to the encyclopedia included 1,452 authors, representing at least forty-three nations from North America, Europe, Central and South America, Australia, and Asia. The transnational scope of the enterprise demanded a multilingual staff. Authors could submit their articles in any number of languages, including “French, German, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Portuguese, and Latin.” These

1101 John J. Wynne, “Extracts From Report of Father Wynne’s Visit On Behalf Of The Catholic Encyclopedia To Contributors And Leading Universities And Colleges In Great Britain, Ireland And Continental Europe, And An Account Of His Audience With His Holiness Pope Pius X,” 1, Undated Pamphlet, Box 63 Folder 19, AA.
1103 Ibid., 3.
1104 Ibid., 2.
1105 I have not been able to locate the original one hundred-page document. For the extracted version, see Wynne, “Extracts,” 1-4.
were translated into English by a team of fifty-seven translators, who were part of an editorial staff totaling one hundred and fifty-one employees.1109

The editors of the encyclopedia also received extensive support from lay authors and from vowed female religious, including fifty-eight women religious writers representing forty-four different congregations, four hundred and fifty-six laymen and eighty-seven laywomen.1110 Among the many secular professions represented as writers there were three hundred and forty-seven teachers, ninety-two journalists, seventy-one lawyers, nine medical doctors, five architects and two archaeologists.1111 Two women in particular were critical to the project’s success, “Dr. Blanche Mary Kelly, who was associate editor and directed the compilation of the index and supplement volumes [and] C. Cornelia Craigie, who was in charge of the assignments.”1112 Collaboration also came from secular institutions including Harvard, Columbia, Cornell, the University of Pennsylvania, Stanford, Ohio State and the City College of New York.1113

Finally, there were roughly a dozen company directors and a “business administration” that included “sales, advertising, manufacturing, and shipping departments” employing another four hundred workers.1114 These employees helped produce a high quality final product available in several different styles designed to meet individual consumer tastes and budgets in an era of growing consumption and novelty.1115 Such attention to detail did not escape the notice of critics. Revue Historique

1109 Ibid., 213. The company began life in three rooms at 1 Union Square and ended publication in 1914 by occupying an entire floor at 16 East 40th Street in Manhattan (214).
1111 Ibid.
1112 Ibid., 213.
1113 Ibid., 211.
1114 Ibid., 214.
1115 One pamphlet displayed three options: a “Cloth Edition” for thirty six dollars cash or forty dollars on a payment plan, a “Light Paper Edition with One-half Black Morocco Binding” for fifty-four
lauded the encyclopedia for its excellent paper, printing and maps,\textsuperscript{1116} while \textit{Literary Digest} called the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} “a fine specimen of good book-making.”\textsuperscript{1117}

\textbf{Reception of the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia}}

Upon publication, the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} received overwhelmingly favorable reviews.\textsuperscript{1118} With the release of the first volume in 1907, the \textit{American Catholic Quarterly Review} raved that the work was “an epoch in book making” in the United States and declared that it was “as nearly perfect as a work of the kind can be.”\textsuperscript{1119} The review went on to congratulate the editors of the encyclopedia “without any violation of conscience whatsoever.”\textsuperscript{1120} Similar reviews followed. The French Church historian Georges Gayou called the work, “a modern intellectual crusade.”\textsuperscript{1121} As additional reviews poured in, the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} “was applauded by Catholic and non-Catholics alike for its detailed articles…the detailed index, the comprehensive and signed articles, the extensive bibliographies, the generous illustrations, and the numerous biographies.”\textsuperscript{1122} While not as comprehensive as some other notable Catholic encyclopedias,\textsuperscript{1123} and while receiving some criticism for its “narrow interpretation of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1116} Linehan, “The Catholic Encyclopedia,” 218.
  \item \textsuperscript{1117} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{1118} One notable exception was Martin I. Griffin’s scathing critique of the article on “Commodore John Barry” in a pre-publication review that appeared in \textit{American Catholic Historical Researches} in July 1906. See Martin I. J. Griffin, “Errors Corrected,” \textit{American Catholic Historical Researches} 2, no. 3 (July 1906): 259-260. Griffin was apparently upset with the way his article was edited (259). Wynne responded by stating that Griffin was the only individual who had “raised a discordant note about the excellence of the Cyclopedia” (259). Griffin rejected Wynne’s claim, noting that the \textit{Western Watchman, Record of Vancouver, Pittsburgh Observer}, and \textit{British Columbia Record} had all registered complaints about the article on “Commodore John Barry” and on “Catholics in Canada” (259-260).
  \item \textsuperscript{1119} “Book Review,” \textit{American Catholic Quarterly Review} 32, no. 126 (April 1907): 374.
  \item \textsuperscript{1120} Ibid., 375.
  \item \textsuperscript{1121} Farrelly, \textit{Meehan}, 25.
  \item \textsuperscript{1122} \textit{Encyclopedia of American Catholic History}, s.v. “Catholic Encyclopedia,” 261.
  \item \textsuperscript{1123} Ibid. The article cites in particular the \textit{Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique}.
\end{itemize}
events and ideas as well as its somewhat biased treatment of Protestantism,"\textsuperscript{1124} the
\textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} nevertheless enjoyed widespread popular success at Catholic
seminaries and universities, as well as at major secular institutions.

Later volumes were received just as enthusiastically, even after the promulgation
of \textit{Pascendi} in September of 1907. With the release of the fifth volume of the
encyclopedia in 1909, the \textit{American Catholic Quarterly Review} noted that there had been
“very little adverse criticism”\textsuperscript{1125} of the work, and it warmly welcomed the release of the
sixth volume later that year.\textsuperscript{1126} The \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} had become an indispensable
part of American Catholic life.\textsuperscript{1127}

\textbf{The Purpose of the Catholic Encyclopedia}

Despite the intense collaboration needed to produce the encyclopedia, Wynne was
widely acknowledged as the \textit{raison d'être} behind its existence.\textsuperscript{1128} His penchant for
organization and his attention to detail guided the project throughout publication. Even
fellow editor Thomas J. Shahan admitted that Wynne “was truly the soul of the
enterprise.”\textsuperscript{1129} So central was Wynne to the planning and success of the project that one
writer labeled the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} the “great Wynne Encyclopedia.”\textsuperscript{1130}

Wynne imagined six distinct purposes for his great encyclopedia. Each purpose
was an American Catholic response to an issue confronting the Progressive Era Church.

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\textsuperscript{1124} Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{1125} “Book Reviews,” \textit{American Catholic Quarterly Review} 34, no. 134 (April 1909): 370. \\
\textsuperscript{1126} “Book Reviews,” in \textit{American Catholic Quarterly Review} 34, no. 136 (October 1909): 734-736. \\
\textsuperscript{1127} “The Making of the Catholic Encyclopedia,” New Advent, August 26, 2013. \\
\textsuperscript{1128} McTigue, “Introductory,” 8. \\
\textsuperscript{1129} “Chronicle,” \textit{The Catholic Historical Review} 12, no. 2 (July 1926): 309. \\
\end{flushright}
1. A Theological Resource

The idea for the *Catholic Encyclopedia* was born during Wynne’s time at Woodstock College,\(^{1131}\) where he first dreamed of creating an authoritative resource for Catholics that was grounded in Thomistic theology.\(^{1132}\) The original purpose of the encyclopedia might therefore properly be called theological or, more broadly speaking, ecclesial.

Evidence for the theological purpose of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* is not always explicit. Theology can be gleaned first and foremost in the work’s subtitle, which described the encyclopedia as “An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church.” Wynne and his fellow editors reinforced this theological aim when they explained in the opening sentence of the preface that the encyclopedia proposed “to give its readers full and authoritative information on the entire cycle of Catholic interests, action and doctrine,” or what was later called “the full body of Catholic teaching.”\(^{1133}\) They added that as a theological resource the encyclopedia contained “not only precise statements of what the Church has defined, but also an impartial record of different views of acknowledged authority on all disputed questions.”\(^{1134}\)

On disputed questions, there was a clear Thomistic influence.\(^ {1135}\) The encyclopedia’s “confident Thomism” and the imprimatur of New York Archbishop John Farley guaranteed the doctrinal accuracy of the encyclopedia’s contents, and therefore

\(^{1131}\) “The Lily of the Mohawks,” ANYPSJ, 3-4.
\(^{1132}\) Ibid., 4-5.
\(^{1133}\) Preface to *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New Advent, March 20, 2104.
\(^{1134}\) Ibid.
\(^{1135}\) Ann Taves, “Positioning Catholicism,” 11. Taves is one of the few scholars to have analyzed individual articles from the encyclopedia from a theological perspective.
marked the work as a reliable Catholic theological resource.\textsuperscript{1136} The Catholic Encyclopedia was differentiated from general encyclopedias by precisely this theological objective. The editors explained that it omitted “facts and information which have no relation to the Church,” though they admitted that the content of the encyclopedia went beyond theology to include contributions made by Catholics to the increase of knowledge and the “highest welfare of mankind.”\textsuperscript{1137}

This clause – the highest welfare of mankind – was significant. Neo-Thomism represented an integral part of American Catholicism’s self-conscious search “for a response to the spiritual, cultural, economic and political problems of modern American life” in the Progressive Era.\textsuperscript{1138} In this sense, the Encyclopedia represented an “an updated form of scholastic theology in touch with the findings of modern science,” or what Ann Taves labels “progressive Thomism.”\textsuperscript{1139} The extensive range of topics covered by the Catholic Encyclopedia, the international scope of the work, the gathering of information into a single integrated resource, the interdisciplinary collaboration required to create it, the desire for detached objectivity, the methodological process that weighed evidence for and against each proposition, the teleological framework, the synthesis of truths, and the emphasis the editors placed on the constructive contributions Catholicism made to Western culture all suggest the comprehensive nature of the work. In short, the Catholic Encyclopedia was Scholasticism in action, an English-language “Summa” of Catholic knowledge at the dawn of the twentieth century.

\textsuperscript{1136} Taves, “Positioning Catholicism,” 12-13. Taves adds that despite this confidence, “there are cracks in the text that hint at the challenges posed by the new methods…”
\textsuperscript{1137} Preface to The Catholic Encyclopedia, New Advent, March 20, 2104.
\textsuperscript{1138} Carey, Roman Catholics in America, 77.
\textsuperscript{1139} Taves, “Positioning Catholicism, 11.
2. An English-Language Resource

If Wynne’s goal was to create a comprehensive theological resource grounded in Scholastic theology, it was his attendant hope that the encyclopedia would “make up for the lack of literature in English by Catholics.”1140 These two purposes, both born at Woodstock College, cannot be separated: the Catholic Encyclopedia was intended to be a comprehensive theological resource for the English-speaking world.1141 Shahan also acknowledged the connection when he declared that the encyclopedia was “really a popular presentation of theology…written with one eye on the Gospel, the Church and the Pope, and another eye on the vast world of our own language and all its implications.”1142

Wynne was not alone in his desire for English-language resources. In 1901, fellow New Yorker Francis P. Duffy opined in the pages of the American Ecclesiastical Review that something more than theology was needed to preserve faith.1143 The problem, argued Duffy, was that the logical method upon which theology depended (rationality) was “woefully inadequate” because it relied on impersonal, universal abstractions that were “out of immediate touch with individuals” (feeling).1144 Duffy explained, “The difficulty of doing justice to the claims of both reason and feeling is increased by the needs of the times,”1145 primarily because emphasis on scientific objectivity made religion appear overly dogmatic and apologetic.1146 The result was “the

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1140 Wynne, “Retrospect,” 93.
1141 “The Lily of the Mohawks,” ANYPSJ, 3-4.
1142 Shahan quoted in “Chronicle,” The Catholic Historical Review, 12, no. 2 (July 1926): 309.
1144 Duffy, “Preserve Religion,” 373.
1145 Ibid., 373-374.
1146 Ibid., 374.
laughter of a generation which demanded of philosophy not objective and *a priori* truth, but a correspondence with life as it appeared to them."\textsuperscript{1147} As a solution, Duffy suggested that “literary” methods be used to complement the scientific rigor of theology.\textsuperscript{1148} Duffy cited Scripture, which offered little in the way of a systematic presentation, as an example of the usefulness of literary methods.\textsuperscript{1149}

It is important to clarify that Duffy did not reject reason, which should be “the criterion of all our beliefs.”\textsuperscript{1150} The question, he insisted, was “not logical, but psychological.”\textsuperscript{1151} Duffy understood that “imagination, feeling and desire” would lead the believer to the reasonable conviction of faith, whether they corresponded to objectivity or not.\textsuperscript{1152} The parallels to Albion Small are obvious, though Duffy was writing more than a decade earlier.

Duffy may have clearly articulated the need for English language resources, however Wynne was exceptional in the extent to which he pursued the goal of creating them. The success of Wynne’s works related to the development of a Catholic literature in English – English-language missals, pamphlets like “Poisoning the Wells,” the *Catholic Mind*, the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *America* magazine – reveal that American Catholics yearned for just such sources. Indeed, the *American Catholic Quarterly Review’s* review of the first volume of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* in 1907 expressed both relief at the appearance of a comprehensive authority – deemed necessary “given the

\textsuperscript{1147} Ibid., 377.  
\textsuperscript{1148} Ibid., 373.  Duffy stressed that the two methods were not in competition.  
\textsuperscript{1149} Ibid., 374-375.  
\textsuperscript{1150} Ibid., 378.  For Duffy, reason even trumped the will (378).  
\textsuperscript{1151} Ibid., 379.  
\textsuperscript{1152} Ibid.
conditions of modern times” – and disappointment with the lackluster showing of Catholic literature in English.\textsuperscript{1153}

Wynne and his fellow editors were aware of the failing of the Catholic press, which they attributed – like Leo XIII and Pius X – to ignorance.\textsuperscript{1154} The preface to the encyclopedia neatly summarized the problem:

In the past century the Church has grown both extensively and intensively among English-speaking peoples. Their living interests demand that they should have the means of informing themselves about this vast institution, which, whether they are Catholics or not, affects their fortunes and their destiny. As for Catholics, their duty as members of the Church impels them to learn more and more fully its principles; while among Protestants the desire for a more intimate and accurate knowledge of things Catholic increases in proportion to the growth of the Church in numbers and in importance. The Catholic clergy are naturally expected to direct inquirers to sources of the needed information; yet they find only too often that the proper answers to the questions proposed are not to be met with in English literature.\textsuperscript{1155}

Moreover, the editors continued:

Even the writings of the best intentioned authors at times disfigured by serious errors on Catholic subjects, which are for the most part due, not to ill-will, but to lack of knowledge. It would be fatuous to hope to call into immediate existence a Catholic English literature adequate to supply this knowledge and correct errors.\textsuperscript{1156}

Needless to say the editors – and especially Wynne – hoped that the Catholic Encyclopedia would not just correct misrepresentation but also contribute to the creation of a Catholic literary culture in the United States. The extent to which the encyclopedia succeeded in this task is certainly subject to debate. However, one thing is certain. As Theodore Maynard wrote in 1936, “To a whole generation of English-speaking Catholics its value as an apologetic work can hardly be overestimated.”\textsuperscript{1157}

3. Correction of Media Misrepresentation

The need for an authoritative Catholic resource in English and the need to correct

\textsuperscript{1153} Book Review, American Catholic Quarterly Review (April 1907): 374-375.
\textsuperscript{1154} Leo XIII, Longinqua, 20; Pius X, E Supremi, 12 and Pascendi, 41.
\textsuperscript{1155} Preface to The Catholic Encyclopedia, New Advent, March 20, 2104.
\textsuperscript{1156} Ibid.
misinformation about Catholicism in the press were not isolated factors in the creation of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. In 1895 Leo XIII had noted in his encyclical *Longinqua Oceani* that there was special need of an American Catholic apostolate to the press thanks to the voracious reading habits of Americans, the familiar intercourse between American Catholics and Protestants, and the frequency with which Catholicism was misrepresented in American periodicals. As a Catholic publisher, Wynne would have been sensitive to Leo’s admonition, coming as it did on the heels of the Third Plenary Council’s recommendations about the American Catholic press in 1884. Moreover, *Longinqua Oceani* is widely believed to have been written by Wynne’s old Woodstock teacher and friend, Salvatore Maria Brandi, S.J.

The *Catholic Encyclopedia* therefore represented a convergence of Wynne’s academic formation with his apostolate as a publisher and editor, the recommendations of the Magisterium both local and universal, and the American cultural context. For Catholics, the encyclopedia was intended to be a catechetical tool; for Protestants it was intended to offer “a more intimate and accurate knowledge of things Catholic.” For Protestants in particular, the more “accurate knowledge” offered by the encyclopedia was intended to correct “serious errors on Catholic subjects” that found their way into the non-Catholic and secular presses and inhibited Catholicism’s ability to positively impact the broader American culture.

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1159 In *Longinqua*, Leo himself references both the 1884 meeting in Baltimore and the 1893 meeting in Chicago (*Longinqua*, 19).
1162 Ibid.
Wynne seemed satisfied that the encyclopedia served its purpose. In 1922, he wrote to Pace explaining that he thought the encyclopedia was responsible for “overcoming prejudice, and creating good will and a disposition on the part of readers generally to give us a more favorable hearing than twenty years ago.”\footnote{John J. Wynne, S.J. to Edward A. Pace, January 19, 1922, Correspondence and Statements, Box 2 (Folder 1922), Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.} In 1926, he credited success in part to the wide dissemination of the encyclopedia at public and parochial institutions, where it served as a tool for professors, editors, bishops and clergy.\footnote{“The Catholic Encyclopedia,” The Catholic Historical Review 12, no, 1 (April 1926): 171-172.} However, he also stated that “Until every library of importance will have a set of the Encyclopedia, the object for which it was published will not have been attained,” and that early charges of “sectarianism” prevented the publishers from achieving this goal.\footnote{John J. Wynne, S.J., to Edward A. Pace, April 22, 1922, Correspondence and Statements, Box 2 (Folder 1922), Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.}

4. Catholic Education

Wynne shared the confidence early twentieth century encyclopedists had in the ability to catalogue and communicate all human knowledge. He boldly proclaimed that, “For the first time in history” the editors of the Catholic Encyclopedia had gathered “in one publication all that an inquirer may seek to know about Catholic education and education in general.”\footnote{John J. Wynne, S.J., “The Catholic Encyclopedia’s Contribution to Education,” National Catholic Welfare Conference Review 13, no. 8 (August 1931): 17. For more on the encyclopedists’ intellectual genealogy, see Alisdair MacIntyre, Three Rival Versions of Moral Inquiry: Encyclopedia, Genealogy and Tradition (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990).} He even described the encyclopedia as “a university in print” and boasted that it offered “the guidance of a thousand teachers in its pages.”\footnote{John J. Wynne, S.J., “The Guardian of Liberty,” n.p. Wynne was citing an unnamed reviewer. The slogan appeared in a brief introduction to the lecture and was also used as part of an advertising campaign in the pamphlet “The Catholic Encyclopedia: The Encyclopedia of Civilization.” See “The Catholic Encyclopedia: The Encyclopedia of Civilization,” Inside Back Cover, Pamphlet, Box 63 Folder 19, AA.}
Wynne’s confidence may seem brash by contemporary standards, but it was fairly typical of early twentieth century thinkers. This was, after all, the era of the famed eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, advertised in the *New York Times* as “The Sum of Human Knowledge.”

The *Catholic Encyclopedia*’s focus on education makes sense given the hegemony of the encyclopedic genre as a source of authoritative information during the Progressive Era, the errors of the press, the fact that four of the five founding editors were college educators, that education was a major battle ground in Progressive Era social reform, and that education stood at the center of the Americanization process. However, the encyclopedia’s approach to knowledge went beyond catechesis and the correction of misinformation. That is, the editors were not simply content to catalogue knowledge by presenting an accurate account of Catholic doctrine. They were also interested in the meaning of information and had the explicit intention of using the *Catholic Encyclopedia* to challenge the progressive worldview.

First and foremost, Wynne and his fellow editors were at pains to defend the reasonableness and practicality of Catholicism at a time when pragmatism was charging the Church with abstraction, impracticality, and obscurantism. James J. Walsh, one of the editors of the revised edition, wrote that, “the ‘Catholic Encyclopedia’ was published in our generation for the purpose of answering that objection almost as the principal reason.” In fact, the original five editors directly addressed the assertions that Catholicism was unreasonable in the preface of the encyclopedia. Arguing against the

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1169 Pallen was the one exception. Of the remaining four, Shahan, Pace and Herbermann were full-time college professors, while Wynne taught intermittently from 1882-1924 (Xavier, *Fifty Years*, 5-7).
claim “that Catholic principles are an obstacle to scientific research,” the editors stated that it seemed “not only proper but needful to register what and how much Catholics have contributed to every department of knowledge” and to insist that these contributions were made “for the broadening and deepening of all true science, literature and art.”

The editors also took the extraordinary step of defending the objective nature of scientific inquiry at a time when progressives like Dewey and Small were questioning the ability of institutionally-based faith communities to reach objective truth. Novick explains that the “explicit moralizing” and “overt partisanship” of Catholic scholarship came in for particular censure among progressive historians who worried that Catholic subjectivity would color the interpretation of facts and therefore the ability to know the objective truth. In response to this type of criticism, the editors explained in the preface that they were “fully aware that there is no specifically Catholic science, that mathematics, physiology and other branches of human knowledge are neither Catholic, Jewish, nor Protestant.” The editors therefore committed themselves to presenting “an impartial record of different views of acknowledged authority on all disputed questions.” This approach was undoubtedly a direct consequence of the editors’ Scholastic commitment to the dialectical method, to Catholic belief in the harmony of the spiritual and temporal spheres, and to the requests of Leo XIII and Pius X for Catholics to participate in the broadening of scientific inquiry.

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1171 Preface to The Catholic Encyclopedia, New Advent, March 20, 2104.
1172 Novick, Noble Dream, 46.
1173 Preface to The Catholic Encyclopedia, New Advent, March 20, 2104.
1174 Ibid. On impartiality in the historical profession, see Novick, Noble Dream, 73.
Of course, impartiality did not mean the editors were relativists.\footnote{Novick explains that relativism (what he calls on page 276 “tolerant perspectivism”) did not enter the historical profession until the interwar period in the mid-twentieth century (\textit{Noble Dream}, 250-278).} The plea to objectivity – so popular among progressive scholars – would have been unthinkable had the editors not been confident in the ability of the Catholic position to arrive at certainty and hence to prevail when placed in direct confrontation with “disputed” questions and progressive theories of knowledge.\footnote{Preface to \textit{The Catholic Encyclopedia}, New Advent, March 20, 2104.} “In all things” the editors boldly proclaimed, “the object of the Encyclopedia” would be “to give the whole truth without prejudice, national, political or factional.”\footnote{Ibid.}

Of course, in the Progressive Era, the “whole truth” was usually limited to what a handful of experts thought. Moreover, the whole truth usually excluded Catholics, which likely explains why the editors rebuffed nationalistic and factional prejudices.\footnote{Novick, \textit{Noble Dream}, 174 FN 10.} Nevertheless, in deference to the professionalization of knowledge, the editors of the encyclopedia stressed that contributors were recruited who had “special knowledge and skill in presenting the subject” they discussed.\footnote{Preface to \textit{The Catholic Encyclopedia}, New Advent, March 20, 2104.} These experts were given leeway to suggest modifications of content based on their specialized fields of knowledge.\footnote{\textit{The Making of the Catholic Encyclopedia}, New Advent, August 26, 2013.}

Finally, the editors emphasized that only "the most recent and acknowledged scientific methods” were used in compilation of the work, and that “the results of the latest research in theology, philosophy, history, apologetics, archaeology, and other sciences” were “given careful consideration.”\footnote{Preface to \textit{The Catholic Encyclopedia}, New Advent, March 20, 2104.} This plea to timeliness was in keeping with the voracious desire for information that characterized the Progressive Era. In order
to certify that the encyclopedia’s conclusions were not outdated, the editors stressed that the encyclopedia “was entirely new,” and that it contained “the latest and most accurate information to be obtained from the standard works on each subject.”\footnote{1182} Accuracy also had a theological dimension. The editors were careful to note that, “All articles of a doctrinal character were submitted to the censors appointed by ecclesiastical authority,” and that “In the case of an article written in a language other than English, it was translated by an expert, and the translation was then carefully compared by the editor with the original manuscript.”\footnote{1183} In this sense, the encyclopedia was yet another example of Wynne’s attempt to create a colorless Catholic press.

Collectively, each of the editors’ concerns—objectivity, the use of scientific methodologies, reliance on technical knowledge provided by professionally trained experts, timeliness, and doctrinal accuracy—was made to guarantee the validity and reliability of the encyclopedia’s content and its conclusions; each represents engagement by the editors of the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} with the norms of progressive scholarship.

However, as the work’s subtitle suggests, the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} was intended to offer readers far more than objective empirical information about Catholic beliefs and practices. Although the encyclopedia would appeal to the progressive “man of action,” it had as its final goal the decidedly Catholic intention of educating the entire person.\footnote{1184} Hence, the work covered not just the sciences, but also literature and art.\footnote{1185} It communicated theory in addition to facts. It finally sought to complement the
progressive emphasis on vocational (i.e., practical) knowledge with a Catholic emphasis on moral formation in the laity.\textsuperscript{1186}

5. Education of the Laity

Wynne was not unaware of the role the laity would play in social reform. For that matter, neither was Pius X, who frequently referenced the laity in \textit{E Supremi} and \textit{Il Fermo Proposito}. Both men clearly anticipated the changes that would occur as the laity took an increasingly visible role in the life of the Church. Both also understood that an educated laity was crucial if the Church was going to succeed in its task of evangelization. For this reason, Wynne described the encyclopedia as a “powerful constructive element in the life of the Church.”\textsuperscript{1187} He explained, “The Catholic layman who has to speak in public or write has now the advantage that with the \textit{Encyclopedia} he is sure of his ground and that he can venture to talk with confidence on subjects which formerly he considered it more prudent to leave to those who have been trained specially in ecclesiastical lore.”\textsuperscript{1188}

To aid the educative process, the encyclopedia was supplemented – at the request of readers – with an index volume that contained “not only an analytical index, but also ‘courses of reading’ in which subjects, necessarily scattered by alphabetical order [in the original volumes],” were “arranged systematically in groups to furnish outlines for study

\textsuperscript{1186}“Society for the Extension of Liberal Knowledge,” Pamphlet, 1921, Correspondence and Statements, Box 2 (Folder 1921), Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.


\textsuperscript{1188}Ibid., 171.
and coherent reading.”  The encyclopedia was thus “a satisfactorily complete series of textbooks on such branches of knowledge as Scripture, apologetics, Church history, [and] philosophy.”

The encyclopedia was also supplemented with numerous pamphlets, some designed to aid readers’ comprehension and some to serve as advertisements. The majority emphasized the educational aim of the encyclopedia in decidedly progressive terms. It would not be incorrect to say that the encyclopedia was itself an expression of the democratic egalitarianism of the Progressive Era. For example, an advertisement that ran in the May 20, 1909 edition of the *New York Observer and Chronicle* identified a number of key Progressive Era disciplines featured in the encyclopedia, including philosophy, civil history, science, sociology, education, archaeology and statistics, along with an offer to purchase the encyclopedia’s entry on “Evolution” in pamphlet form.

Wynne seemed satisfied that the encyclopedia achieved its educative objective. In 1926, he remarked that “The Encyclopedia was the first great evidence of Catholic scholarship in this and other countries which so impressed Protestants generally that they practically all ceased to talk of Catholics as if they were illiterate.” In Wynne’s estimation, the encyclopedia demonstrated the reasonableness of the Catholic position, the Church’s historical consistency on issues related to contentious questions, “the spirit of the Church in dealing with every question of human interest, its dislike of controversy, its impartiality, its habit of treating fairly all sides, its readiness to accept any established

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1190 Ibid.
fact or theory, [and] its painstaking manner of weighing proofs.” He also argued that as the “first religious encyclopedia to go beyond the limits of a Church dictionary” and to include elements “from the full share of human life, in every field of mental and moral activity, in secular history, in all art, philosophy, science, education, literature, exploration, racial and national matters,” the work “emphasized the fact that the Church was the greatest factor in civilization as well as in Christianity.”

6. American Catholic Citizenship & National Unity

Civilization was not a minor consideration for American Catholics of the Progressive Era. If the Catholic Encyclopedia was a niche encyclopedia:

On the other hand, it is not exclusively a church encyclopedia, nor is it limited to the ecclesiastical sciences and the doings of churchmen. It records all that Catholics have done, not only in behalf of charity and morals, but also for the intellectual and artistic development of mankind. It chronicles what Catholic artists, educators, poets, scientists and men of action have achieved in their several provinces.

Why the emphasis on Catholic achievement? First and foremost, to answer the criticism of progressive thinkers who accused the Church of impeding progress. If Catholics could defend the role of the Church in the formation of the contemporary world, they could successfully defend their place in modern civilization. Catholic achievement would make possible Catholic assimilation, or so the reasoning went in the efficiency-obsessed Progressive Era. Hence, Catholic assimilation into the American mainstream came down to one key question: Could rapprochement be made between Catholicism and American culture? A positive answer to this first question inevitably provided a positive answer to the second question, Could faithful Catholics also be loyal

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1193 Ibid., 170.
1194 Ibid.
1195 Ibid.
1196 Preface to The Catholic Encyclopedia, New Advent, March 20, 2104.
American citizens? In response to these questions, the editors stressed the symbiotic relationship between Catholicism and the modern world when they wrote in the preface:

No one who is interested in human history, past and present, can ignore the Catholic Church, either as an institution which has been the central figure in the civilized world for nearly two thousand years, decisively affecting its destinies, religious, literary, scientific, social and political, or as an existing power whose influence and activity extend to every part of the globe.\footnote{Ibid.}

The defense of Catholic achievement – in admittedly secular terms – was an obvious prelude. Ultimately, defense of Catholic achievement suggested not just that Catholics could be good Americans, but that the theological vision which informed Catholicism was an important factor in the development of modernity. The editors only subtly hinted at this understanding when they wrote that the encyclopedia “was intended to show not only the inner life of the Church in organization, teaching, and practice, but also the manifold and far-reaching influence of Catholicism upon all that most deeply concerns mankind.”\footnote{The Making of the Catholic Encyclopedia, New Advent, August 26, 2013. Italics added for emphasis.}

However subtle, the trajectory of the argument was unmistakable. If the editors of the Catholic Encyclopedia could situate the Catholic Church as the primary factor in the development of Western civilization while simultaneously exposing the deficiencies of modern progressivism, then they could promote the Church’s role as a major force for moral and social regeneration; participation in American civil society would set the stage for Catholic transformation of the nation. It was but a short step from here to the conversion of the nation dreamed of by many American Catholics.

Not surprisingly, in the years immediately after the publication of the encyclopedia – years that coincided with the First World War and thus with the collapse of the progressive vision of social renewal – the editors explicitly stressed the patriotic
nature of the encyclopedia. They even went so far as to admit that they understood the encyclopedia to be a piece of “propaganda” in the fight for Catholic assimilation.\textsuperscript{1198} The fact that the editors understood the encyclopedia to be propaganda by no means diminished their faith in its content and purpose. The editors were not speaking cynically. They firmly believed that Catholicism provided the key to solving the social and political problems the world faced during the Progressive Era, problems that were, as Popes Leo XIII and Pius X had taught, intellectual in nature. The war only served to heighten their convictions. Thus, they understood the encyclopedia in patriotic terms. In 1918, Wynne demonstrated this understanding when he wrote to Pace that “American patriotism” was making the nation more “tolerant” and more curious about “the faith and doctrines of several religions”\textsuperscript{1199} and he suggested that there was “no more effective and fruitful way” of spreading the Catholic position than by placing the encyclopedia “within ready reach of all who seek information on the Catholic faith.”\textsuperscript{1200} The emphasis on religious tolerance was not incidental. Wynne understood that tolerance was an \textit{a priori} ingredient for success, since it provided American Catholics with a public forum to express their views.

\textit{The Home University}

Two pamphlets in particular illustrate the extent to which the editors sought to engage progressivism and progressive education through the pages of the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia}. The first, entitled “The Home University,” announced the editors’ intention of using the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} to create home universities where liberal

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item John J. Wynne, S.J. to Francis Howard, Correspondence and Statements, 1904-1920, Box 1 Folder 1, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.
\item John J. Wynne, S.J. to Edward A. Pace, November 12, 1918, Box 12, 1918, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.
\item Ibid.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
education would be brought into the reach of the laity\textsuperscript{1201} and where knowledge would be used “as a powerful tool of Catholic progress” in English-speaking countries.\textsuperscript{1202} The second pamphlet, “The Catholic Encyclopedia: The Encyclopedia of Civilization,” was a piece of traditional advertising, although at thirty-two pages it sought to provide prospective subscribers with a comprehensive overview of the encyclopedia’s contents.

Together, the two pamphlets reveal three additional ways in which the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} met the educational needs of the Progressive Era American Catholic laity. First, by putting the intellectual life of the Church in reach of the poorest and/or most rurally located American Catholics, the encyclopedia and The Home University represented one of the Progressive Era’s “imaginative ventures in home missions.”\textsuperscript{1203} Second, the encyclopedia was democratic, insofar as it paralleled the progressive attempt to put information culled by experts into the hands of ordinary American citizens. Finally, the popular accessibility of the encyclopedia, which the editors described as “One Book” featuring “The Summary of Thousands,” met the abridged reading habits of Progressive Era Americans by presenting knowledge in condensed form.\textsuperscript{1204}

To facilitate the Home University project, the original contributors to the encyclopedia would design correspondence courses of study based on their articles and add additional lectures and manuals until “an entire body of literature” was developed “covering every field of human interest” that enabled Catholics to follow “the progress of learning in every field.”\textsuperscript{1205}

\textsuperscript{1201} “The Home University,” 3; 1, Pamphlet, Box 63 Folder 19, AA.
\textsuperscript{1202} “The Home University,” 3.
\textsuperscript{1203} Carey, \textit{Roman Catholics in America}, 70.
\textsuperscript{1204} “Encyclopedia of Civilization,” Back Cover.
\textsuperscript{1205} “The Home University,” 4. The pamphlet concluded that thirty thousand subscriptions had already been secured, and that an additional twenty thousand were needed to reach the proposed goal of fifty thousand subscribers. The extent to which the project succeeded is unknown.
The pamphlet announcing The Home University read like a classic piece of Progressive Era literature. “In a time when the old civilization is changing so rapidly that it would seem to be dissolving,” the Home University was being proposed to impart wisdom from “the history of the past” in order to “shed light on the transformation of the present.” The Home University would encompass everything “that the intelligent man or woman should know.” It would cover the important Progressive Era disciplines of “history, art, science, philosophy, literature, education, social science” and current events, and would discuss issues “with which every one is concerned – none more so than Catholics.”

It would present unbiased and “reasonable” answers to “historical, doctrinal, scientific and social questions;” the “real facts” on matters of ecumenical dispute; and “correct principles,” theories and practices on social, political, ethical and economic questions. It would extend education to those unable to access it (it was missionary and egalitarian), enable individuals to master subjects and form “a sound conviction of their own” (it was democratic and objective), correct the deficiencies of a still nascent Catholic higher education system (it was reformist), and enable Catholics to exercise their “proper share of influence in the community at large” (it was progressive and assimilationist).

_The Encyclopedia of Civilization_

Like the Home University pamphlet, “The Encyclopedia of Civilization” illustrated the extent to which the editors sought to engage progressivism and progressive education through the pages of the _Catholic Encyclopedia_. Rave reviews for the

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1206 Ibid., 1-2.  
1207 Ibid., 1.  
1208 Ibid.  
1209 Ibid., 2.  
1210 Ibid.
encyclopedia, many derived from prominent secular journals, were placed on the inside cover of the pamphlet in an attempt to emphasize the irenic nature of the work. Even the pamphlet’s subtitle, which equated Catholicism with civilization itself, was an example of intellectual rapprochement that suggested Catholicism as a resource for solving the world’s social problems.

It was therefore no mistake that the pamphlet began by declaring the encyclopedia more than a religious work. It was Catholic, “not in a restricted or denominational sense,” but in the global and timeless sense of the term. The “most important branches of knowledge” in the Progressive Era were emphasized, including “History, Biography, Literature, Art, Science, Education, Philosophy, Psychology, Law, [and] Religion.”

Again, the encyclopedia was presented in decidedly progressive terms: it was “popular” (and thus readable by the ordinary layperson), “entirely new” (and thus up to date), unique (and thus a novelty in the age of novelties), “authoritative” (and thus the product of experts in each field), and “not controversial” (and thus both ecumenically and politically conciliatory).

The pamphlet was keen to stress the contributions Catholicism made to Western culture by highlighting articles that treated the lives of the great artists; the influence of religion on the development of music; the impact made by Catholic statesmen, discoverers, pioneers and explorers; the role the Church played in the development and advancement of education; the foundation of the

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1212 Ibid.
1213 Ibid.
1214 Ibid., 2.
1215 Ibid., 3.
1216 Ibid., 5.
1217 Ibid., 7.
modern Western university system, particularly at English-speaking Oxford;\(^\text{1218}\) the influence Catholicism had on the development of humanism and the Renaissance;\(^\text{1219}\) the relationship between Canon and Civil Law;\(^\text{1220}\) the number of famous scientists who were professed Christians;\(^\text{1221}\) and the history of the Church’s work advocating for social reform and providing social services.\(^\text{1222}\)

In its presentation of particular topics covered in the encyclopedia, the pamphlet touched upon a number of concerns that informed American Catholic intellectual life. For example, it stressed the Scholastic notion that form (i.e., process) should match content when it explained that the encyclopedia was not just a “record of education” but was “itself an educational instrument” that made possible the “habits of quick apprehension, clear thought, impartial judgment and apt expression.”\(^\text{1223}\) In a similar way, the pamphlet stressed that the encyclopedia was “a literature in itself” whose very form would impart the brevity and lucidity of style required for effective communication and which, more importantly, would cultivate the habit of reading.\(^\text{1224}\) The pamphlet also stressed the “human factor” in education by emphasizing the role of teachers and by arguing that “The best fruit of education is a knowledge of life, of men and women acting as promoters of human progress, not merely knowledge of nature, books, schools, systems, theories.”\(^\text{1225}\)

\(^{1218}\) Ibid., 8.
\(^{1219}\) Ibid.
\(^{1220}\) Ibid., 15.
\(^{1221}\) Ibid., 26.
\(^{1222}\) Ibid., 29-30.
\(^{1223}\) Ibid., 9.
\(^{1224}\) Ibid., 18.
\(^{1225}\) Ibid., 10.
When discussing “History,” the pamphlet noted that the encyclopedia “was nothing if not historical,” and that “History proper” formed “a great part of the work.” Emphasis on history enabled the editors to insert tradition into their discussion of each subject and to highlight the many contributions Catholics made to the development of the modern world. The pamphlet even boasted that the encyclopedia was cosmopolitan, insofar as it contained articles on every nation in the world and articles on major global cities.

When discussing “Law,” the pamphlet noted that articles in the encyclopedia gave special attention to the relationship between law and progress and to the centrality of “Natural Law” and “Divine Precept” in the development of the modern legal system. One gets a sense of the extent to which progressive government reforms addled American Catholics in the pamphlet’s declaration that the articles on law were written in a readable style so that ordinary citizens could more fully understand the thousands of laws passed each year that “encroach upon some civic right or liberty.”

When discussing “Religion,” the pamphlet defensively pointed to the “universality” of religious belief. Aware that a doctrinal work might not satisfy the progressive’s desire for authentic religious experience, the pamphlet promised that the encyclopedia’s articles on religion were “not dry statements of beliefs, practices, or statistics.” Nevertheless, the pamphlet was quick to point out “The prevalence of

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1226 Ibid., 11.
1227 Ibid., 12. Nevertheless, it rather conspicuously placed “Race” alongside those articles that dealt with the “Epochs” of human history. The Hegelian undertone is obvious (12).
1228 Ibid., 15.
1229 Ibid.
1230 Ibid., 21.
1231 Ibid.
many erroneous views in regard to the fundamental notions of Religion,”¹²³² views which the encyclopedia would undoubtedly correct. To this end, the pamphlet explained that the encyclopedia covered a broad range of topics that were of particular interest to theologians and philosophers during the Progressive Era, including agnosticism, anarchism, astrology, atheism, deism, evolution, indifferentism, modernism, monism, naturalism, occultism, pantheism, positivism, pragmatism, rationalism, and skepticism.¹²³³

The pamphlet next addressed a particular topic of contention, “Higher Criticism.”¹²³⁴ It explained that the encyclopedia featured more than one hundred articles that discussed the subject.¹²³⁵ Interestingly, the pamphlet’s wording suggests that higher criticism was not patently rejected by the editors. Rather, it explained that, “Every one of its theories, all its established results, as well as its untenable conclusions” were “discussed in detail in the light of true Biblical science, and in a way that the inexpert reader” could “follow without difficulty.”¹²³⁶

Moving on to Christianity, which was clearly distinguished from Religion, the editors confessed that “Doctrine” was “naturally a leading interest” in the encyclopedia¹²³⁷ and were careful to indicate that, “The authoritative teaching of the Church was differentiated” in the encyclopedia “from theories and opinions” that were “still under discussion.”¹²³⁸ They also carefully explained that the encyclopedia gave

¹²³² Ibid., 22.
¹²³³ Ibid.
¹²³⁴ Ibid.
¹²³⁵ Ibid.
¹²³⁶ Ibid.
¹²³⁷ Ibid., 23.
¹²³⁸ Ibid. Since there is no date on the pamphlet, it is impossible to say with certainty if this statement came before or after Pascendi.
special attention to every denomination “in terms that all of them have approved.”\textsuperscript{1239} When presenting an overview of the articles related to the Reformation, the pamphlet took pains to boast of the encyclopedia’s lack of bias, citing positive reviews in this regard given in the \textit{New York Tribune}, \textit{The Nation}, and the \textit{London Times}.\textsuperscript{1240} Interestingly, throughout the discussion of religion, the pamphlet made no direct reference to Catholicism, instead using the more generic and ecumenically friendly terms “Christianity” and “Church.”\textsuperscript{1241}

As with the articles treating other topics, the pamphlet noted that the articles on “Science” were written in a way that the average reader could understand.\textsuperscript{1242} It made special note of the articles on “the relation of Religion with Science,” and boldly argued that the encyclopedia would “serve to settle any dispute that may arise about the seeming conflict between these two realms of truth.”\textsuperscript{1243}

It likewise complimented the articles on “Philosophy” for their careful examination and “calm reasoning.”\textsuperscript{1244} “Special attention” was “given to current theories,” the pamphlet explained, and there was “a full exposition of Scholasticism and of the Neo-Scholastic movement.”\textsuperscript{1245} The list of “current theories” treated by the encyclopedia reads like a syllabus of progressive philosophical concerns: anthropomorphism, emanationism, fideism, immanence theory, materialism, monism, naturalism, ontologism, pantheism, positivism, phenomenalism, pragmatism and

\textsuperscript{1239} Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{1240} Ibid., 24. \\
\textsuperscript{1241} Ibid., 21-24. \\
\textsuperscript{1242} Ibid., 25. \\
\textsuperscript{1243} Ibid., 26. \\
\textsuperscript{1244} Ibid., 27. \\
\textsuperscript{1245} Ibid.
Likewise, the pamphlet noted that the student of psychology would find interesting the articles on abstraction, consciousness, determinism, hypnotism, imagination, individuality, memory, mind, personality, psychotherapy, spiritism, spiritualism, and telepathy.\textsuperscript{1247}

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the pamphlet discussed the encyclopedia’s coverage of “Social Reform and Political Life” in a way that explicitly avoided making direct reference to the Roman Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{1248} Given the unique wording the pamphlet used and the central role reform played in the Progressive Era, the section is worth quoting in its entirety. The pamphlet began:

Social Reform and Political Life – Social questions are the subject of discussion everywhere. A byword with some, a religion with others, social service compels universal attention. The individual Sociologist is never content until he enlists the co-operation of the body-politic, and rightly or wrongly makes his fellows assume the burden of organizing reform or betterment. The citizen must know what is back of the ever growing list of enterprises for the relief of every sort of human need, all of them costly, and all fast becoming a dominant influence in our political life.\textsuperscript{1249}

It then declared:

XX [Twenty] Centuries of Social Service – The organization under whose auspices this Encyclopedia is published was engaged in solving Social Problems of every sort fully eighteen centuries before a Bentham, a Saint-Simon or a Spencer began to formulate the views on the subject. No one denies that in all that time it has acquired some practical wisdom and a large interest in the field of Social Service.\textsuperscript{1250}

It finally concluded:

A Missing Chapter Supplied – This interest is not usually considered in books of reference, or the motive of it is misconstrued. It is a chapter missing, or wrongly written. The one organization that has labored for social reform or betterment from the dawn of Christian civilization has never before had in English a complete account of its social activity, principles, methods, organization, its view on certain social questions. This chapter is no longer missing.\textsuperscript{1251}

\textsuperscript{1246} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1247} Ibid. These were given alongside more traditional subjects like free will, idea, etc.
\textsuperscript{1248} Ibid., 29-30.
\textsuperscript{1249} Ibid., 29.
\textsuperscript{1250} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1251} Ibid.
The pamphlet then listed eighty-four sociologists and economists covered in the encyclopedia and nearly one hundred and twenty articles on sociology and economics which discussed “the morality involved” in sociological subjects.\textsuperscript{1252}

\textit{The Catholic Encyclopedia and Inculturation}

What can finally be said about the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia}? The \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} was an attempt at theological inculturation. In one sense, the encyclopedia represented an attempt to engage American intellectual life through one of its most popular literary forms (the encyclopedia) in order to secure a viable public presence for Catholicism as the nation struggled through the reforms of the Progressive Era. Thus, the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} represented an attempt at American Catholic accommodation.\textsuperscript{1253} Internally, the encyclopedia was an attempt to harmonize American and Catholic identities; externally, it was an attempt to harmonize America and Catholicism. In both cases, form matched content. That is, the interdisciplinary integration offered in the pages of the encyclopedia – the assimilation of multitudes of data into one coherent intellectual worldview – was presented as \textit{de facto} evidence of the Catholic ability to assimilate and, therefore, to serve as a source of national unity. Americans and Catholics need only realize that they shared a common source and a common destiny for assimilation to be achieved. The \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} would aid the process.

In another sense, the encyclopedia represented an attempt at social transformation. Repeatedly, Wynne and his fellow editors presented the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} as an example of calm and reasoned civil discourse in a time of social disruption, as a source of

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\textsuperscript{1252} Ibid., 29-30.
\textsuperscript{1253} Una Cadegan explains that as a tool of assimilation, the encyclopedia finally reified “the clear structure of Catholic authority” while simultaneously “giving believers road maps to navigate the individualizing landscape of contemporary American culture” (“Ancient Ark,” 393).
\end{flushright}
objectivity and certitude in a time of evolutionary uncertainty, and as a form of synthesis in a time of intellectual fracture. In short, Catholic principles were presented as a source of stability and unity for the nation; Catholicism was presented as a cure for society’s ills.  

The encyclopedia also had parallel ecclesial implications. By aiding Catholics in defense of their faith, correcting their ignorance of basic doctrinal teachings, and presenting the information in English, the encyclopedia accommodated the American Catholic need for an authoritative resource. By preparing the laity to fully partake in their evangelical mission to American culture, the encyclopedia had a transformationist dimension.

The Problem of Catholic Readership

Unfortunately, the editors had to face the grim reality that American Catholics did not, as a rule, patronize the Catholic press. Wynne himself lamented the lack of American Catholic literacy and the delimiting impact it had on American Catholic intellectual life in a 1914 letter to Pace that was later famously quoted by John Tracy Ellis in his seminal 1955 lecture, “American Catholics and the Intellectual Life.” “We must, therefore, devise some means of inculcating this habit [reading] in the home of our people,” Wynne lamented, “otherwise we shall be providing books for our own bookshelves or for the libraries of a small number of priests and a few seminaries.” Wynne spoke from direct experience. It is perhaps an irony of American Catholic history

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1254 In 1926 Wynne looked back on the encyclopedia and called it an “intellectual crusade” that touched upon “every vital question, on evolution, authority, capital, labor, usury, strikes, education, marriage, law, racial and national characteristics and ideals, charities, immigration, prohibition.” See Wynne, “The Catholic Encyclopedia” The Catholic Historical Review (April 1926): 170.
1255 Ellis, Intellectual Life, 26.
1256 Wynne quoted in ibid.
that two of the most important and enduring pieces of Catholic publishing, the Catholic Encyclopedia and America, were plagued by financial concerns and nearly bankrupted by a lack of Catholic readership. Only “the dogged perseverance of Wynne” enabled the encyclopedia to survive.\footnote{Reher, Intellectual Life, 101. The financing of the Catholic Encyclopedia is a project worthy of its own consideration; extensive information on the encyclopedia’s finances can be found in the minutes of the original editors’ meetings, which are part of Wynne’s papers at the Archives of the New York Province of the Society of Jesus. A cursory examination suggests that the project was initially financed by subscriptions and the personal fortune of Pallen, though this was not enough to guarantee solvency.}

The Catholic Encyclopedia’s financial obligations were tremendous. A report in the encyclopedia archives at Catholic University of America gives one a sense of the extent of debt the project took on in a relatively short amount of time. By September of 1910, the encyclopedia had assets and liabilities totaling nearly two million dollars.\footnote{The numbers are gleaned from a document in Correspondence and Statements, 1904-1920, Box 1 Folder 6, 1910, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.} In a compliment that would prove prophetic, the American Catholic Quarterly Review declared in 1907 that the editors were “not capitalists at all.”\footnote{“Book Review,” American Catholic Quarterly Review (April 1907): 375.}

In the early years, the encyclopedia seems to have prospered thanks to robust subscriptions. “Two thousand nine hundred and eighty-one subscriptions were received before the first volume appeared” in 1907, with “approximately thirty-one thousand sets” sold by the time the Index volume appeared in 1914.\footnote{Linehan, “The Catholic Encyclopedia,” 215.} By 1920, roughly sixty thousand sets had been sold.\footnote{Ibid. By contrast, The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History, indicates that the project was financed by the contributions of nearly 28,000 subscribers (s.v. “Catholic Encyclopedia,” 261).} By 1924, seventy thousand sets were in print.\footnote{“Universal Knowledge,” Notes and Comment, The Catholic Historical Review 10, no. 1 (April 1924): 175.} Though these numbers appear substantial, when compared to a total Catholic population of roughly twenty million, less than one percent of all American Catholics owned a set of the encyclopedia. In all likelihood, the majority of these seventy thousand sets went to
Catholic institutions, the market for which would have been exhausted by the mid-1920’s.\textsuperscript{1263}

It is no surprise then that during the First World War financing the operation became a significant challenge. By 1920 the encyclopedia had entered a financial crisis it never really overcame.\textsuperscript{1264} Pallen, who had donated a substantial portion of his own fortune to the project, was particularly concerned as the project was unable to meet its bonds and the operation ran out of money.\textsuperscript{1265} Lack of readership seems to have been the major problem.\textsuperscript{1266} Sales seemed to peak by the mid-1920’s, or roughly ten years after the index volume was produced. However, the editors were aware that in order to break even, they needed to sell more sets of the encyclopedia. They devised a number of schemes to increase sales, including a plan in 1919 to place the encyclopedia on U.S. battleships, cruisers and destroyers,\textsuperscript{1267} and eventually, a plan in 1920 to place the encyclopedia in every American home.\textsuperscript{1268}

By 1921, the financial situation became so desperate that Pallen, who was owed two thousand dollars a month, hadn’t been paid in seven months.\textsuperscript{1269} The financial crisis limited the editors’ options. Wynne complained to Pace, “The trouble is that every time a suggestion comes up instead of feeling free to act upon it at once, we have to sit down

\textsuperscript{1263} Incredibly, the same financial problems that haunted the original encyclopedia would return to haunt the 1967 edition. See for example Magner, \textit{My Faces and Places}, Vol. 3, 80-181; Marthaler, “Making and Remaking,” 57.
\textsuperscript{1264} Reher, \textit{Intellectual Life}, 101. Reher lists the war as one of “two cataclysms” that nearly shut down the operation. The other was the modernist crisis, which will be discussed in detail below.
\textsuperscript{1265} Condé Pallen to Edward A. Pace, May 8, 1920, Correspondence and Statements, 1904-1920, Box 1 Folder 14, 1920, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.
\textsuperscript{1266} Reher, \textit{Intellectual Life}, 165 FN 58.
\textsuperscript{1267} John J. Wynne, S.J. to Edward A. Pace, March 10, 1919, Correspondence and Statements, Folder 13, 1919, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.
\textsuperscript{1268} “Form Letter for Bishops,” Correspondence and Statements, Folder 14, 1920, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.
\textsuperscript{1269} This is gleaned from a document in Correspondence and Statements, 1921-1925, Box 2 Folder 1921, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.
and deliberate how to raise money."1270 Despite the difficulties, the editors were able to press on with a number of projects designed to raise revenue. In 1921, Wynne and Pace started planning a Catholic dictionary for those who could not afford to purchase the entire encyclopedia set.1271 In a testament to the financial hardship the encyclopedia endured, *The New Catholic Dictionary* was not released until eight years later, in 1929. In 1922, a supplement to the encyclopedia was released; it was deemed necessary because the war had made some of the original articles obsolete.1272 The supplement seems to have been intended as the first in a series that would also include year-books, but no additional supplements were ever released by the original editors.1273

The American bishops were the unsung financial heroes of the enterprise. The archives at the Catholic University of America reveal that Wynne repeatedly wrote to various bishops begging for financial support and subscriptions. In fact, the American hierarchy seems to have been among the encyclopedia’s biggest financial supporters. In 1926, Cardinal Hayes “wiped off” the money the encyclopedia owed to the Archdiocese of New York.1274 In 1930, the hierarchy of the United States issued a joint “Resolution” in support of an intended revision to the encyclopedia that included yet another request

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1270 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Edward A. Pace, February 16, 1921, Correspondence and Statements, 1921-1925, Box 2 Folder 1921, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA.
1271 Unsigned and undated letter, Correspondence and Statements, Box 2 Folder 1921, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA. Though the letter is unattributed, Wynne and/or Pace may be presumed as authors since they collaborated as editors on the dictionary.
1274 Letter, May 21, 1926, Shahan Correspondence Series 69, Box 16 Folder 6, Thomas J. Shahan Papers, ACUA. The letter also indicated that money had been paid to Pallen. Magner reveals that when the rights to the encyclopedia were being transferred from the Gilmary Society to the Catholic University of America in 1959, it was discovered that Cardinal Hayes had made loans to the Gilmary Society which were even then outstanding. It is likely these loans involved the encyclopedia, which operated in perennial debt. (*My Faces and Places*, Vol. 3, 164).
for subscribers. Wynne expressed the editors’ desire to make the revised edition “better even than the original” and to leave the entire work “a permanent institution in younger hands.” However, in 1934 he was still complaining that the encyclopedia had suffered through “four lean years,” and he expressed hope that “with the new edition there will be a large sale and new revenue.”

The “new edition” was finally released in 1936, at roughly the same time the encyclopedia came under the copyright of the John Gilmary Shea Society of New York. The society released a second supplement in 1950, two years after Wynne’s death. With the release of the second supplement, publication of the original Catholic Encyclopedia came to an end, nearly fifty years after it began.

**The Threat of Modernism**

Money was not the only problem the encyclopedia faced during publication.

After more than two decades of intellectual incubation that coincided with a period of remarkable theological effervescence, the first volume of the encyclopedia finally rolled off the press in 1907, just in time to coincide with Pius X’s 1907 condemnation of

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1275 “Resolution,” AA, Box 32, Folder 23.
1276 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Joseph W. Parsons, S.J., December 19, 1930, Box 32 Folder 23, AA.
1277 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Raymond McGowan, January 1, 1934, Correspondence of Raymond McGowan, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops Social Action Department, Box 19 Folder 77, ACUA.
1278 The 1936 edition was published by the Gilmary Society. John J. Wynne, S.J. to Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., January 10, 1934, Box 32 Folder 23, AA.
1280 Following the release of the second supplement, the Catholic Encyclopedia was the subject of a 1955 joint exhibit held by the Department of Archives and Manuscripts and the Mullen Library at Catholic University of America. The exhibit included documents and photographs. For more on the exhibit, see: Notes and Comment, The Catholic Historical Review 41, no. 3 (October 1955): 323. For later editions of the encyclopedia see Marthaler, “Making and Remaking,” 56-61.
Modernism.\textsuperscript{1281} Scrutiny of the massive encyclopedia – the most ambitious theological project the English-speaking Catholic world had ever known – was virtually guaranteed.

\textit{Pius X and the Condemnation of Modernism}

What was the modernism? In a sense, modernism was nebulous, a matrix of the various philosophical currents that Pius IX and Leo XIII had struggled to define, including “The rise of the natural sciences, scientific history, sociology, psychology, and biblical criticism,” which “extended the scientific and technological mind and raised new issues about the role of religion in human life and culture.”\textsuperscript{1282} These developments were hard to clearly identify, not the least because they arose in an intellectual milieu that stood in direct opposition to unified and systematic theories of knowledge. Modernism was a pluralistic approach to human understanding, “a spontaneous intellectual phenomenon rather than an organized movement.”\textsuperscript{1283} It churned out loosely connected intellectual developments with near centrifugal force, scattering them in fragmented fashion along the intellectual continuum. If modernism was itself difficult to define, so was its intellectual genealogy.\textsuperscript{1284} The term was never used in Catholic theology before \textit{Pascendi}, and the encyclical itself mentioned no names. In the document, Pius presented modernism as “the synthesis of all heresies,” a diabolical inversion of St. Paul’s “all things to all people.”\textsuperscript{1285} He explained, “every Modernist sustains and comprises within himself many personalities; he is a philosopher, a believer, a theologian, an historian, a

\textsuperscript{1281} Portier, \textit{Divided Friends}, 200.
\textsuperscript{1282} Carey, \textit{Roman Catholics in America}, 49.
\textsuperscript{1283} Reher, \textit{Intellectual Life}, 94.
\textsuperscript{1285} Pius X, \textit{Pascendi}, 39; cf. 1 Cor. 9: 19-23.
critic, an apologist, a reformer.”¹²⁸⁶ Most of all, the modernist was a heretic who showed “no horror at treading in the footsteps of Luther.”¹²⁸⁷

Despite the vagaries, those accused of modernism were not beyond classification. “Positions among those designated heretical varied,” though ultimately “they all shared some general characteristics.”¹²⁸⁸ The majority “were priests who rejected traditional Scholastic metaphysics in favor of nineteenth century historical methodology” and who “attempted to develop a synthesis between Catholicism and modern scientific, political, and social ideas.”¹²⁸⁹ In this sense, suspected modernists were the Catholic theological equivalent of the American Social Gospelers, who relied on many of the same intellectual tools. In fact modern scholarship, with its emphasis on the natural sciences, the scientific study of history, sociology, psychology, and higher biblical criticism, was the pillar upon which the entire progressive worldview rested. However, it was the ‘reformist’ mentality that caused Pius to link the modernist movement, so prevalent among liberal Protestants, with the Protestant Reformation¹²⁹⁰ and Americanism.¹²⁹¹

For Pius, as for American progressives, scientific history was at the center of the theological debate. History raised a number of thorny theological questions, including the possibility of theistic evolution, the historical contingency of dogma, and the legitimate authority of the Magisterium.¹²⁹² This led to further speculation about the very nature of revelation itself, and by extension to questions about the nature of biblical

¹²⁸⁶ Pius X, Pascendi, 5. De Vito clarifies that “modernism in the sense of Pascendi was not the same as what one would describe historically as the modernist movement” (New York Review, 191).
¹²⁸⁷ Pius X, Pascendi, 18.
¹²⁸⁸ Reher, Intellectual Life, 94.
¹²⁹⁰ Pius names Luther directly only once in Pascendi 18; he indicts Protestants four times in Pascendi 14, 25, 38 (where he explicitly links Modernism to the Reformation), and 39 (where he famously utters the phrase “synthesis of all heresies). See also Pius, Lamentabile, 65.
¹²⁹¹ Pius IX, Pascendi, 38.
¹²⁹² Appleby, Church and Age, 4.
inspiration, epistemology, Christology, ecclesiology, sacramental theology, and finally to the very concept of orthodoxy.\textsuperscript{1293} Modernists, to the extent that they existed, were calling for the same kinds of institutional reform in the Church that the progressive reformers were calling for in the state: an evolutionary understanding of foundational doctrines, and a complete overhaul in governance that would transfer leadership from the bishops directly to the people.

The popes felt compelled to push back. During the modernist crisis, roughly 1895–1910, “the Roman Church responded to the central institutional question raised by historical consciousness – the question of its implications for religious authority – by invoking the Neo-Scholastic habit of mind which had informed the decrees of the First Vatican Council.”\textsuperscript{1294} In fact, there is an explicit connection between the ultramontane movement leading up to the Council and the Neo-Scholastic movement that followed – both were attempts to consolidate authority (politically and intellectually) in Rome. Of course, one of the major complaints made against Neo-Scholasticism by scholars was that it failed to attend to the problem of history.\textsuperscript{1295} A bitter and circular debate was virtually guaranteed.

However, intellectual formation would not be limited to Thomism alone. Pius also urged additional studies, particularly in the natural sciences. Quoting Leo XIII, Pius told scholars to “Apply yourselves energetically to the study of natural sciences: the brilliant discoveries and the bold and useful applications of them made in our times which have won such applause by our contemporaries will be an object of perpetual

\textsuperscript{1293} Gleason, Modernity, 12.
\textsuperscript{1294} Appleby, Church and Age, 10.
\textsuperscript{1295} The American Catholic attempt to argue on a historical basis for the Scholastic origin of American democracy necessarily nuances this argument.
praise for those that come after us.”1296 He also left room for historical inquiry, though narrowly confined, when he urged scholars to “seek to illustrate positive theology by throwing the light of true history upon it.”1297 These academic remedies would be married to a number of “practical” applications, including episcopal oversight of publications, censorship, a curtailing of priestly congresses, the formation of diocesan watch committees dedicated to rooting out any suspected modernists, triennial diocesan reports and later, the *Oath Against Modernism*.1298 Above all, Pius reiterated Leo’s warning to avoid novelty at all costs, particularly those that, in the words of Leo, dwelled “on the introduction of a new order of Christian life, on new directions of the Church, on new aspirations of the modern soul, on a new vocation of the clergy, on a new Christian civilization.”1299

*Pascendi* had an “immediate” impact on scholarship in the United States.1300 Among other things, it “abruptly killed off any historically minded theological and doctrinal research” and “ended incipient scholarship in biblical studies.”1301 However, “the condemnation of Modernism also had the obverse effect of channeling Catholic intellectual energies into officially approved lines of thought” that enabled them to vigorously promote a Catholic version of the good life at exactly the moment when the

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1296 Pius, *Pascendi*, 47.
1297 Ibid.
1299 Pius, *Pascendi*, 49; 55. In a clear sign of the times, condemnations and warnings against the love of novelty/novelties occur twelve times in the document.
1301 Ibid.
Protestant worldview began to disintegrate. The Catholic Encyclopedia was perhaps the most substantial attempt to promote the Catholic worldview.

The Modernist Crisis and the Catholic Encyclopedia

In one sense, it is anachronistic to view the Catholic Encyclopedia through the lens of the modernist crisis. After all, the editors could not have possibly had “modernism” on their minds when they gathered in 1905 to lay the groundwork for the encyclopedia. Neither could Wynne have had modernism on his mind when he first conceived of the project at Woodstock College in the late nineteenth century. However, given the particularities of the modernist crisis, and in light of the sheer size of the Catholic Encyclopedia, it was predictable – perhaps even inevitable – that the work would become the object of speculation. There are three primary reasons why the Catholic Encyclopedia finally merited attention. The first has already been mentioned: timing. The first volume of the Catholic Encyclopedia was released the same year that Pius promulgated Pascendi.

Second, two of the Catholic Encyclopedia’s editors – Thomas J. Shahan and Edward A. Pace – were directly affiliated with the Catholic University of America, which was one of two American Catholic academic institutions that fell prey to suspicions of modernism.

The Catholic University of America

By the early twentieth century, Catholic University had become “a focal point...for ecclesial tensions and for controversies over the method and content of...

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1302 Gleason, Modernity, 16.
1303 Portier makes the same argument about the New York Review. See Portier, Divided Friends, 218.
Catholic education.” \(^{1304}\) Informing these tensions was what Portier calls “a new theological effervescence” \(^{1305}\) inspired by a “reform impulse” that was “shared by those involved in both [the] Americanist and Modernist crises.” \(^{1306}\) Catholic University’s first rector was the Americanist Bishop John J. Keane. No doubt, “The Paulist presence at the University [also] allowed for a certain cross fertilization.” \(^{1307}\) Kauffman argues that the reform impulse ultimately engendered a *transformationist* mentality in some American Catholics who were “working to develop a new apologetic ‘grounded in republican liberty.’” \(^{1308}\)

It is easy to understand how the transformationist mentality would appeal to Wynne and his fellow editors of the encyclopedia. For Wynne and for the majority of American Catholics, accommodation and transformation were not as distinct as they might seem, since the spirit of the age was in fact one of reform and regeneration. Becoming American during the Progressive Era meant becoming a reformer. For American Catholics, accommodation *meant* transformation.

This is not to suggest that Wynne or any of the editors were in fact modernists. The flowering that occurred in American Catholic scholarship in the early twentieth century was by no means limited to ‘liberal’ elements, as evidenced by “the high academic standards at Bishop McQuaid’s seminary and the presence of Condé Pallen, an archconservative St. Louis layman, on the board of directors of the *Catholic*

\(^{1304}\) Appleby, *Church and Age*, 92.  
\(^{1305}\) Portier, *Divided Friends*, 200; on theological effervescence see 200-203.  
\(^{1306}\) Ibid., *Divided Friends*, 204; on effervescence and Americanism see 204-205.  
\(^{1307}\) Ibid., 208.  
\(^{1308}\) Kauffman cited in ibid., 204-205; See Kauffman, *Tradition and Transformation*, Chapter 7, especially 167-77.
Rather, it suggests the complex and sometimes unspoken ways in which Americanism informed modernism, and the ways in which both movements were part of a much broader American desire for social transformation and regeneration in the Progressive Era. What set Wynne apart, what set American Catholics in general apart, were the ways in which they understood the nature of the problem and, by extension, the path to reform.

At Catholic University, Shahan stood in the middle of the modernist controversy. His intellectual pedigree was at least partly to blame. Prior to joining the faculty in 1891, Shahan had studied under the Sulpicians in Montreal, “at the Institut Catholique under Louis Duchesne, and had taken courses from Adolf von Harnack at the University of Berlin.”

In 1895, Shahan founded the Catholic University Bulletin, which he served as editor-in-chief. During Shahan’s tenure, some faculty members at the university, who appeared sympathetic to modernist themes, wrote for the journal. It is important to note that the Bulletin itself “did not espouse modernist themes systematically, and any editorial commitment to modernism as such was either unclear or disguised.” Instead, “Certain articles, rather than the journal itself, appeared inspired by modernism.”

Nevertheless, Shahan, who had been recruited by Keane “for his sophistication in German and French historical scholarship, used his articles, editorials and book reviews for the Catholic University Bulletin and for the American Catholic Quarterly Review to

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1311 Appleby, *Church and Age*, 208.
1312 Ibid., 6.
1313 Ibid., 215.
1314 Ibid. Appleby concludes that the neither the Bulletin nor the progressive faculty at Catholic University warranted the title “modernist,” primarily because they “did not recognize the heretical implications of these ideas…” (*Church and Age*, 229-230).
promote critical historical methods that he had learned from Loisy’s first teacher, Louis Duchesne.” As editor, he also assumed final responsibility for the publication of articles suspected of modernism. In particular, Shahan published a number of articles written by Henry A. Poels, a Dutch faculty member and biblical exegete who served as a consultor on the Pontifical Biblical Commission. The victim of a wild case of both mistaken identity and miscommunication, Poels, who questioned Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, was eventually ordered to recant his position. When he refused, he was dismissed.

Shahan, who “had previously shown sympathy for Poels and for progressive Catholic thought,” acted as the messenger between Cardinal Secretary of State Merry del Val and Cardinal James Gibbons during the crisis. He was therefore forced to declare his own allegiance. When Pascendi finally condemned modernism in 1907, Shahan quickly clarified his position, acknowledging that with the condemnation there was no question as to the inadequacy of modernism as a theological model. Both Shahan and the Bulletin survived the fallout. Shahan was made rector of the university in 1909 and was eventually ordained a bishop; he served as the president of the CEA from 1909 to 1914.

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1315 Ibid., 222 FN 46.
1316 Appleby, Church and Age, 209.
1317 Reher, Intellectual Life, 97-98. Reher explains that the professor in question was Charles Grannan, though Pius mistakenly assumed it was Poels due to the latter’s position on Mosaic authorship.
1318 Appleby, Church and Age, 216. For an excellent overview of the entire Poels affair, see Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J., American Catholic Biblical Scholarship: A History form the Early Republic to Vatican II (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1989), 78-119.
1319 Ibid., 216.
1320 Ibid.
1321 Ibid., 231; Fogarty, Biblical Scholarship, 97.
Another faculty member touched by the crisis, though to a much lesser degree, was Edward A. Pace. Like Shahan, Pace was recruited to the university by Keane. Like Shahan, Pace was “keenly interested in education.” Like Shahan, Pace was one of the original editors of the Catholic Encyclopedia. An Americanist sympathizer, Pace was – like Wynne – a clear example “that one could be both progressive and a Neo-Scholastic, though that was not the usual alignment.” Pace managed to steer clear of the major ideological battles of the day, with two exceptions. He was an active participant in the Schroeder Affair at Catholic University and he was for a time suspected of modernism due to his association with John Zahm at the Columbian Catholic Summer School Program. In both cases, Pace escaped with his reputation intact.

Dunwoodie

St. Joseph’s Seminary in New York – Dunwoodie – was another reason the Catholic Encyclopedia likely warranted attention post-Pascendi. Philip Gleason writes that while the impact of the modernist crisis at Catholic University was limited, the “fallout” at Dunwoodie “did much greater damage” due to the seminary’s publication of the New York Review, which in the words of Michael J. De Vito was “silently” and

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1322 Gleason, Modernity, 110.
1323 Ibid., 87. To this list Gleason adds Thomas E. Shields, who received his degree from Johns Hopkins University and joined the faculty of Catholic University in 1902.
1324 Ibid., 111; Appleby, Church and Age, 222; Gleason, Modernity, 111.
1325 Gleason, Modernity, 111. Monsignor Joseph Schroeder was a “German-born professor of dogmatic theology who was the Catholic University’s leading conservative;” he was successfully ousted by Ireland after Keane’s removal in 1896 (Gleason, Modernity, 9-10).
1326 Appleby, Church and Age, 46. Appleby notes that after Zahm recommended Pace and fellow Catholic University professor Thomas O’Gorman, Bishop Sebastian Messmer, of Green Bay Wisconsin, objected due to their progressivism and their association with Catholic University. Appleby adds on page 282 and in FN 47 that Herman J. Heuser of the Ecclesiastical Review suspected Pace in part because he studied under Wundt in Germany.
1327 Gleason, Modernity, 14. For a comprehensive history of Dunwoodie see Shelley, Dunwoodie, 1993. The Sulpicians ran the seminary at Dunwoodie. For a history of the Sulpicians in America see
“mysteriously” suppressed in 1908 on suspicions of modernism. As it turns out, faculty members from Dunwoodie authored dozens of important articles in the Catholic Encyclopedia, especially on Scripture.

The faculty at Dunwoodie was a combination of Sulpician and diocesan priests originally under the direction of Edward Dyer. The faculty included Father Francis P. Duffy, a St. Francis Xavier College alumnus and proponent of English language literature for Catholics. Duffy would later go on to achieve fame with New York’s “Fighting 69th” in World War I and to be immortalized in a statue in Times Square. De Vito calls Duffy the individual “most responsible” for the creation of the New York Review. Duffy taught at Dunwoodie from 1898 to 1912, during the years Wynne, as director of the articles on Scripture, recruited Dunwoodie scholars to write for the Catholic Encyclopedia. Like Wynne, Duffy’s interests ranged broadly from philosophy and theology to biology and history. Like Wynne, he was active in ecumenism. Like Wynne, he once described himself in a letter to Dyer as a “liberal-conservative.” Finally, like Wynne, he attempted to combat the negative effects of “rash journalism.”

Kauffman, Tradition and Transformation, 1988. See in particular chapter nine, “The New York Crisis,” on pages 199 – 223. For a comprehensive overview of biblical scholarship in the United States, including an examination of the role played by Dunwoodie scholars, see Fogarty, Biblical Scholarship, 1989. See in particular chapter seven, “Francis Gigot, the Dunwoodie Sulpicians, and The New York Review” 120-139. De Vito, New York Review, v. Kaufmann suggest that in addition to heterodox theological ideas, the journal was suppressed due to its support for “democratic freedom in society and in the world of ideas” (Tradition and Transformation, 222). However, the official reason given for the journals cessation was, interestingly enough, financial hardship due to a lack of readership (De Vito, New York Review, 249-255; 336).


Though Duffy received his formative education in Canada, he taught at Xavier from 1893 - 1894, and in 1894 received an A.M. (Master’s Degree) from the institution. See the entry for Duffy in Curtis, Who’s Who, 178.


Ibid., 27.

Ibid.

Duffy quoted in Ibid., 28; 30.

Ibid., 29-30.
Dunwoodie’s faculty also included Dyer’s successor, the Sulpician James Driscoll, whom George Tyrell considered the best American theologian of the early twentieth century.\textsuperscript{1337} Driscoll served as president of Dunwoodie from 1901-1909. He seems to have shared Wynne’s passion for producing intelligent Catholics and for engaging modern culture.\textsuperscript{1338} Driscoll did post-graduate work at Johns Hopkins University, which was the epicenter of American progressive thought.\textsuperscript{1339} Moreover, he “was friendly with progressive thinkers of the day and in sympathy with their ideas.”\textsuperscript{1340}

Together with Duffy and Driscoll, three other Dunwoodie faculty members joined to found the \textit{New York Review}.\textsuperscript{1341} The first was John F. Brady, a New York priest and medical doctor who attended Wynne’s \textit{alma mater}, St. Francis Xavier College in New York City,\textsuperscript{1342} and who with Duffy is credited for originating the idea for the journal.\textsuperscript{1343} Brady was joined by the French Sulpician priests Francis E. Gigot, a scripture scholar,\textsuperscript{1344} and Joseph Bruneau, who also studied at Johns Hopkins and who along with Driscoll was a confidant of Alfred Loisy.\textsuperscript{1345} Together, the five worked closely with Gabriel Oussani, a Dunwoodie professor of Oriental history and biblical archaeology who had previously lectured at Johns Hopkins.\textsuperscript{1346}

Founded at Dunwoodie in 1905 as “an alternative to neo-scholasticism,” the \textit{New York Review} sought, “to join ‘ancient faith and modern thought’” in a manner consistent

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\textsuperscript{1337} Ibid., 16.  \\
\textsuperscript{1338} Ibid., 24-25.  \\
\textsuperscript{1339} Ibid., 17.  \\
\textsuperscript{1340} Ibid., 19.  \\
\textsuperscript{1341} Ibid., 15-37.  \\
\textsuperscript{1342} Ibid., 31.  \\
\textsuperscript{1343} Kauffman, \textit{Tradition and Transformation}, 212.  \\
\textsuperscript{1344} De Vito, \textit{New York Review}, 33-35.  \\
\textsuperscript{1345} Kauffman, \textit{Tradition and Transformation}, 204; De Vito, \textit{New York Review}, 35-37; 194-200.  \\
\textsuperscript{1346} Kaufmann, \textit{Tradition and Transformation}, 211.
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with modern methodologies. Duffy neatly summarized the rationale for the journal. “Some of us have long felt there is room for a review in English devoted mainly or altogether to presenting the views of Catholic scholars on religious questions of present interest.” Duffy hoped the journal, which would be transatlantic in content, would overcome the “scattered” nature of Catholic theological publishing. He argued that the only hurdles would be the attitude of the hierarchy towards the journal, financing the operation by obtaining and retaining subscribers, and defending the journal from the charge of infringement upon the work of other Catholic periodicals.

Duffy’s letter expresses concerns remarkably similar to those expressed by Wynne. And in fact, there was a connection between the two men. Prior to launching the *New York Review*, Duffy and Brady “consulted several Catholic editors in America who were already doing good work, at least incidentally, along the lines the Dunwoodie editors had chosen.” Among those men contacted for expert advice, three names stood near the top of the list: Thomas Shahan, Edward Pace and John J. Wynne. De Vito writes that Shahan and Pace were cooperative and together “devoted many long hours of their time in advising the Dunwoodie professors about publishing a journal.” Pace was also solicited as a potential writer for the journal. Duffy and Brady also found Wynne “most willing and helpful in suggesting contributors.”

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1347 Portier, *Divided Friends*, 204
1349 Ibid.
1352 Ibid., 40-41.
1353 Ibid.
1354 Ibid., 45
1355 Ibid., 41.
Vito notes that Wynne suggested Anthony J. Maas, S.J., as a contributor.\textsuperscript{1356}

Upon publication \textit{The New York Review} was “welcomed enthusiastically” by New York’s archbishop John F. Farley, who agreed to publish it “under his official sponsorship and with his imprimatur.”\textsuperscript{1357} In a 1905 letter to Dyer, Driscoll wrote that Farley welcomed the journal in particular because the Archbishop had a “deep, long-standing regret at the backwardness of Catholic writers in matters of modern interest.”\textsuperscript{1358} However, despite Farley’s support, the journal was quickly enmeshed in the modernist controversy after the release of \textit{Pascendi} in 1907. Eventually an article written on the human knowledge of Christ by Edward J. Hanna caused a stir in Rome.\textsuperscript{1359} Even though the article appeared prior to \textit{Pascendi}, and despite the fact that Hanna “made it clear that his position was purely speculative and tentative,” he was “delated” by one of his colleagues at St. Bernard’s Seminary, Andrew Breen, for lacking “firmness of orthodoxy.”\textsuperscript{1360}

In Rome, “The article fell into the hands of Père Alexis M. Lepicier, a professor of dogmatic theology at the Urban College…who judged that many of the authors whom Hanna had cited were on the index.”\textsuperscript{1361} Hanna was also suspected because he seemed to suggest a limitation to the human knowledge of Christ.\textsuperscript{1362} Although Lepicier initially let

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{1356} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1358} Kauffman, \textit{Tradition and Transformation}, 213.
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the situation rest, all of Hanna’s works were subsequently gathered and examined for scrutiny in 1907. This brought the Review and eventually the Catholic Encyclopedia under suspicion. Hanna promptly obeyed the order to write a retraction and his career was salvaged; he later became Archbishop of San Francisco. However, the New York Review did not survive scrutiny. It ceased publication in 1908, in part, De Vito argues, because of Hanna’s essay. In the aftermath, Driscoll was removed and the seminary reorganized.

The Catholic Encyclopedia, Dunwoodie and the New York Review

The connection between the Catholic Encyclopedia and the New York Review was not incidental. In addition to sharing their professional expertise and exchanging authors, the editors of the New York Review shared several common desires with the editors of the Catholic Encyclopedia. The similarities were so great that Driscoll himself made direct reference to Wynne’s Messenger of the Sacred Heart when discussing the New York Review’s editorial policy, if only to create some distance between the two journals.

Reher suggests three points of convergence between the New York Review and the Catholic Encyclopedia, “editorial policy,” the scope of the work, and its “international character.” On editorial policy in particular, Reher notes a “remarkable” similarity between the encyclopedia and the review, including admonitions to “intellectual honesty,” acknowledgment of different opinions on disputed questions with no

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1363 Ibid., 267-268.
1365 Reher, Intellectual Life, 95-96.
1366 De Vito, New York Review, 60.
1367 Ibid., 299-300; see especially FN 83.
1368 Ibid., 63-64.
1369 Reher, Intellectual Life, 100.
preference given to the “conservative or the progressive cause,” use of the latest scientific methods, and refusal to limit content to “Church matters.”

De Vito adds that several principles of investigation guided the Review that also guided the Catholic Encyclopedia, including respect for the tradition of the church, an openness to the latest scientific methods, recourse to the historical-critical method, archaeology, and attention to the strengths and weaknesses of the “New Apologetics,” which as the name implies was a form of constructive Christian apologetics attentive to the needs of a subjective and post-Kantian world.

Portier proposes a fourth point of similarity, namely, that Duffy encouraged the development of a Catholic literary culture in English in order to foment “a kind of Irish-American Catholic renaissance that would reclaim the English language for Catholic culture.” The New York Review even used an article by Wilfrid Ward entitled, “The Spirit of Newman’s Apologetics” to state their entire editorial policy. However, this English-language platform, which sought to supplement scholasticism with a literary method, necessarily put the editors of the Review at odds with the Latin ethos of Woodstock-style Thomism. Thus, there was a major point of divergence between the editors of the review and the encyclopedia. Wynne and Pace were committed Neo-Scholastics, which likely insulated them from slipping into modernism.

Nonetheless, given the mutual desire to create an English-language literature for Catholics that was international in character, objectively broad in scope and committed to

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1370 Ibid.
1372 Portier, Divided Friends, 218.
1374 Portier, Divided Friends, 224.
the latest research methodologies, it is not surprising that the editors of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* relied heavily on Dunwoodie faculty to provide content. In fact, Dunwoodie historically maintained a close relationship with Xavier High School, the alma mater of Wynne, Herbermann and Duffy.\(^\text{1376}\) And it was Wynne who supervised the articles on Scripture with the blessing of Farley, who gave the editors the right to solicit authors for individual articles they considered “crucial.”\(^\text{1377}\) It is therefore safe to assume that Wynne played a central role in recruiting Dunwoodians to write Scripture articles for the encyclopedia.

The editorial guidelines given the authors of articles on Scripture are worth citing, especially in light of the trouble Hanna’s ‘speculation’ caused the *New York Review* and the subsequent role he would play in the one charge of modernism leveled against the *Catholic Encyclopedia*:

> In articles on Sacred Scripture contributors should give the latest solidly established results of Biblical research and criticism. *There is no space for mere speculation or theorizing.* In controverted points of doctrine or fact, there should be no special pleading for any class of Catholic writers, whether conservative or progressive so called; but the opinions of various schools with their arguments should be given objectively and impartially.\(^\text{1378}\)

The general openness of the editorial policy certainly reflects the personality of Wynne. In 1919, Hanna wrote to Wynne “One of the joys of dealing with you is that I can always say what I think.”\(^\text{1379}\) Of course, the encyclopedia’s open editorial guidelines on Scripture – likely shaped by Wynne as head of that department – were set pre-*Pascendi*, at precisely the time the editors were soliciting experts from every field to author articles in their areas of expertise. Given the chronology of the modernist crisis, it

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\(^{1376}\) Shelley, *Dunwoodie*, 119.


\(^{1379}\) Edward Hanna to John J. Wynne, S.J., September 15, 1919, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops Office of the General Secretary, Box 153 Folder 14, ACUA.
is fair to say most of the authors involved in the production of these articles probably assumed they were simply using the latest exegetical methods, at least until Pius closed the door on this type of biblical scholarship. Moreover, Wynne was no modernist. Though perhaps open to discussion when it came to biblical exegesis, as early as 1905 he openly rejected the possibility that the Gospels were not historically accurate in an article he wrote for *The Encyclopedia Americana*.\(^{1380}\) As editor of *America* when fellow Jesuit George Tyrell died in July of 1909, Wynne received regular updates from England that condemned both modernism and Tyrell’s refusal to recant.\(^{1381}\) *America’s* notice of the death was conciliatory in tone, but firmly supported the condemnation.\(^{1382}\)

Nevertheless, in the end, the modernist crisis did not prevent Wynne and the other editors of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* from featuring articles written by leading Catholic biblical scholars, articles that presented various opinions on disputed topics, even if these carefully avoided heterodoxy.\(^{1383}\) Among the more notable authors, Driscoll wrote sixty-nine articles for the encyclopedia.\(^{1384}\) In the area of biblical studies, Francis Gigot authored sixty-four articles, Gabriel Oussani wrote nineteen, and Henri Hyvernat wrote ten.\(^{1385}\) James Fox contributed fourteen articles.\(^{1386}\) Hanna was responsible for just five articles, and Duffy for just one.\(^{1387}\) Meanwhile, from the “conservative” faculty of

\(^{1380}\) Wynne, *Encyclopedia Americana*, s.v. “Catholic Church, Roman”
\(^{1381}\) The correspondence can be found in Box 31 Folder 9, AA.
\(^{1382}\) “The Late Rev. George Tyrell,” *America* 1, no. 15 (July 24, 1909): 410.
\(^{1384}\) Portier, *Divided Friends*, 224
\(^{1385}\) Ibid.
\(^{1386}\) Ibid.
Catholic University of America, only twenty-five faculty members contributed articles, a fact Wynne later acknowledged as a cause for comment.\footnote{Fogarty, \textit{Biblical Scholarship}, 140; Notes and Comment, \textit{The Catholic Historical Review} 41, no. 3 (October 1955): 323; John J. Wynne, S.J. to Thomas J. Shahan, May 1, 1925, Shahan Correspondence Series 69, Box 16 Folder 6, Thomas J. Shahan Papers, ACUA.}

Wynne’s suggestion of Maas as an author for the \textit{New York Review} adds a layer of intrigue to the story. Mass was a contemporary of Wynne who was at Woodstock College during the same period. He eventually taught as a professor of Scripture at Woodstock and worked as an editor of the \textit{Messenger} under Wynne from 1905 until 1907.\footnote{Ibid.} He later became the rector of Woodstock and then the provincial of the Maryland-New York Province of the Society of Jesus.\footnote{\textit{The Catholic Encyclopedia and Its Makers}, s.v. “Maas, Reverend Anthony J., S.J.”} Wynne’s suggestion of Maas is intriguing because the latter was a fierce critic of biblical criticism in the pages of the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart},\footnote{Ibid.} and frequently wrote what amounted to “diatribes” against the new field.\footnote{Fogarty, \textit{Biblical Scholarship}, 80.} He was among the foremost American Catholic biblical scholars who criticized Poels.\footnote{Ibid., 91-92.}

Maas wrote nearly one hundred important articles for the encyclopedia, more than any of the Dunwoodie faculty. His “disciple,” Walter Drum, S.J., wrote more than forty articles.\footnote{Ibid., 180-181; \textit{The Catholic Encyclopedia and Its Makers}, s.v. “Drum, Reverend Walter, S.J.”} In his recruitment of Maas and Drum, Wynne again emerges as something of an enigma.\footnote{Even Maas was enigmatic in his appreciation of Gigot (Fogarty, \textit{Biblical Inspiration}, 126).} While certainly open to the latest in biblical scholarship, and despite a common desire to create an English language literature for Catholics, Wynne in his comments and his association with Maas ultimately rejected “modernist” readings of
Instead, he seemed driven by faithfulness to the Jesuit constitutions, which required that the study of Scripture be joined to “a firm foundation in scholastic theology.”

*The Editors Respond to Modernism*

Given all that has been said, it is easy to understand why scholars might be tempted to conclude that the *Catholic Encyclopedia* suffered during the modernist crisis. It did not. In fact, the modernist crisis is rarely mentioned in the historical sources. This is not to suggest that modernism was never an issue. It was raised on several occasions. As Gabriel Oussani remarked, “Anyone who was not dead at the time was suspected of Modernism.”

In what may have been a reference to swirling suspicions of modernism at the Catholic University of America, Shahan wrote to Wynne in 1909 to explain the strict conditions under which he would send all correspondence, noting that information received in any other way should be considered unreliable. However, with one exception, when the editors did mention modernism by name, it received only cursory treatment.

In a rare show of concern, the publishers of the encyclopedia immediately released a “notice” entitled “Modernism and the Bible” to the *New York Review* shortly after *Pascendi* was released in 1907. Why the piece was attributed to the publishers, rather than the editors, is a matter for speculation. In any event, the piece appears to

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1396 Fogarty writes that the contributions on biblical topics made by the Jesuits “marred the otherwise scholarly *Catholic Encyclopedia*” (*Biblical Scholarship*, 180).

1397 Fogarty, *Biblical Scholarship*, 82.


1399 Thomas J. Shahan to John J. Wynne, S.J., May 7, 1909, Box 30 Folder 10, AA.


1401 It may have been to protect the editors, and particularly Wynne, from suspicion.
have been submitted as a defensive move and the editors of the Review stated that they were happy to print the statement in part as evidence of “the fine blending of Catholic loyalty and devotion to science which marks the editorial management of the Catholic Encyclopedia.”1402

The statement itself was deferential and defensive in tone. It began by noting that the popular media had likely confused people about the nature of modernism, particularly since there was no “clear and well-defined idea as to what ‘Modernism’ really means.”1403 Yet, the statement immediately confessed that there was “a solid nucleus to this impalpable noxious vapor of Modernism” that seemed to “thicken round and about the field of sacred letters, where the exegesis of some Catholic scholars has been far too accommodating to the modern spirit of skepticism.”1404 The statement, which attributed modernism to “the fog which our non-Catholic contemporaries have raised,” noted that the latest volume of the Catholic Encyclopedia came at an opportune moment to clarify Pius’ teaching on modernism, which pastors had long known needed to be addressed.1405 Highlighting the eight page article on “Biblical Antiquities” from the “B” volume of the encyclopedia, the statement noted that in the future the article would “serve to mark the degree of enlightened freedom fairly sanctioned by the Church in Old Testament exegesis.”1406 The statement concluded:

Let no good Catholic with this volume before him be afraid that Pius X is going to ‘turn out the light’ which modern research has afforded to Christian scholarship; the last named article and those on ‘Assyria,’ ‘Babylonia,’ and ‘Baal’ (all by the same author, the Rev. Dr. Gabriel Oussani) give ample assurance that in our day, as heretofore, the Catholic Church can afford to tolerate a

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1402 “Modernism and the Bible,” 359.
1403 Ibid.
1404 Ibid.
1405 Ibid.
1406 Ibid.
proper freedom of criticism in her exegetes in perfect consistency with her own inflexible principles.\textsuperscript{1407}

After this statement Wynne mentioned modernism only a handful of times. In 1917, he praised Pius X for “routing the modernists who sought license, not freedom of thought.”\textsuperscript{1408} In 1926, he explained that the encyclopedia relied on extensive collaboration, presumably to remain orthodox, “at the time when the spirit of Modernism was abroad.”\textsuperscript{1409} That same year, he recalled that the encyclopedia had “from the start” been developing “a common sentiment among Catholics, and extreme caution in the discussion of religious matters during the period when Modernism was rampant.”\textsuperscript{1410} He clarified in a 1930 letter that, “The editors never cross-referenced any subject to a synonymous title down the list because of their fear of meeting the difficulties that grew out of Fundamentalism, Liberalism, Modernism, or any other ‘ism.’”\textsuperscript{1411}

Remarkably, in each of the above cases Wynne casually dismissed any notion that modernism – at least of the sort condemned by Pius in \textit{Pascendi} – had in fact been a motivating concern. In 1917’s \textit{The Making of the Catholic Encyclopedia}, the editors stressed that they never revised their original plan in response to modernism.\textsuperscript{1412} In 1924, Wynne proudly declared of the encyclopedia, “The only fault ever found with it is that it is not general enough.”\textsuperscript{1413} Two years later Wynne told those gathered for his jubilee:

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\textsuperscript{1407} Ibid.  \\
\textsuperscript{1408} Wynne, “Guardian of Liberty,” 20.  \\
\textsuperscript{1409} Wynne, “Retrospect,” 101.  \\
\textsuperscript{1410} Wynne quoted in “The Catholic Encyclopedia,” Notes and Comment, \textit{The Catholic Historical Review} \textit{(April 1926):} 170-171.  \\
\textsuperscript{1411} John J. Wynne, S.J. to Allen Johnson, February 25, 1930, Catholic Encyclopedia Series 20, Box 15 R35 (Folder Wynne, John J.), Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA. Instead, the editors to cross-reference up, rather than down the line and by adding additional articles on ‘Ark’ and ‘Antediluvian’ to compensate for anticipated difficulties.  \\
\textsuperscript{1412} \textit{The Making of the Catholic Encyclopedia}, New Advent, August 26, 2013.  \\
\textsuperscript{1413} “Universal Knowledge,” Notes and Comment, \textit{The Catholic Historical Review} 10, no. 1 (April 1924): 175.
\end{flushright}
It would astonish a number of my friends in various churches, who have strange notions of censorship and the Index of Prohibited Books, to review our experiences and to know that not once during those years of concern about the modernist movement did any authority of the Church even suggest a change in all that was written for the Catholic Encyclopedia. Nay, when once I mentioned to His Holiness Pius X that someone had found fault with a certain article, he replied: “Nothing of consequence; at most a fault of an expression here or there,” adding, with a twinkle in his eye, “What a blessing it would be if there had been fewer difficult expressions in the writings of St. Augustine.”

Wynne was not embellishing the facts. In 1909, he wrote his old Woodstock mentor Salvatore Maria Brandi to express his surprise and satisfaction that Shahan had been named rector of Catholic University. “Incidentally,” he added as an aside, “the selection is, of course, a mark of confidence in him as Editor of the Encyclopedia.”

Rome did seem pleased with Shahan’s conduct. In 1912, Cardinal Merry del Val, Pius’ close collaborator during the modernist crisis, commended Shahan for “his administration of the university.”

**Edward J. Hanna’s “Absolution”**

In the end, only one article from the Catholic Encyclopedia ever seems to have been questioned for its doctrinal integrity during actual publication, and the article in question was the result of guilt by association rather than any direct suspicion being aimed at the encyclopedia itself. The accusation was resolved without incident.

However, the incident did not pass without notice. Albert Houtin recorded it as early as 1913 in his Histoire Du Modernisme Catholique. Houtin’s inclusion of the episode seems to have provided the basis for Reher’s assertion that “The Modernist scare threatened the life of the Encyclopedia in the first year of its publication” and that only

1415 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Salvatore Maria Brandi, S.J., January 25, 1909, Box 62 Folder 19, AA.
1416 Fogarty, Biblical Scholarship, 117.
1417 Marthaler suggests that there was more than one charge of Modernism, but he does not offer any substantial evidence beyond the speculation he infers from the third volume of James A. Magner’s memoir My Faces and Places (“Making and Remaking,” 55). See also Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 123-124 FN 1.
the strict intervention of the American hierarchy saved the work. Interestingly, Houtin gave no substantiating details about what prompted the episode. The ambiguity of the accusation reminds the reader of the “all too often” anonymous nature of charges of heterodoxy made by informants “who could not distinguish between orthodoxy and their own reactionary theological opinions.”

Despite the opaque nature of the charge, observant readers can glean the source of the complaint by noticing that Houtin’s mention of the case leveled against the Catholic Encyclopedia immediately followed his discussion of the New York Review. Moreover, Houtin provided an important clue to the complaint’s origin when he noted that Lepicier – who functioned as the antagonist in the case against Hanna and the Review – sent a congratulatory letter to Wynne after the editors agreed to “return to orthodoxy.”

As it turns out, Lepicier’s letter is extant. Wynne published it. Never one to avoid a fight, Wynne went on the offensive as soon as the allegations against the encyclopedia came to light. In typical fashion, he even used the accusation to his advantage by publically acknowledging – and then dismantling – the charge.

Wynne began as he often did when confrontation was at hand – by attempting to make personal contact with his adversary. While visiting Rome in 1908 on behalf of the encyclopedia, he attempted to visit Lepicier. Though he was not able to make direct contact, Wynne later received a conciliatory letter from Lepicier – the letter referenced by Houtin – which he immediately published as part of the pamphlet he distributed.

1420 Shelley, Dunwoodie, 122; FN 188.
following his European trip. Wynne was careful to note in the pamphlet that the trip included a private audience with Pope Pius X during which the pope enthusiastically supported the encyclopedia. The pamphlet offers several important facts that corroborate Houtin’s account, though not his conclusions, and bring the reader one step closer to identifying the nature of the complaint against the Catholic Encyclopedia.

During Father Wynne’s absence a false report was circulated in some of our daily papers and Catholic weeklies, to the effect that the CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA had been condemned and that three of the editors had been summoned to Rome to explain certain doctrinal errors which had then appeared in it. Some weeks before Father Wynne arrived in Rome, His Grace, the Archbishop Farley, had cabled a denial of the report that the Encyclopedia had been condemned or censured. The report that any of the editors had been summoned to Rome was so unfounded that it was not considered worth while to deny it. Neither Father Wynne nor any of the editors ever heard of such a summons except through the fabricators of this erroneous report. It appears that this false rumor has been traced to two sources: one of them the gossip of an adept misreporter; the other a misunderstanding of a criticism, altogether unofficial, of but two sentences in one article of the 3,000 or more contained in the first three volumes. The writer in the Analecta, Revered Alexius M. Lepicier, O.S.M., had found fault with some expressions in the article on Absolution, and his article was very ignorantly misconstrued into an official censure or condemnation. Nobody could have been more amazed at such a misconstruction of his purpose than as appears by his letter dated Rome, November 6th:

31 Piazza S. Nicola da Tolantina,
ROME, 6th Nov., 1908

DEAR AND VERY REVERND FATHER:

I was very sorry I was absent from Rome when you called, as I would have been no less happy to meet you than you were anxious to see me. I am particularly glad to have this opportunity of stating that although I criticized one or two points in the Catholic Encycl., I consider the work as a whole as one of the most splendid contributions to the cause of the Catholic Church in the English-speaking countries. The one imminent danger in such a great enterprise might be, of course, the great amount of modern literature concerning the origin of Catholic belief and worship, the glow of such literature being apt to make a writer overlook the old masters. But our Holy Father has repeatedly warned us against such a danger, and the well-known orthodoxy of the contributors of the Catholic Encycl., is a safeguard against the errors recently condemned. You may then rest assured, dear and very Rev. Father, that I take a great interest in the success of the work, whilst I pray Our Lord to bless your noble efforts.

Yours very sincerely in J. & M.,
Fr. Alexius M. Lepicier, O.S.M.

The pamphlet reveals three important facts. First, that Lepicier did not impugn the encyclopedia itself. Second, that Lepicier did not congratulate the editors on their “return

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to orthodoxy,” as Houtin claimed, but rather stated that the “well known orthodoxy of the contributors” to the encyclopedia was itself “a safeguard” against error. Finally, that the complaint against the encyclopedia revolved around one article, “Absolution,” which appeared in the first volume in 1907. The author of the article was none other than Edward J. Hanna.1424

It is perhaps ironic that Hanna was among the only authors solicited by Duffy to have expressed discomfort with the idea of the New York Review, not on theological grounds, but rather because he feared it would infringe upon the work of the Catholic University Bulletin. After Hanna’s corpus of work came under scrutiny in Rome, it was inevitable that his contributions to the Catholic Encyclopedia would be closely examined for signs of heterodoxy. Lepicier led the charge.1425 Shelley explains that a 1907 letter to Archbishop Farley from Monsignor Thomas F. Kennedy, rector of the North American College, “warned Farley that both the Review and the Catholic Encyclopedia (then in the course of publication) had come under intense scrutiny by Vatican officials.”1426 Kennedy’s letter is illustrative of the way Hanna’s article in the New York Review led to examination of his work in the Catholic Encyclopedia:

I beg you to keep a close watch on all the articles published therein [the Encyclopedia]. It bears your imprimatur, or at least you are held responsible for it, so it would be terrible if any sentence had to be struck out. That thought came to me when the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda [Giovanni Gotti] sent over here for a copy to examine the article on absolution by Dr. [Edward] Hanna…Then again I have lately heard some very harsh criticisms of the review published at the seminary. First, some of the names on your list of contributors are under the ban, e.g., I heard it said that [Ernesto] Buonaiuti was, and I feel I ought as a friend to tell you this. Those articles of Dr. Hanna in the review [on the human knowledge of Christ] are being criticized severely.1427

1424 Edward J. Hanna, Catholic Encyclopedia, s.v. “Absolution.” N.B. Pace was a classmate of Hanna at the North American College and participated in his public disputation in front of Leo XIII (Gribble, An Archbishop for the People, 15; 49).
1427 Kennedy cited in Shelley, Dunwoodie, 155. De Vito notes in New York Review that it was Salvatore Maria Brandi who informed McQuaid of Breen’s instigation (270 FN 35). Gribble notes that Brandi also supported Hanna (An Archbishop for the People, 44; 310 FN 83)
The letter makes it clear that Kennedy only warned Farley about the encyclopedia because Gotti had asked for a copy of Hanna’s article. In other words, it was Kennedy’s opinion that the encyclopedia would suffer scrutiny because Gotti was targeting Hanna’s work. Whether not the encyclopedia did suffer such additional scrutiny as Shelley claims – and there is no reason to think that it did not given the times – is not revealed in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* archives.

In a second letter to Farley, Kennedy explained the nature of the complaint when he stated that, “No malicious writing…could have hurt [Hanna], if it had not been for his unfortunate sentence in his article on absolution in the Cyclopedia and his articles on the human science of Our Lord in the review.” What exactly did Hanna write in that sentence on absolution? He stated that, “it is one thing to assert that the power of absolution was granted to the Church and another to say that a full realization of that grant was in the consciousness of the Church from the beginning.” The sentence suggested a developmental perspective on doctrine, a hallmark of modernist methodology according to *Pascendi*.

Shelley explains that Hanna’s articles in the *New York Review* and the *Catholic Encyclopedia* practically derailed his chance to become coadjutor archbishop of San Francisco, a position for which he was then under consideration. “When the cardinals of Propaganda Fidei met on January 13, 1908, to consider his suitability,” Shelley writes,

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1428 De Vito suggests the same opinion in the *New York Review*, 276.
1429 It is possible that the Vatican archives hold the answer to this question.
1432 Shelley, *Dunwoodie*, PAGE. See also *Pascendi*, 20-21; 32.
1433 Ibid., 155.
“they raised serious objections to these writings.”\textsuperscript{1434} Shelley continues, “That very evening Cardinal Satolli, Prefect of the Congregation of Studies [and former nuncio to the United States during the Americanist crisis], sent for Kennedy. Hanna had once been Satolli’s prize pupil at the College of Propganda.”\textsuperscript{1435} Kennedy explained to Farley that Satolli:

gave me instructions which I was to communicate to Dr. Hanna immediately about writing two articles, one de scientia Christii and the other on absolution. I did so and now there is nothing to do but await the outcome…I am no alarmist, but those writings have made a bad impression here, and there is no telling what might have happened if Dr. Hanna’s friends had been less numerous and less powerful.\textsuperscript{1436}

In fact, Hanna managed to escape the ordeal unharmed, perhaps due to his close association with the numerous and powerful friends cited by Kennedy, including Rochester Bishop Bernard McQuaid, a known conservative who had campaigned strenuously against Americanism. Satolli also campaigned in Hanna’s favor.\textsuperscript{1437} After close inspection, Hanna’s Catholic Encyclopedia article on “Absolution” passed muster with the Holy Office in Rome, who found nothing in it to “strike out.”\textsuperscript{1438} In the aftermath, the Catholic Encyclopedia and its editors did not suffer any additional setbacks. In fact, quite the opposite.

Pius X and the Catholic Encyclopedia

Wynne’s publication of Pius’ comments – alongside Lepicier’s letter – were undoubtedly a shrewd attempt to derail any suspicion of the Catholic Encyclopedia. Given the climate, Wynne had legitimate cause for alarm. According to one sensational

\textsuperscript{1434} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{1435} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{1436} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{1437} De Vito, New York Review, 286.  
letter by Thomas F. Coakley, after an August 7, 1908 audience with Pius X, in which the Catholic Encyclopedia was undoubtedly discussed, Farley “was reported to have rushed out with a look of consternation, his zucchetto was askew, his ferraiulo twisted almost completely around, his hair tousled, his countenance flushed.” Coakley continued:

When members of the next audience met with the pope they reported that Pius X walked over to a chair on which was a beautifully bound volume of the Catholic Encyclopedia that Farley just presented. The Holy Father, they said seized the volume with both hands, flung it to the floor of saying what an evil thing the Encyclopedia was because it was vitiated by suspected articles. He then said to a member of the audience that the cardinals wanted to make Hanna a bishop. With clenched fists the pope said that he would never make Hanna a bishop.

The authenticity of the story is difficult to verify, since it was part of a letter Thomas F. Coakley wrote to Robert McNa

1441 However, the theatrical manner in which the event was told – the pontiff dramatically hurling the encyclopedia to the ground with both hands and denouncing Hanna with clenched fists – seems to cast doubt as to its authenticity. In fact, Wynne himself wrote to McNamara, also in 1946, to challenge the account and to report that in his own October 23, 1908 audience with Pius the pope told him that Hanna was “an excellent priest” and that he would one day be made an Archbishop. During the visit, Pius also reportedly told Wynne that he was pleased with the encyclopedia. Moreover, when Farley visited Pius the following year, the pontiff gave the Archbishop a diamond and amethyst ring set in gold, spoke of his deep affection for the American Catholic Church, and, most importantly for the present argument, granted Farley’s request to make Catholic Encyclopedia editor Charles G. Herbermann a Knight of the

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1439 De Vito quoting a letter from Thomas F. Coakley in New York Review, 290.
1440 De Vito quoting from ibid., 290-291. See also Fogarty, Biblical Scholarship, 135; 138.
1441 De Vito, New York Review, 290 FN 70.
1442 Ibid., 291 FN 71.
Order of St. Gregory.\textsuperscript{1443} That same year, 1909, Shahan was made Rector of Catholic University of America.

Needless to say, given the suspicion the encyclopedia suffered, it is no surprise that Wynne placed the pope’s comments before Lepicier’s letter in the pamphlet, as if to stress the approval the encyclopedia and its editors had in fact received from the pontiff.

The pamphlet included an account of Wynne’s audience with Pius:

Naturally Father Wynne’s visit to Rome is the chief topic of interest in his report, since he had the great privilege of a private audience with the Holy Father, and the opportunity of meeting many of the ecclesiastical authorities and influential scholars of the Eternal City. After mentioning to the Holy Father that he was one of the editors of THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA, His Holiness said, “Ahh, yes! I know that work! I have a most beautiful copy of it. I like it and I consider it a great work.” On expressing the gratitude of the editors to His Holiness for his favorable and kind reception of their work, and for his many marks of confidence, and assuring him of their determination to make the work thoroughly Catholic in doctrine and in its accounts of Catholic history and discipline, His Holiness remarked that he appreciated these dispositions and was satisfied by what he knew of them and of their work, that they would keep the Faith safe and sound throughout. When told that our people appreciated it highly and had shown their appreciation by their generous support, as about 12,000 copies are already in circulation, he was surprised and said, “What vast expenses you must have, and what great encouragement also!” “Yes,” replied Father Wynne, “and it makes us feel our responsibility all the more because so many regard the Encyclopedia as a work of authority.” “Precisely,” said His Holiness, and for that reason he looked to the editors for the greatest care in the editing of the work. When informed that Father Wynne had been visiting different cities of Europe in order to deal personally with the contributors and to impress upon them the importance of employing the very best scholars in a work of this kind, His Holiness said: “That is right. That is very good. You will succeed, and do not fear. The responsibility is great, but you will have the blessing of Heaven.” He then gave his blessing to the editors and their assistants, and to all others who have enabled them so far to accomplish this vast work, as patrons, contributors, promoters and subscribers.\textsuperscript{1444}

These comments, written shortly after the event, must be considered in tandem with Wynne’s 1926 recollection of the meeting with Pius, in which the pontiff personally told Wynne that there was “nothing of consequence” worth censuring in the encyclopedia, a statement that corresponds to the fact that the Holy Office found nothing to condemn in Hanna’s article for the encyclopedia.\textsuperscript{1445}

\textsuperscript{1444} Wynne, “Extracts,” 3-4.
\textsuperscript{1445} Wynne, “Retrospect,” 102.
There is no reason to doubt Wynne’s sincerity or the veracity of his account of the papal audience, since Pius’ comments to Wynne closely parallel those he made to Shahan and Pace when the two had a private audience with the pope a year later in July of 1909.

In a private letter to Wynne detailing the audience, Shahan wrote:

Just before leaving Rome on the 8th (July 15th) I had a second long private audience with the Holy Father and at the end of it Fr. Pace came in. I told the Holy Father that we were two of the Editors of the Encyclopedia, that the sixth volume would appear in September, and that we begged him to continue to us his paternal blessing, not only to the Editors, but also to all its collaborators, and to all the personnel of our office. He repeated with Emphasis, in his smiling fatherly way: I bless you all, I bless you all. He also expressed astonishment that so large an enterprise should move so rapidly. I then told him that the editors of the Encyclopedia were particularly thankful for the high honor which he had bestowed on two of their number during the past six months, and that these distinctions would serve us to prepare the forthcoming volumes in a way that would win ever more applause than the first ones. I added that we were taking the greatest care with the work in all that was doctrinal, and were observing ad usquam all his prescriptions under the guidance of Archbishop Farley. He was particularly well please with this bade us go on with confidence. I then told him that in nominating Dr. Herbermann a Knight of St. Gregory he had honored the foremost Catholic lay servant in our country and had also made himself very popular with all German Americans, especially the Catholics. Oh! I know all about him, he said, and smiled in a most delighted manner. We have a good friend in the pope, and also in Cardinal Merry del Val. If I had been able to give him the Vatican Edition of the fifth volume I might have made more of the audience. But I thought a little modesty was becoming, so soon after [illegible] visit to him and his kind words of praise and approval.1446

Wynne and Shahan’s accounts stand in sharp contrast to Coakley’s report of Farley’s audience with Pius X in August of 1908. And in fact, when the encyclopedia was finally completed, Pius demonstrated his friendship in 1913 by conferring upon Wynne and his fellow editors the papal medal Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice for exceptional service to the Church.1447

What can finally be concluded about the impact the modernist crisis made on the Catholic Encyclopedia? The original literature promoting the publication of the encyclopedia, the press coverage and reviews the encyclopedia received post-publication, the personal correspondence of the editors, and the personal interactions the editors had

1446 Thomas J. Shahan to John J. Wynne, S.J., July 23, 1909, Box 30 Folder 10, AA.
with Pope Pius X all reveal that the editors had only a passing concern with modernism. The worst thing that seems to have happened is that Farley’s “vote of confidence” in the editors as their own ecclesiastical censors was rescinded with the publication of the third volume, probably due to the fallout from the Hanna incident. Beyond the article on “Absolution,” no other article seems to have been questioned, a remarkable fact considering the scope of the encyclopedia, the initial suspicion the encyclopedia encountered and Pius’ establishment of vigilance committees as part of his effort to root out modernism. In the end, “fear and repression” were noticeably lacking.

Of course, Wynne’s tact when dealing with disputed questions like Americanism, as well as his reputation as an obedient cleric, a fierce defender of Catholic doctrine and a vocal crusader against anti-Catholicism in the press may have secured some breathing room for the encyclopedia’s editors during the modernist crisis. The presence of Pallen as managing editor, who was generally regarded as ‘conservative’ on doctrinal issues, and Herbermann, whose work found favor with Pius X, probably also helped. But something more than political or ideological maneuvering was clearly at work. The

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1448 The archives of the various dioceses in question, including the Archdiocese of New York, might shed additional light on the subject. Wynne’s approach to the question of modernism might also be gleaned via an inspection of the contents of the Messenger of the Sacred Heart and the Messenger during his time as editor of those two journals.

1449 Reher, Intellectual Life, 101; Fogarty, Biblical Scholarship, 138. For the change of censors, see Marthaler, “The Making and Remaking of the Catholic Encyclopedia,” 54-55. The new censor was Remy Lafort, S.T.D. Shelley seems to interpret Farley’s rejection of a request by Wynne to have seminarians purchase a complete set of the encyclopedia as a rejection of the work in toto. However, given the prohibitive cost of the work, the fact that Dunwoodie already had complete sets, and the extent to which Wynne went to place copies of the encyclopedia in the hands of anybody willing to pay for one, it is likely that Farley’s refusal was financial rather than theological (Dunwoodie, 370).

1450 Pius X, Pascendi, 50-55. This fact should perhaps temper De Vito’s insistence that Hanna’s article more than anything else stood at the center of the New York Review’s suppression for modernism (New York Review, 328-329).


1453 Shelley, Dunwoodie, 122.
high esteem in which Wynne and Shahan openly held Pius X, as evidenced in their correspondence, and the extent to which they went to remain doctrinally sound, is evidence of a deeper motivation, one visibly rooted in a sincere desire to remain faithful to the teaching authority of the church embodied in Pius X,\textsuperscript{1454} himself a beloved figure in American Catholicism in the early part of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{1455} For the editors of the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia}, fidelity to the church was not about tactics or defense. Rather, it was part and parcel of the very Catholic ethos that the encyclopedia sought to present. The editors themselves finally noted this desire in 1917 with the publication of \textit{The Making of the Catholic Encyclopedia}. Explaining the process by which they choose who would appear under biographical entries, the editors wrote:

For obvious reasons biographies of living persons were not admitted; nor was distinction of whatever sort the chief criterion of selection, but rather, in the case of eminent Catholics, their loyalty to the Church. On grounds that are plainly different, the list of biographies includes various names that recall important controversies, heresies, errors or phases of conflict through which the Church has passed, and concerning which it was needful to set in clear light the Catholic position.\textsuperscript{1456}

The decision to emphasize “loyalty to the Church” as a criterion for biographical inclusion, and to discuss heresy only in order to set the Catholic position “in clear light,” explains why Wynne retroactively presented defense against modernism as part of the encyclopedia’s service to the Church. Though defense against modernism was not a primary intention of the work, given the editors’ desire to provide a resource that accurately represented Catholic doctrine, it was only natural for them to discuss the movement once Pius’ encyclical condemned it.

\textsuperscript{1454} See Shelley, \textit{Dunwoodie}, 169, where the author writes about the loyalty of priests to Pius.


\textsuperscript{1456} \textit{The Making of the Catholic Encyclopedia}, New Advent, August 26, 2013.
Conclusion

The Catholic Encyclopedia illustrates the fact that theological and philosophical anti-modernism did not prevent early twentieth century American Catholic scholars from actively engaging their progressive peers on a range of important social and intellectual questions. Neither did it prevent them from adopting modern administrative practices for the production, marketing, and dissemination of information, nor from understanding their work as an expression of American patriotism. John J. Wynne and the editors of the Catholic Encyclopedia may have rejected modernism on intellectual grounds, but that hardly made them anti-modern. They were deeply concerned with the questions of the day and the future of their nation. They were equally concerned with presenting American Catholicism as a resource for social renewal. In fact, it was Wynne’s preoccupation with the questions of the day and the future of his nation that finally led him to embark on his next great publishing venture, which he simply called America.
CHAPTER SIX

AMERICA

“America seems destined for greater things.”

- Pope Leo XIII, 1895

The Origins of America

John J. Wynne understood the power the press had to shape minds during the Progressive Era. If the media in the early twentieth century “played an important role in [shaping] how Americans viewed the world,” Wynne was determined to use the Catholic press to shape the opinions of Americans and American Catholics. Wynne found illustrative the accomplishments of the Messenger, which he edited. In a letter to Maryland-New York Provincial Joseph Hanselman, he noted in particular the fact that the magazine was directly responsible for successfully agitating on a number of issues related to Catholicism. Despite these successes, or more precisely because of them, Wynne saw the need for a journal more substantial than the Messenger. “I believe,” he told

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1459 Burt, Progressive, 12.
1460 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Joseph Hanselman, S.J., “For Father Provincial,” n.d., 4-5. Box 41 Folder 25, AA.
Hanselman, “it is possible to edit a periodical which would become an organ of great influence and obtain a liberal support among Catholic readers.” The periodical would be called *America*.

*The Monthly Review*

For all of his success launching *America*, Wynne did not originate the idea for the magazine. The journal’s genesis can be traced back to the concern Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., had “for the intellectual life” of American Catholics in the late nineteenth century. Campbell, one of John J. Wynne’s few close associates in the Society of Jesus and the man directly responsible for launching Wynne’s journalistic career, shared with Wynne the understanding that the press could be a powerful tool for “the defense of Catholic faith, Catholic scholarship, and Catholic Americans.”

On November 26, 1888, while serving as provincial of the Maryland-New York Province, Campbell petitioned Jesuit Superior General Anton Anderledy in Rome with a plan to establish a periodical review under the auspices of the Society of Jesus in the United States. Anderledy welcomed the idea, and within a short time, Campbell began plans to launch the new journal. Two years later, with plans well under way, Campbell wrote to Anderledy asking for “official approval of *The Monthly Review*.” Anderledy responded by asking for a formal proposal, which Campbell delivered in draft form in February of 1891.

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1461 Wynne, “For Father Provincial,” 5.
1463 Ibid., 11.
1464 Ibid., 12.
1465 Ibid.
1466 Ibid., 13.
1467 Ibid., 13-14.
Anderledy seemed likely to approve the plan when Edward V. Boursaud, S.J., wrote to Anderledy in his capacity as rector of Woodstock College and thus as one of the provincial consultors on the project.\textsuperscript{1468} Boursaud cautioned Anderledy regarding the plan. Among Boursaud’s complaints were the “lack of organization among the review staff as well as lack of consultation.”\textsuperscript{1469} In particular, Boursaud found fault with the “autocratic” nature of Ralph Dewey, S.J., “who had taken over editorship of the proposed review.”\textsuperscript{1470} Boursaud also objected to Dewey’s use of a Protestant lay extern as his secretary.\textsuperscript{1471} Boursaud laid the blame for the project’s problems squarely at the feet of Campbell, and “stressed that there were risks in beginning the review under such circumstances.”\textsuperscript{1472} Failure, Boursaud warned, or even an “inferior periodical would damage very much the reputation” of the Society in the United States.\textsuperscript{1473}

Interestingly, Anderledy didn’t respond to Boursaud’s complaint.\textsuperscript{1474} Meanwhile, Thomas Hughes, S.J., a new member of the review staff, wrote Anderledy to commend the project and to suggest that the review was in fact important for the Jesuits’ reputation in the United States. Noting that he was frequently asked when the review would appear, Hughes lamented, “We Jesuits are indeed nobodies, without any local habitation as persons with a voice.”\textsuperscript{1475}

After Dewey was removed from the project, Boursaud wrote Anderledy to express a change of opinion and to announce his support for the review, only to write back three days later to state that he had once again changed his mind, and that he was

\textsuperscript{1468} Ibid., 15.
\textsuperscript{1469} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1470} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1471} Ibid., 15-16.
\textsuperscript{1472} Ibid., 16.
\textsuperscript{1473} Boursaud quoted in ibid.
\textsuperscript{1474} Ibid., 16-17
\textsuperscript{1475} Ibid., 17.
now opposed to the project as originally stated.\textsuperscript{1476} Boursaud gave Campbell’s lack of vision as the major reason for his opposition.\textsuperscript{1477} Once again, Anderledy ignored Boursaud.\textsuperscript{1478} Anderledy did, however, write to Campbell to express his concern over the need for qualified writers and for consultation.\textsuperscript{1479} He also expressed concern over Campbell’s plan to use an outside publisher.\textsuperscript{1480}

As it turns out, each complaint against Campbell and his staff – lack of consultation, authoritarian leadership, use of lay externs, the need for qualified writers, and the use of an outside publisher – would be a recurring theme in America’s early history. At an August 1891 meeting of prominent Jesuits, Robert Fulton, S.J., a former Maryland-New York provincial, himself opposed the review “because of our incapacity intellectually and the great dearth of men,” though this did not prevent Fulton from assuming editorship of the journal.\textsuperscript{1481} “As plans went ahead, Boursaud continued his letter campaign” against the project” and against Campbell,\textsuperscript{1482} taking issue next with the plan to use Jesuit Scholastics in the production of the review.\textsuperscript{1483} Finally, on November 11, 1891, Campbell abruptly quit the project.\textsuperscript{1484} Accusing himself of incompetence, Campbell offered to resign as provincial, though Anderledy responded by complementing him for his efforts and kept Campbell in his post.\textsuperscript{1485}

In his post mortem of the failed review, Ciani suggests one “consolation:” that the planned review failed due to a “built-in discrepancy between the available audience and

\textsuperscript{1476} Ibid., 18.
\textsuperscript{1477} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1478} Ibid., 19.
\textsuperscript{1479} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1480} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1481} Fulton quoted in ibid., 20.
\textsuperscript{1482} Ibid., 21.
\textsuperscript{1483} Ibid., 22.
\textsuperscript{1484} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1485} Ibid., 23.
the projected content and style of presentation.”\textsuperscript{1486} In other words, “the times were not yet right in the United States for the kind of semi-learned review Campbell envisioned.”\textsuperscript{1487} However, Ciani also notes that the review failed due to poor management, fear of failure and disagreements among the Jesuits.\textsuperscript{1488}

Even as \textit{The Monthly Review} failed, Campbell was, without knowing it, planting the seeds for its future success. In the final months of 1891, Campbell assigned a young Jesuit priest, “fresh from his study of theology at Woodstock,” to the staff of the Apostleship of Prayer in Philadelphia to assist on the production of the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart}.\textsuperscript{1489} The priest, 31-year old John J. Wynne, S.J., had impressed Campbell with his translation of Bresani’s \textit{Life of Father Joques}.\textsuperscript{1490} Within a year, Wynne assumed editorship of the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart}.\textsuperscript{1491} Over the next eighteen years, he would transform the magazine into one of the most successful Catholic periodicals in the United States. He would also use the \textit{Messenger} to fulfill Campbell’s dream of founding a Jesuit intellectual review.

\textit{Transforming the Messenger of the Sacred Heart}

Wynne’s tenure at the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart} was marked by innovations to both the content and the style of the magazine. Among the many changes Wynne made were the addition of a chronicle of news items, book reviews, pictures and editorials.\textsuperscript{1492} Wynne credited these changes with inspiring American Catholics “to take

\textsuperscript{1486} Ibid., 24.
\textsuperscript{1487} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1488} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1489} Ibid., 25.
\textsuperscript{1490} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1491} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1492} Wynne quoted in ibid., 27.
an intelligent interest in world affairs.”¹⁴⁹³ “It was with greatest interest,” he recorded in 1926, that “we developed what was hitherto exclusively a pious magazine…into a monthly of general interest.”¹⁴⁹⁴

Wynne was not alone in his desire to transform the Messenger of the Sacred Heart. By 1887, the magazine’s editors had already proposed expanding the journal, in part to spread “the literature of Catholic devotion.”¹⁴⁹⁵ In order to facilitate this change, the editors created what Ciani calls “spin-offs,” smaller supplemental publications aimed at devotional and poorer readers.¹⁴⁹⁶ “Chief among these,” Ciani writes, “was the Little Messenger or Pilgrim of Our Lady of Martyrs,” which served the original purpose of the Messenger of the Sacred Heart as an organ of the Apostleship of Prayer; the journal also assumed responsibility for spreading the devotions of various Marian sodalities and the Jesuit Shrine at Auriesville. Meanwhile, the Messenger of the Sacred Heart started its transformation into a general interest magazine.

When Wynne took over editorship of the Messenger of the Sacred Heart in 1891, he continued to alter the journal, sometimes in “radical” fashion.¹⁴⁹⁷ Gradually, the magazine began to take notice of larger social issues, discussing everything from the fallout of the Americanist crisis and the situation in the Philippines to anti-Catholicism and sensationalism in the mainstream press.¹⁴⁹⁸ While certainly not a muckraker, Wynne

¹⁴⁹³ Wynne quoted in ibid. Campbell and Dewey initiated the changes to the Messenger.
¹⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.
¹⁴⁹⁵ Wynne quoted in ibid., 29. Wynne puts the date of alteration as 1884 and that the failure of Campbell’s project on exacting demands made by the publisher. See John J. Wynne, S.J., “Memorandum for Rev. Father General about the new periodical to be edited by the Jesuits of the provinces in the United States and Canada,” October 22, 1908, 1, Box 41 Folder 25, AA.
¹⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.
¹⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.
¹⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 29-30; 39-42. Wynne linked sensationalism to anti-Catholicism and moral degradation.
increasingly used the journal to press for social reform vis-à-vis the position of Roman Catholics in society. Among Wynne’s many targets was the Catholic press itself.

Wynne was keenly aware of the challenges the American Catholic press faced in the Progressive Era. In 1896, he used the worldwide intention of the Apostleship of Prayer for that year, “The Apostleship of the Press,” to “discuss the need for improvements in the Catholic press in America.”¹⁴⁹⁹ In the May 1896 issue of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, he declared “that Catholic readers were responsible for the failing state of the American Catholic press because they were neither subscribing to it nor reading it.”¹⁵⁰⁰ He even challenged readers to examine their reading habits. “Is it the sensational daily or weekly that they anxiously look for?” he asked.¹⁵⁰¹ “If so,” he continued, “the work of reform is to begin right there.”¹⁵⁰²

Wynne explained that the expanding content of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* was designed to encourage reform by integrating the everyday aspects of life into a Catholic worldview. In January of 1896, Wynne even used language that anticipated, almost verbatim, Pius X’s first encyclical *E Supremi* when he wrote that the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*’s expanded content was designed to “teach men to find God in all things.”¹⁵⁰³ To aid this process, at the end of 1896 Wynne introduced an editorial department to the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* in order to provide readers with “solid Catholic opinions on questions of serious import to our holy religion.”¹⁵⁰⁴ Editorial comment was, of course, in tension with the bland reporting of facts that progressive

¹⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 39.
¹⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.
¹⁵⁰¹ Wynne quoted in ibid.
¹⁵⁰² Wynne quoted in ibid., 39-40.
¹⁵⁰³ Wynne quoted in ibid., 43.
¹⁵⁰⁴ Wynne quoted in ibid.
journalism demanded. For Wynne, however, facts demanded interpretation, and interpretation stood at the center of Catholic attempts to synthesize religion and everyday life. Editorials were therefore a crucial step towards creating Catholic intelligence. At the same time that Wynne introduced editorials, he announced that letters of intention would no longer be included in the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, thus significantly altering the original mission of the magazine. Wynne defended the change when he stated that the *Messenger* was not “simply to be an organ of piety but of intelligent Catholic devotion.”

At the end of 1899, Wynne again confronted the problem of the Catholic press. First, he published an article in the October issue of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* by Archbishop Alexander Christie that decried sensationalism in the secular press and demanded that the Catholic press function not as a “prayer-book,” but rather that it “deal with all subjects, secular, political, religious.” No doubt Wynne published the article because it was an endorsement from the hierarchy of the same kind of engaged Catholic journalism he hoped to create. He also made some suggestions for change. At this point, Wynne rejected the possibility of a national Catholic newspaper, since the local papers were “not so bad and many of them were improving every year.” Instead, he endorsed the creation of “a common bureau of Catholic news – a Catholic Associated Press” that could correct errors within a week.

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1505 Ibid.
1506 Ibid.
1507 Wynne quoted in ibid.
1508 Christie quoted in ibid., 41.
1509 Ibid.
1510 Wynne quoted in ibid., 42.
1511 Wynne quoted in ibid.
Founding America

In 1900, Wynne finally came around to the idea of a national Catholic weekly. Thomas F. Meehan, Wynne’s long time collaborator on both the Catholic Encyclopedia and America, reported that Wynne had a “long-cherished ambition to be the founder and Editor of a Catholic weekly.” However, in his brief account of America’s founding, Arthur Daley admits that “historians are a mite vague” as to what “preliminary steps” Wynne took to secure the publication of America. In any case, by May of that year Wynne presented the Maryland-New York provincial with a formal “Proposal for the Publication of a Periodical Review or Magazine by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in the United States and Canada.” Like so many of Wynne’s projects, the proposal was professionally designed and printed on high quality paper. Wynne wanted a launch date of 1902, but the Jesuit provincial, Thomas J. Gannon, found the date unfeasible. Ciani explains that Gannon “did not seem either willing to act or able to convince his colleagues in the United States and Canada to move on the matter within the allotted time.” Wynne didn’t wait for the provincial to act. When it became apparent that the project would not move forward as planned, he took the bold step in 1902 of splitting the Messenger of the Sacred Heart into two magazines. The first, which retained the name of the original magazine, would revert to acting as a devotional journal for the

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1512 Farrelly, Meehan, 83. One is left to speculate over the brief time lapse between Wynne’s rejection of a national paper at the end of 1899 and his proposal for America in May 1900. Given the extent to which the Jesuits guarded the creation of America, Wynne may have already had a plan for a weekly and been reluctant to show his hand. However, given Wynne’s impetuosity, it is not impossible to think that he spontaneously acted on his ambition in the months between the close of 1899 and May 1900.

1513 Arthur Daley, “America,” 1, Box 63 Folder 16, AA.

1514 Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 44.

1515 Ibid. Fellow Jesuit Francis X. Talbot once remarked on Wynne’s “exquisite taste in typography” in Francis X. Talbot, S.J. to John J. Wynne, S.J., June 9, 1936, Box 63 Folder 16, AA.

1516 Ibid., 45-46.

1517 Ibid.
Apostleship of Prayer. The second, the *Messenger*, would become the general interest magazine Wynne desired, but which his Jesuit superiors were hesitant to endorse.\(^{1518}\) Wynne made it clear that he hoped to transform this smaller journal into a permanent Catholic weekly.\(^{1519}\) At the same time, he capitalized on the success he had reprinting articles and pamphlets by submitting a proposal to found the *Catholic Mind*.\(^{1520}\)

The changes did not go unnoticed. In July of 1902, Brandi wrote to tell Wynne, “I have been following very closely your work in the new *Messenger* and am delighted with it.”\(^{1521}\) Brandi also confided to Wynne his own frustration with the Maryland-New York province. “You will pardon me if I tell you plainly that the Fathers of *Civiltà* are very angry with the American Correspondent,” Brandi wrote.\(^{1522}\) He continued, “In two years we have not been able to get from our brethren of the New York-Maryland province that help which for twelve years we got regularly from the Fathers of the Missouri province.”\(^{1523}\) Brandi blamed Gannon for the problem. “I would have preferred to get from Rev. Fr. Provincial a flat refusal, rather than to have a promise which is never or very poorly fulfilled.”\(^{1524}\) Brandi then asked Wynne to intercede with the province on his behalf. “I understand that you are very busy and have plenty to do with the *Messenger*; but is it possible that there is no man in New York who could be our Correspondent?”\(^{1525}\)

Five more years passed before Wynne finally received permission to launch the weekly review. Finally, in August 1907, Jesuit Superior General Francis X. Wernz gave

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\(^{1518}\) Ibid., 46.  
\(^{1519}\) Wynne, “Proposal for the Publication,” 6; 8; 14-16.  
\(^{1521}\) Salvatore Maria Brandi, S.J. to John J. Wynne, S.J., July 23, 1902, 1, ANYPSJ.  
\(^{1522}\) Ibid., 2.  
\(^{1523}\) Ibid., 2-3.  
\(^{1524}\) Ibid., 3.  
\(^{1525}\) Ibid.
Wynne’s plan his blessing, with one caveat: that Wynne should select only the most able Jesuit men as writers.\textsuperscript{1526} It would be two more years of planning before the first issue of \textit{America} hit the press.\textsuperscript{1527}

Wynne wasted no time getting to work. At Hanselman’s request he prepared a questionnaire that he sent to prominent Jesuits and provincials in the United States.\textsuperscript{1528} He also traveled on behalf of the project throughout the United States, visiting fifteen cities and consulting with fellow Jesuits, diocesan bishops and vicars, prominent clergy, religious communities, members of the laity, “and especially the editors of Catholic newspapers.”\textsuperscript{1529} Wynne reported that “All seemed to think that New York” would be the natural place to locate the review.\textsuperscript{1530}

Finally, Wynne went to Europe as part of a 1908 trip on behalf of both \textit{America} and the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia}.\textsuperscript{1531} In Europe, Wynne visited the offices of Jesuit journals in Germany, Spain, and England; he also met with the staff of \textit{Civiltà Cattolica} in Rome.\textsuperscript{1532} Based on his travels and the answers he received to his questionnaire, Wynne wrote the first of several proposals to Hanselman and Wernz suggesting a plan for the magazine.\textsuperscript{1533}

In October of 1908, Wernz forwarded the original \textit{ordinatio} written by Anderledy

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{1526} Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 69.
\textsuperscript{1527} Wynne, “Early Years,” 6.
\textsuperscript{1528} Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 69.
\textsuperscript{1529} John J. Wynne, S.J. to Joseph Hanselman, S.J., “A Report for Father Provincial of My Visits to Ours in the Provinces of Missouri, New Orleans, and also in the Mission of San Francisco,” August 1, 1908, 1, Box 41 Folder 25, AA.
\textsuperscript{1530} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1531} Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 69.
\textsuperscript{1532} Ibid., 122 FN 22.
\textsuperscript{1533} Most of these letters can be found in the Box 41 Folder 25, AA.
\end{footnotes}
and Campbell, which he suggested could serve as a template for the new periodical.\footnote{An \textit{ordinatio}, sometimes called a “Directive,” is a list of by-laws that, in this case, would govern the organization and production of the periodical (Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 74; 84).}

In the meanwhile, \textit{America} precipitated a seminal event in the history of the Society of Jesus in the United States. Wynne explained, “\textit{America} was the occasion of the first meeting of the provincials of the United States and Canada. Since all then were concerned in the venture, they met in New York, and when a report of the meeting was sent to the General he recommended that it become an annual event.”\footnote{John J. Wynne, S.J. to Francis X. Talbot, S.J., May 13, 1940, Box 63 Folder 16, AA.} Deliberations and preparations continued until January 24, 1909, when Wernz cabled from Rome “Approve weekly publication, in March, \textit{Tablet} form. Final approval of name reserved to me.”\footnote{Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 80.}

\textbf{Naming \textit{America}}

Wynne and his fellow Jesuits shared Wernz’s interest in the name they would give to the new review. Wernz had already reminded Hanselman that “the name of the new review should be very different from the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart} in order to avoid confusion.”\footnote{Ibid., 74; 78.} Brandi, too, understood the importance of the journal’s name. In February 1909, he wrote Wynne to proclaim, “Your periodical cannot fail to be a success – AMDG,” but also to remind him that, “A great deal will also depend on the \textit{title} or name you give to your review.”\footnote{Salvatore Maria Brandi, S.J. to John J. Wynne, S.J., February 17, 1909, Box 62 Folder 20, AA.}

In fact, much thought was given to the journal’s title. As early as 1907, Wynne deliberated over the journal’s name with fellow Jesuits Campbell, Edward Spillane and
Martin Scott. Wynne preferred “The Freeman.” Wernz, however, did not like the name since “it smacked of politics that touches only one part of the project and leaves out Catholicity.” In the end more than one hundred possible titles were submitted from around the United States, with the associate editors suggesting three final candidates to Wynne: Truth, Old and New, and Word and Work. The memorandum goes on to state that, “Father Wynne chose ‘America,’ a title which had frequently been under consideration, and which always had met with more or less favor. The others at once unanimously agreed in the choice.”

For all of his hesitation around the project, it was Gannon who originally suggested the name America. In a letter to Gannon written shortly before America went to press in 1909, Wynne explained:

> In fact I went through the Standard Dictionary from ‘A’ to ‘Z’ getting every prominent name I could find and tried them in all manner of combinations. We received suggestions from every quarter of the globe, and after having considered every one of them, came back to your choice… I trust we shall find in it many an editorial inspiration.

A second question involved the journal’s subtitle. Anti-Catholicism was so pronounced in the Progressive Era that Wynne took the extraordinary step in 1909 of suggesting that the word “Catholic” be left out the journal’s subtitle. He wasn’t alone in making this suggestion. At the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, the

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1540 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Joseph Hanselman, S.J., December 2, 1908, 1, Box 41 Folder 25, AA.
1542 Wynne, “Memorandum for Reverend Father Provincial of the Name Proposed for The New Review,” February 16, 1909, 1, Box 41 Folder 25, AA. The memorandum reveals that four of the editors voted for Word and Work and two for Truth (1). In a letter to Thomas J. Gannon, who suggested the name America, Wynne wrote that there were in fact “several hundred” names suggested. See John J. Wynne, S.J. to Thomas J. Gannon, S.J., March 26, 1909, Box 63 Folder 16, AA.
1544 Wynne to Gannon, March 26, 1909.
American bishops suggested that the word Catholic need not appear in the title of a daily newspaper. The council wrote:

It does not follow that the title of such a paper must be Catholic. Its purpose would be attained if, in addition to the latest news, which is eagerly sought in the other dailies, it were to uphold the Catholic religion when suitable occasion requires it, defend religion against false charges and the attacks of its enemies, and explain the meaning of Catholic teaching. Moreover such a paper should exclude from its columns everything that is openly indecent and scandalous (Title vii, No. 227).

The bishops’ statement is interesting because it plainly informs Wynne’s approach to founding America. It also provided Wynne with a warrant for asserting that it might not be necessary to include the word Catholic in America’s title. “It might prove a serious handicap to the admission of our review in the libraries and other places,” he reasoned, “and even many Catholics, notably some of our bishops, clergymen and even a very large number of our own society have asked us to omit Catholic from the title.” Wernz accepted the name America but insisted that Catholic be a part of the journal’s official title. In March of 1909 he wrote Hanselman that the journal would be called America: [A] Catholic Review of the Week.

America North and South

The name America likely seemed straightforward enough to Americans, but the term needed some clarification. Though America resonated with the Progressive Era tendency to select journal titles that emphasized national unity, Wynne’s America hardly harmonized with progressive use of the term. Wynne chose America for an interesting reason – because it would “appeal to readers everywhere; in Canada, in the United States,

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1548 Ibid., 81. Ciani relates that Wernz made the indefinite article optional.
in South America and in Europe.” He clarified that “‘North America’ might suit our object and our contents to some extent, but as we wish to pay special attention to news from South America, we believe that the one word ‘America’ is best.” He also explained that the name was intended to help “spread the truth in this hemisphere, to reconcile and unite Catholics in North and South America and to enable them to avail themselves of what is best in our American Institutions, and at the same time to infuse into them the truly Catholic spirit.”

The sentiments Wynne expressed about the name America in his “Memorandum” closely paralleled those he expressed in America’s first editorial on April 17, 1909. “The object, scope and character of this review are sufficiently indicated in its name,” the editorial began, “and they are further exhibited in the contents of this first number.” Wynne went on to highlight America’s transnational character when he discussed the limitations of “The newspapers which appear every week under Catholic auspice in the United States, Canada and Mexico” and to explain that “There is still more need of a first-class Catholic weekly periodical in this Western Hemisphere.” Later, Wynne again made explicit in the editorial that, “The name America embraces both North and South America, in fact, all this Western Hemisphere; the Review will, however, present to its readers all that interests Catholics in any part of the world, especially in Europe.” He concluded by noting that America’s contents would be informed by

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1550 Ibid., 2.
1551 Ibid., 1-2.
1552 The similarity in content between the “Memorandum,” America’s first “Editorial Announcement,” and Wynne’s other writings suggest he wrote all of the pieces. Ciani agrees, since he attributes the first editorial to Wynne (“Sufficiently Indicated,” 92-93).
1554 Ibid.
1555 Ibid.
“Bureaus of information established in the leading cities of Europe, Mexico, Central and South America.”

America’s transnational character may have seemed scandalous to non-Catholic Progressive Era readers who were struggling to define American identity, but it would have resonated with American Catholics who were used to thinking about the Church in transnational terms and who had only recently been through the Americanist crisis. In this sense, Wynne’s America was analogous to the Church; both were transnational melting pots, and both served a unifying function; both would serve as a corrective to the excesses of Americanism and patriotism. However, there was also a more immediate and practical reason why Wynne extended the meaning of the term to include more than just the United States. America was a joint venture of the Jesuit provinces of North America and Canada. As the final ordinatio issued on December 8, 1909 made clear, each province was required to donate money and men to the project, so that the review belonged collectively “to the provinces and missions cooperating in the work.”

Publication of America

The first staff of America consisted of seven Jesuits representing the aforementioned North American provinces. Wynne served as editor-in-chief, and was assisted by “Francis Betten, professor of history at St. Louis University; Lewis Drummond, Canadian and editor of the Northwest Review; Dominic Giacobbi, professor of theology [at] Gonzaga College, Spokane; Michael Kenny, professor of literature [at]

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1556 Ibid., 6.
As with the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, the editors divided content among themselves, with each assuming responsibility for some major department of the magazine.

Wynne corresponded with contributors; O’Connor took care of editorial and sociological notes and ecclesiastical news of the midwest [sic]. Betten was in charge of the library and German correspondence; Drummond attended to the contributors from Canada and British matters. Giacobbi worked at obtaining articles from Italy, France and Spain while Kenny became the specialist in Mexican, Central and South American affairs. Spillane took charge of the biographical department and acted as liaison with the American bishops, keeping in touch with these prelates and their diocesan chancellors.

A more thorough breakdown of the editors’ primary responsibilities was related in a twenty-fifth anniversary look back at *America*’s early history:

Father Wynne: missions, Sees, science, liturgy, Religious Orders; Father O’Connor: education; sociology; Father Giacobbi: theology, philosophy. Scripture, asceticism, mysticism, homiletics, canon law, patrology, sectarianism; Father Betten: contemporaneous history, national topics, archeology, history of the papacy; Father Spillane: biography; Father Kenny: music...history and international affairs, including Ireland. But one feels that that imposing list shows the hand of the Editor in Chief, who was even then in the very midst of the arduous work of getting out the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Father Spillane, too, of beloved memory, ranged over many fields. One important lack is evident; but Father James J. Daly soon started the distinguished tradition of literary criticism that was taken up after him in 1912 by Father Walter Dwight, who carried it on until his untimely death in 1923.

In the months immediately preceding the release of *America*, the editors met roughly twice a day “to discuss and arrange details” related to the first issue. A “large office force” of lay workers and a business department that “was divided up into bookkeeping, [a] circulation agency, circulation by mail, addressing and shipping, and

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1558 Ibid., 81-82.
1559 Ibid., 84.
1560 Parsons, “Twenty Five Years,” 10.
1561 Joseph Husslein, S.J., “America: A Brief Sketch of its Foundation and Development,” 1, Box 41 Folder 9, AA.
1562 Husslein, “America,” 2.
stock and supplies” assisted the editors in the production of the magazine. Wynne also placed correspondents around the globe to provide up to the minute information. Among these was a young Jesuit scholastic named Wilfrid Parsons, whom Wynne originally met while visiting Louvain in 1908. The two men “became fast friends,” and remained so for nearly fifty years. Parsons would eventually become the fourth editor-in-chief of America in 1925 and fulfill Wynne’s dream of establishing a journal dedicated to the arts and sciences when he founded Thought in 1926.

Two lay members in particular were indispensable to America’s early success: Thomas F. Meehan, a noted Catholic journalist and historian whom Wynne brought over from the Catholic Encyclopedia, and Joseph M. O’Rorke, who followed Wynne from the Messenger. Parsons explained the significance of both men, who were still working at America when the journal celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1934. Meehan “who had been a practicing newspaperman for years” prior to joining America, collected ecclesiastical news, secured relations with the printer, and suggested article sizes, “items for the Chronicle and the notes,” and page configurations. O’Rorke, who worked with Wynne at the Messenger, served as advertising manager.

Authorship of Articles and Editorials

Michael O’Connor’s assumption of editorial responsibility left Wynne free to handle the overall management and production of the magazine. Though Wernz’s “Directives” mandated that the editor-in-chief would be responsible for “unsigned items

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1566 Parsons, “Twenty Five Years,” 10.
1567 Ibid.
1568 Ibid.
of lesser moment,” the proposal had Wynne writing little actual content for America. Ciani notes that in his early proposals for America, Wynne acknowledged that “the editors would not have to do much of the writing…but [instead] would be concerned chiefly with acting as a board of censors, keeping in touch with the literature of the day, originating and suggesting topics, selecting contributors and tactfully getting the desired results from writers.” And in fact, America’s “Annual Report” at the end of 1909 reveals that Wynne only “occasionally” supplied copy for the magazine, “especially for the editorial columns.”

Since the editors themselves were slated to do little writing, they needed to recruit outside authors. This became a subject of debate amongst the provincials. From the beginning, Wynne championed the use of lay and female writers, whom he had made extensive use of in the production of the Catholic Encyclopedia. Wynne was particularly sensitive to the growing demand for recognition by women. The question of female representation hit home when Wynne had to consider the use of female writers in the various devotional magazines he edited. He was not particularly enlightened on the issue, since he admitted that he would, if possible, eliminate all female writers. However, he was not naïve, and he realized the necessity of giving women what Ciani calls “some just and dignified recognition” when they did write. In 1903 he requested through Gannon that female authors be allowed to sign their names to articles they wrote for the Messenger of the Sacred Heart and the Pilgrim, a practice forbidden by

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1569 Francis Xavier Wernz, S.J., “Directives of Very Reverend Francis Xavier Wernz Concerning the Publication of a New Periodical in North America,” 7-8, Box 47 Folder 32, AA.
1572 Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 63. One wonders how sincere Wynne was on this point, since the Catholic Encyclopedia made extensive use of both female writers and female editorial assistants.
1573 Ibid.
When the request received no response, Wynne himself wrote an extensive letter to Rome that “traced the history of the problem” and explained the reason for the request. The “prohibition,” Wynne complained, caused “serious difficulties” for all of his magazines, especially the Messenger of the Sacred Heart, which lost subscriptions from women who wanted stories written by women for women.

Wynne’s letter made it clear that female authors were needed to “appeal to mothers and teaching sisters who did most to foster the devotions of the Apostleship,” and that full signatures were needed because “Initials will not always satisfy them, nor pseudonyms.” Rome granted Wynne’s request, but the issue was not settled, since it once again surfaced in the preparations for America.

When the issue did arise at a meeting with Jesuit provincials in January of 1909, Wynne firmly stated that “women should not be excluded [from writing for America], but only the most distinguished writers among them should be employed.” Wynne won some consolation on this request. Wernz did not finally rule out female writers or signatures, though he stipulated “that the word ‘regularly’ be inserted in the sentence which says the names of women will not be attached to their work.” Wernz also granted Wynne’s desire to include extern (non-Jesuit) writers, with the caveat that none forget Jesuit control of the magazine.

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1574 Ibid., 60-61; 63.
1575 Ibid., 61.
1576 Ibid., 62.
1577 Ibid., 63.
1578 Ibid., 64.
1579 Ibid., 78.
1580 Ibid., 91.
1581 Ibid.
Finally, Wernz designated the editors, including Wynne, the journals’ ecclesiastical censors.\footnote{1582}{Ibid.} Wynne himself made the suggestion that the editors act as their own censors owing to the quick turn around time needed to publish a popular weekly journal.\footnote{1583}{John J. Wynne, S.J., “Revisiones et Censurae” in “Finis Libelli,” n.d., 9, Box 64 Folder 12, AA.} He cited his own experience as editor-in-chief of the \textit{Messenger}, where as a general rule the editors never printed anything of doubtful content as a pledge of caution.\footnote{1584}{Ibid.} Wynne was quick to point out that “so far as [he was] aware,” the \textit{Messenger} had “seldom or never given occasion for serious complaint about its contents.”\footnote{1585}{Ibid.} However, he suggested that \textit{America} follow the system used by \textit{Civilità Cattolica}, where the editor-in-chief would not have the power to publish anything over the objection of the majority of editors, while at the same time reserving the right to refuse publication of potentially objectionable material even if the other editors wanted to see it in print.\footnote{1586}{Wynne, “Moderatoris partes” in ibid., p. 6-7.} 

Wynne’s designation as one of the magazine’s ecclesiastical censors is significant, coming as it did on the heels of the Hanna incident at the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} and in light of the general tension that prevailed in 1909, which was the height of the modernist crisis. Ciani argues that the demise of the \textit{New York Review} and Farley’s “loose attitude towards censorship” benefitted Wynne and \textit{America}.\footnote{1587}{Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 9.} In fact, it was Wernz who made the decision about the censors in the journal’s by-laws. Wernz’s designation of Wynne as one of the journal’s censors was a strong vote of support from Rome and a confirmation that Wynne’s reputation did not suffer as a result of the incident involving the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia}. 

\footnotesize{\bibliography{references}}
Reception of America

America went to press on April 17, 1909. A review in The Irish Monthly explained the format and pricing of the magazine:

The form of the paper is a stately quarto of thirty-two pages, nine inches by twelve, and the price ten cents a copy, or by the year, including postage, for the United States, three dollars; for Canada, three dollars and a-half; and for Europe and other countries, four dollars. Very wisely this last item, four dollars, is explained within brackets as meaning sixteen shillings.1588

America received overwhelmingly favorable reviews upon publication. “You have certainly done a great and noble work in publishing your Review - America,” declared Archbishop John Ireland.1589 “This is exactly what has been needed in the United States for many years past.” Bishop Camillus Paul Maes of Covington, Kentucky agreed, declaring that Wynne’s ability to “teach our educated laity how to view contemporaneous events from a Catholic standpoint” would “succeed in covering the whole field of religious and local interests with surety of doctrine and in scholarly literary form.”1590 New York Archbishop John Farley wrote Wynne seven months after America appeared to declare “Your new venture has passed through its period of probation and has not been found wanting.”1592 He added, “it has succeeded in meeting the desires of our best people who have been looking forward so long for something of this kind.”1593

Wynne was pleased with the commendations. In one letter he denounced the “doubting Thomases” who questioned if “such a review was needed” and rejoiced that “our American Catholics were quite able to appreciate it.”1594

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1589 Ireland quoted in the pamphlet, “What We Promised and How Hierarchy, Clergy, Laity Regard the Fulfillment,” in Box 63 Folder 19, AA.
1590 Ibid.
1591 Bishop Camillus Paul Maes to John J. Wynne, S.J., April 19, 1909, Box 62 Folder 20, AA.
1592 Archbishop John Farley to John J. Wynne, S.J., November 30, 1909, Box 62 Folder 20, AA.
1593 Ibid.
1594 John J. Wynne, S.J. to L.I. Guiney, September 23, 1909, Box 62 Folder 20, AA.
A review in *The Irish Monthly* summarized the response *America* received in academic journals and newspapers. “The most important event that has occurred recently in Catholic literature, as embodied in the wide-spread English tongue, is the establishment of a new Catholic Weekly Review which will indeed be not merely journalism but literature.”\(^\text{1595}\) The article went on to declare its “confidence in the great future” of “[this] youthful giant.”\(^\text{1596}\)

**The Purpose of *America***

When discussing the purpose of *America*, it is imperative to note the seemingly obvious, but nonetheless critical point, that the journal was founded contemporaneously with the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, and that John J. Wynne, S.J., was the driving force behind both publications. In fact, Wynne’s call in 1900 for the establishment of a national Catholic weekly did not gain traction with the Society of Jesus until 1902, the same year that he split the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* into the *Messenger*, the journal which later became *America*. In the same year, 1902, Wynne published “Poisoning the Wells,” which was the catalyst for the creation of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Over the next decade, from roughly 1902 to 1912, Wynne simultaneously laid the groundwork for both publications. In 1907, the first volume of the encyclopedia was published, with subsequent volumes appearing every year through 1912. Meanwhile, the first issue of *America* was published in 1909, with Wynne serving as editor-in-chief of the journal through 1910.

Many of the same issues and concerns that drove Wynne to create the *Catholic Encyclopedia* drove his desire to found *America*. This is not to deny that the two works

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\(^{1595}\) “*Some New Books,*” *The Irish Monthly*, 347.  
\(^{1596}\) Ibid.
had significant differences, most obviously in form and content. One was an encyclopedia, the other a weekly journal. One featured in-depth-coverage of fixed content, the other brief coverage of current events. One was more systematic and comprehensive, the other more *ad hoc* and timely. However, a close examination of the journal’s origins reveals that the various rationales Wynne gave for founding *America* closely paralleled and neatly complemented the ones he gave for the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. In fact, Wynne’s original memorandum calling for the establishment of the magazine, his editorial comments in its first issue, and most importantly the letters and comments he shared about the work before, during and after publication, reveal that *America* shared the same six purposes that drove creation of the *Catholic Encyclopedia.*

1. **A Theological Resource**

First and foremost, *America* had a theological objective. An examination of the archival sources related to the founding of the journal quickly reveals that the application of orthodox Catholic principles to the contemporary context was the *raison d’être* of the magazine. Even the journal’s full name, *America: A Catholic Review of the Week*, suggested theological engagement with culture.

Why did Wynne think this theological application necessary? Wynne offered several reasons. *America* was in part a Catholic response to the progressive call for social reform. In the inaugural editorial for *America*, he wrote:

> We are going through a period when the most salutary influences of religion are needed to safeguard the very life and liberty and equal rights of the individual, to maintain the home, to

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1597 Wynne wrote at least seven proposals, memorandums and letters for *America*, each of which shows significant overlap in form and content. In fact, Wynne admitted in a letter to Hanselman that he copied material from his previous proposals in order to stay consistent and to maintain fidelity to the original 1891 directives for the magazine. It is clear from the wording that several pieces of the proposals made their way into Wynne’s first editorial for *America*. See Wynne to Hanselman, December 2, 1908, 1.

foster honesty and sobriety, and to inculcate reverence for authority, and for the most sacred institutions, civil as well as ecclesiastical.\\textsuperscript{1599}

Wynne’s words about the regenerative effect of religion could have been uttered by any number of progressive reformers, from Albion Small to Richard T. Ely. Of course, Wynne spoke in a decidedly Catholic idiom that would have chaffed his non-Catholic peers. However, he also spoke in a way that was provocative to American Catholics. Wynne’s attempt to apply Catholic principles to national and international issues in America was evidence of “a new of kind activist, conservative, and anti-modernist American Catholic tradition”\\textsuperscript{1600} that found inspiration in Pius X’s call to “restore all things in Christ.”\\textsuperscript{1601}

Wynne’s bleak assessment of the state of human affairs resonated with Pius’ own assessment of the world in the opening paragraphs of \textit{E Supremi}.\\textsuperscript{1602} His proposed solution – that American Catholics play their part in the affairs of the nation – paralleled Pius’ call to action in \textit{Il Fermo Proposito}, which was ghost-written by Brandi. America, then, would encourage a \textit{rapprochement} between the Church and the United States by encouraging American Catholics “to avail themselves of what is best in our American Institutions,” while at the same time “[infusing] into them the truly Catholic spirit.”\\textsuperscript{1603}

\textit{A Theological Resource in the Ignatian Tradition}

\textit{America} owed a clear debt to Isador Daubresse, S.J., Wynne’s Novice Master at the Jesuit Novitiate at West Park. By Wynne’s own admission, Daubresse’s weekly commentary on “events of importance” made a lasting impression that followed him

\\textsuperscript{1599} Wynne, “Editorial Announcement,” 5.
\\textsuperscript{1600} Carey, \textit{Roman Catholics in America}, 68.
\\textsuperscript{1601} Ibid., 69.
\\textsuperscript{1602} Pius X, \textit{E Supremi}, 3
throughout his life. At the most basic level, Daubresse’s commentary and sharing of news reminds one of the Jesuit Relations, the lettere edificanti, and Woodstock Letters. Wynne’s desire to follow Daubresse’s lead by discerning the signs of the times through a Catholic theological lens served as an archetype for the kind of rapprochement with America that he [Wynne] sought.

Thinking with the Church

Daubresse’s method was hardly original. Rather, it was distinctly Ignatian. In fact, Wynne employed three paradigms drawn from Ignatian spirituality to define his theological vision for America. He succinctly summarized this vision on several occasions and in several different formats. In September of 1908, Wynne explained that the primary theological purpose of the journal would be to provide readers with a means of discerning contemporary issues through a Catholic lens so that they “may always have the Catholic principle for a solution of problems that come up for public discussion, ad regula ad sentiendum cum ecclesia.”

The Latin phrase is significant. The parallel with St. Ignatius’ “Rules for Thinking with the Church” in the Spiritual Exercises is obvious. Wynne used the same expression – ad regula ad sentiendum cum ecclesia – several times when planning America. In one undated report, Wynne wrote that one of the objectives of the journal would be to enable readers “to apply Catholic principles to subjects of actual interest (regula ad sentiendum cum ecclesia).” Again, in an undated letter to Hanselman, he

1604 Wynne, “Retrospect,” 90.
1605 McKevitt, Brokers of Culture, 316.
1606 Wynne, “Memorandum,” October 22, 1908, 5.
1608 John J. Wynne, S.J., “Father Wynne’s Report,” n.d., 1, Box 64 Folder 12, AA.
wrote that he wanted the journal to present “accurate information” in order to help Catholics think “with the mind of the Church” in their “social, professional [and] political” relations. Wynne definitively referenced the Ignatian sentiment in the first issue of *America*, when he stated that that the journal’s application of Catholic principles to contemporary issues would “not be speculative nor academic, but practical and actual, with the invariable purpose of meeting some immediate need of truth, of creating interest in some social work or movement, of developing sound sentiment, and of exercising proper influence on public opinion.” Wynne left no doubt that the principles suggested would be considered *ad regula sentiendum cum ecclesia* when he stated in the editorial that loyalty to the Holy See and to the hierarchy would animate the journal’s contents.

Wynne’s emphasis on thought may seem like a curious anomaly given his reputation as a doer, rather than a thinker. And in fact, Wynne repeatedly, though usually very subtly, paired the application of theological thought with activity in the world. “We are a people who respect belief,” he famously wrote in *America’s* inaugural editorial, “but who value action more.” However, he never definitively separated thought from action. In the same editorial he wrote that one objective of the new magazine would be to offer “an authoritative statement of the position of the Church in the thought and activity of modern life.”

There are a number of reasons why Wynne the doer was concerned with providing Catholics with a vehicle for thinking with the Church. The most obvious

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1609 John J. Wynne, S.J. “For Provincial Hanselman,” n.d., 5-6, Box 41 Folder 25, AA.
1611 Ibid., 6.
1612 Ibid., 5.
1613 Ibid. Emphasis added.
explanation is that he was responding to the progressive attempt to separate practical action from any type of *a priori* religious commitment. One certainly senses resistance to this dynamic at work in the writings of Wynne. However, a close reading of St. Ignatius’ “Rules for Thinking With the Church” in the *Spiritual Exercises* provides a more theological explanation. Wynne was concerned with thought because in the Ignatian tradition thought and action are fundamentally inseparable. When Wynne stated that Catholics respected belief but valued action more, he was simply restating a fundamental truth expressed by St. Ignatius in the *Spiritual Exercises*.

The contemporary inability to appreciate the connection between thought and action in Ignatius’ writing seems to be the result of the English word “thinking,” which provides a limited translation of the original Spanish term “*sentido*” used by Ignatius. In Spanish, *sentido* has multiple meanings, including to physically sense and to emotionally feel, but it also suggests meaning and thought. The term is closely related to the Latin word *sentiendum*, which was used in the official Latin translation of the *Spiritual Exercises* made by Jesuit Superior General Jan Roothan, and which was quoted by Wynne in his letters to Hanselman.

In Latin, *sentiendum* is the accusative gerund of *sentio*, which has any number of meanings including “to feel, see, perceive, experience, undergo, observe, understand, think, judge, vote [and] decide.” A more accurate English rendering of *sentiendum* would be “sentiment,” which the *New Oxford*
An official English translation of the *Spiritual Exercises* made by Elder Mullan, S.J., in 1909, used the phrase, “Rules to Have the True Sentiment of the Church,” which is precisely the term Wynne used in his 1909 editorial announcement for *America* when he wrote that he intended the journal to aid the development of “sound sentiment” among American Catholics. Unfortunately, the word “sentiment” suffers from its close etymological association with sentimentalism, which suggests nostalgia and causes the significance of Wynne’s statement – and Ignatius’ original – to be lost on contemporary readers.

The translation of the *Spiritual Exercises* is important for obvious reasons. “Thinking” is a decidedly disembodied term. It suggests that adherence to the life and discipline of the Church is strictly a matter of cognitive assent. “Sentiment,” on the other hand, suggests a way of being in the world, a physical, sensual attachment that goes beyond the mind to capture and animate one’s entire way of understanding and therefore of responding to the world. It suggests, more than anything else, that the ability to think with the church is dependent on immersion in the doing or being of the Church. In other words, thinking and doing are reciprocal. Nowhere was this more obvious than in the rules Ignatius gave for developing the sentiment of the Church in the actual *Spiritual Exercises*, rules that heavily recommended devotional practices. It was surely this

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1617 This is the standard dictionary application available on a MacBook Pro.
1618 The edition, which is based upon the Roothan translation, can be found online at the website for the Society of Jesus in the United States. Ignatius Loyola, “Rules to Have the True Sentiment in the Church,” in *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. Elder Mullan, S.J. (New York: P.J. Kenedy and Sons, 1914), n. p., http://www.jesuit.org/jesuits/wp-content/uploads/The-Spiritual-Exercises-.pdf (accessed March 31, 2014). Since Mullan’s preface was written in 1909, the online edition is likely a reprint since it gives a publication date of 1914.
1620 The oversight is extraordinary from a linguistic perspective, though difficulty negotiating the literal meaning of the text has hampered translators due to Ignatius’ poor command of Spanish. See for example Mullan’s preface to the *Exercises*, n.p.
“sentiment” that Wynne – editor of a devotional magazine and director of a national shrine – had in mind when he discussed the purpose of *America*, a journal that was founded when pragmatic progressives were both divorcing action in the world from its deeper meaning and sentimentalizing religious faith. If the *Spiritual Exercises* demanded discernment according to the mind of the Church, they also demanded an election, a choice.\(^{1621}\) That is, they demanded contemplative action in the world.

*The Two Standards*

Ignatian spirituality figured in a second way in the founding of *America*. In a 1910 letter to fellow Jesuit Joseph J. Himmel, Wynne explained that *America* needed “a phalanx,” literally an army, “to enroll a host of subscribers.” Wynne explained, “This is our way of applying the famous meditation on the Two Standards, - commissioning aids in every place, so that no city, no place, no class or condition of men be overlooked.”\(^{1622}\)

The Two Standards refers to a meditation Ignatius recommends in the *Spiritual Exercises*. The meditation requires the retreatant to imagine the Standard of Satan, which represents the world, and the Standard of Christ, which represents humility.\(^{1623}\) In a preface to the *Spiritual Exercises*, Avery Dulles, S.J., explains that the meditation on the Two Standards was used to teach Jesuits “to think of themselves as called to be soldiers in an army dedicated to conquer souls for Christ under the banner of the cross.”\(^{1624}\) The goal of the meditation was to aid the knowledge of the retreatant vis-à-vis the deceptions of Satan and the will of God,\(^{1625}\) or as Dulles puts it, to distinguish between the spirit of


\(^{1622}\) John J. Wynne, S.J. to Joseph J. Himmel, S.J. January 14, 1910, Box 62 Folder 20, AA.


holiness and the spirit of worldliness, in order to chose, or “elect,” a particular course of action. The Two Standards represents a key teaching in the Spiritual Exercises. As Dulles explains, “The overall purpose of the book is to enable excercitants to overcome their disordered inclinations, to be inflamed with the love of God, and to make firm and concrete resolutions about how to follow Christ more closely.”

Though Wynne used the meditation in reference to garnering support for the magazine, its applicability to America is apparent. With America, Wynne wanted to bring Catholic principles to bear on disordered contemporary culture in order to aid Catholics in their discernment of the world.

The Defense of Free Will

The third and final way in which Ignatian spirituality influenced the founding of America can be gleaned through Wynne’s comments about the selection of the journal’s title. We saw above that when it came time to name the magazine, Wynne suggested “The Freeman.” In a December 1908 letter to Hanselman, Wynne offered a rationale for his choice of that name. In the same letter, in handwritten comments at the bottom, he also expressed his satisfaction with the name America as an acceptable alternative. The letter to Hanselman offers a critical window into the ways in which theology undergirded Wynne’s founding of the magazine and the ways in which that theological vision informed his approach to American culture. The letter will therefore be quoted in its entirety.

As for the name, I suggest “The Freeman.” As I do not wish to overload my proposal with my private sentiments in this matter, I shall state them here: So far as I have been able to read the history of our Society or to discern its spirit and interpret its mission, it is chiefly the instrument of

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1626 Dulles, Preface, xv.
1628 Dulles, Preface, xviii; xxiii.
1629 Dulles, Preface, xvii.
Divine Providence to help men to know that they are free agents, in what their freedom consists and how to use it rightly. Thus, we were organized to resist and repel Luther and the heretics who followed him, Calvinists, Jansenists and others, all of whom erred on this particular point of Freedom of the Will, and our history is one continued battle against men who have perverted the knowledge and the use of men’s free-will. Our spirit as discerned from the Exercises has been a right use of our freedom, as appears from the very title of the Exercises up to election. And our mission in the world has been to promote knowledge of true liberty and the proper use of it as appears not only from our theories of Grace and Free-Will in Dogmatic Theology and our doctrine on Probabilism in Moral Theology, but also from our political or ethical and social theories with regard to the constitution and government of society. On the other hand, we live in a country which fosters a spirit of freedom more than any other. We have to deal with people, many of whom have exaggerated notions of liberty, while others, the majority, coming from countries in which political freedom is scarcely known, are too likely to abuse the freedom they obtain here. Hence, in order to be true to our own history and spirit, to carry out our mission, to put ourselves in thorough accord with what is best in national institutions and to enable our people to utilize the greatest bond of American citizenship as a means of salvation and spiritual progress, I like the name of “The Freeman.”

So far as I am concerned it expresses perfectly the one object for which it seems to me we should issue this review, viz. to enable Catholic citizens to take their part in public affairs, to mix with their non-Catholic associates not only without sacrificing their Catholicity, but rather with a distinct influence for good and for the Catholic cause among their fellow citizens. It is even possible that we might acquire the Freeman’s Journal and take that name, or arrange to exclude others from taking it; but we could take the name “Freeman” without infringing on the copyright of that weekly. 1630

Beneath the typed letter, Wynne wrote in his own hand, “Of all the other names proposed, Father Gannon’s suggestion, “America,” sounds best; but that may seem too pretentious if the name implies stolen or mis-appropriated glory, the last term, therefore, a Jesuit would be expected to use. Still, we all like it [America].” 1631

Wynne’s letter to Hanselman reveals three things. First, it reveals the extent to which the Ignatian defense of free will animated Wynne’s approach to American Catholicism and, by extension, to America. 1632 From Wynne’s thoughtful comments, we come to understand more clearly some of the characteristics explored in chapter four –

1630 Wynne to Hanselman, December 2, 1908, 1-3.
1631 Ibid., 3.
1632 The debate over free will animated the early history of the Society of Jesus and led to a bitter dispute with Dominicans over the nature of grace. For an excellent and readable summary of the dispute see William Herr, “Cajetan and Suarez, Dominicans Vs. Jesuits, The Counter Reformation,” in Catholic Thinkers in the Clear: Giants of Catholic Thought from Augustine to Rahner (Allen, TX: Thomas More, 1985), 153-166.
his respect for religious liberty, his refusal to overtly proselytize to the nation, and his love of democracy.

Second, we also come to understand the theological role Wynne imagined for *America*. In 1899, Leo XIII stressed the danger of confounding “license with liberty” in *Testem Benevolentiae*, and linked the problem to the media when he warned against the “assumed right to hold whatever opinions one pleases upon any subject and to set them forth in print to the world.” Testem was merely expanding upon points that Leo had already made in *Longinqua Oceani*. Ghost-written by Brandi, *Longinqua* also stressed the twin danger posed by false notions of liberty and careless journalism. Coming as it did on the heels of the *Testem Benevolentiae*, in light of his close relationship with Brandi, and given his own rejection of Americanism, Wynne’s emphasis on liberty places *America* within the late nineteenth and early twentieth century conversation about Americanism. For Wynne, *America* was a necessary tool in the ongoing debate over what it meant to be both American and Catholic.

Third, Wynne’s letter reveals the extent to which Ignatian spirituality served as a model and guide for the endeavor. Wynne’s use of the *Exercises* is not incidental. Dulles explains that Ignatius intended the *Exercises* to be creatively adapted “to the mentality of later generations.” Moreover, Dulles adds, “Educators in the Jesuit tradition have modeled their pedagogy on the *Spiritual Exercises*” throughout history. Wynne the educator clearly intended *America* to serve a contextualized pedagogical purpose; he intended the journal to aid Catholic discernment and action in the world.

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1635 Dulles, Preface, xxii – xxiii.
1636 Ibid., xxii.
America, then, might be described as a broadly construed creative adaptation of Ignatian spirituality to the context of Progressive Era American Catholicism.

All of Wynne’s theological concerns – in addition to his Ignatian emphasis – were finally addressed in Wernz’s 1908 “Directives” for the founding of America. Under the heading, “The Purpose of the Periodical,” Wernz charged America with just three objectives.

The aim of the magazine shall be:

1. to set before its readers positively and clearly the genuine doctrine of the true of Christ; to show Church the reasons for that doctrine, to illustrate it and to foster its spreading;
2. to safeguard and defend sound Catholic principles in every order of knowledge;
3. carefully to correct errors, whether doctrinal or historical, concerning the Catholic faith, Christian morals, ecclesiastical discipline, the Apostolic See and the Catholic Church; and especially, with diligent watchfulness, to expose and thoroughly refute dangerous new doctrines and practices as soon as they appear (cf. Cong. Gen. XXV, decr. 16, no. 5 in fine).

This magazine should therefore be, and should widely be regarded as, a guide and teacher which in the questions that continually spring up will supply a rule for thinking with the Church. It should propagate the Catholic principles needed for the settling of controversies, the discovery of truth, the detection of the errors that are found even in prominent and reputable publications. In a word, America should be what so many throughout North America look for: an authoritative exponent of Catholic sentiment.\footnote{Wernz, “Directives,” 2. It is worth noting that in addition to sanctioning Wynne’s Ignatian objective, the three purposes also make unambiguous reference to modernism and Neo-Scholasticism.}

2. An English-Language Resource

If America had a theological objective, the title alone is enough to suggest that this theological objective was inseparable from its cultural context. In August of 1908, Wynne gave a simple rationale for founding the journal: “because we have no English Catholic daily.”\footnote{Wynne to Hanselman, “Report for Father Provincial,” August 1, 1908, 2.}

America figured prominently in Wynne’s plan to create an English language literature for Catholics. Wynne repeatedly cited the London “Tablet” as an example worth imitating. In his inaugural editorial for America, he wrote:
we have no organ in America similar to *The Tablet* in England, and such an organ is quite as much needed here as it is indispensable there. Even the most unfriendly critic of this leading English Catholic weekly will admit that to it the Church in the British Isles owes much of its standing and influence. A periodical of equal merit in America will be of incalculable benefit to religion. \(^{1639}\)

Later in the editorial, Wynne returned to the source of his Woodstock-inspired dream of creating an English literature for Catholics: Cardinal Newman. “When counseling Father Coleridge, at the time he was planning *The Month,*” Wynne wrote, “Cardinal Newman advocated a periodical which would induce Catholics to take an intelligent interest in public affairs and not live as a class apart from their fellows of other beliefs. His counsel applies to Catholics in America even more than it applied in England in his day.” \(^{1640}\)

Later in life Wynne expanded upon the inspiration provided by Newman:

*The* quotation from Augustine with which Cardinal Wiseman so impressed the great Oxford preacher, Newman, *Securum [sic] judicat orbem terrarum* [the world judges surely], and brought him home to the Church and later to the Cardinalate, was the animating motive of the editors. The greatest of modern Churchmen never lost the impulse he derived from that quotation. Thirty-five years after, when counseling Father Coleridge how to develop the *Month* into a periodical of high standing, he urged him to make it an organ which would induce Catholics to take an intelligent interest in public affairs. What he had in mind was that a Catholic who lives up fully to his religion has, like his Church, principles to apply in every field of human interest and activity, and can in the words quoted arrive safely and surely at a judgment on all that goes on in the world. \(^{1641}\)

Wynne concluded:

*Nothing* that goes on in the world is beyond the pale of Catholic interest. Cardinal Gibbons was fond of that adage *Homo sum: nihil humanum a me alienum puto* [I am human. Nothing human is foreign to me], and as the great Catholic that he was, he would add that nothing human is beyond the interest of the great Church of God.

This then, in the minds of its original editors, was the mission of *America.* \(^{1642}\)

This literary objective would not just be an idea, but would be reflected in the content of American life. *America* would not just be an English language weekly. It would also contribute to the building up of an entire English Catholic literature by influencing “in

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\(^{1639}\) Wynne, “Editorial Announcement,” 5.

\(^{1640}\) Ibid.

\(^{1641}\) Ibid.

\(^{1642}\) Ibid.
some measure the literature, art and politics of our national life.” 1643 It would “arouse and foster a Catholic sentiment regarding literature, art, drama, sociology, education, etc.” 1644 In short, it would turn Catholic thought into Catholic action.

3. Correction of Media Misrepresentation

The creation of a Catholic literature in English was closely related to another of Wynne’s perennial concerns – media misrepresentation of Roman Catholicism. Wynne repeatedly explained that a weekly Catholic journal was needed “to save our people from error…and also as a source of information on Catholic matters for the Protestants and infidels of our country, or at least the thousands of well-disposed men and women who are ignorant of religious truth.” 1645 Consequently, America served an apologetic function.

Apologetics necessarily demanded accommodation to Progressive Era culture. That meant getting the facts straight. For Wynne the Jesuit formed in the Ignatian tradition of discernment, there was a complementary relationship between accurate information and practical action in the world. 1646

Accommodation to Progressive Era norms also meant adjusting to American reading habits. While soliciting advice for the creation of America, Wynne reported that he was repeatedly told that if he shortened articles and expanded the editorial and chronicle content of the Messenger, he would “have a Catholic periodical perfectly adapted to American readers.” 1647 Wynne listened. In America’s first issue, he explained that the journal was “in reality an adaptation of its precursor [the Messenger] to meet the

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1644 Ibid. Emphasis added.
1647 Wynne, “Report for Father Provincial,” August 1, 1908, 3.
needs of the time.”

“Among these needs,” he wrote, “are...a defense of sound doctrine, an authoritative statement of the position of the Church in the thought and activity of modern life, a removal of traditional prejudice, a refutation of erroneous news, and a correction of misstatements about beliefs and practices which millions hold dearer than life.”

Timeliness was another major consideration when it came to defending Catholic principles. Wynne wanted a frequently issued journal to combat the errors of the mainstream press, errors that even found their way into the Catholic press. Timeliness was of particular concern for Wynne because of the speed with which events transpired. In a remarkably prophetic way, he complained, “The march of events is too rapid, and every week has its paramount interests which are lost or forgotten, unless dealt with as soon as they arise.” “As things are now,” he wrote in his original proposal for the magazine, “a month is too long to wait either for information on questions of interest for Catholics or for a refutation of the errors which come up every day. Half the value of such information and refutation of error is in the promptness with which it is provided.”

For this reason, Wynne rejected a fortnightly review, “which would never do in America. Every attempt to establish one on a good scale has failed.” Instead, he suggested a weekly journal that, “should be issued Thursday evenings, so as to be delivered in the most important centers of the United States...with a view to placing it among [the] reader Sunday, when it will be most carefully read, and used as an offset to

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1652 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Francis Xavier Wernz, S.J., “Landed to Most Reverend Father General by Father Wynne: III,” October 22, 1908, 8, Box 41 Folder 25, AA.
the hurtful Sunday newspapers.”

Wernz acknowledged the need to stay ahead of events. “Emphasis should be laid on questions of the present day,” he advised, “and in general not much time should be spent on topics that have already been discussed at length.”

When America finally went to press in 1909, Wynne explained that the needs of Catholics were “too numerous, too frequent and too urgent to be satisfied by a monthly periodical, no matter how vigilant or comprehensive it may be.” He proudly declared that, “Promptness in meeting difficulties will be one of [America’s] chief merits, actuality will be another. Its news and correspondence will be fresh, full and accurate.” To aid the timeliness of the journal, Wynne announced that correspondents around the globe would communicate with America’s editors in New York using the latest technologies of telegraph and cable.

Wynne also listened to the advice he received from those he polled and insisted on brief articles. “Readers in the United States and Canada, and it seems to be true of readers everywhere, do not read long or serious articles” he explained to Hanselman. “They desire to have correct information about matters of actual interest, but they desire to get that information as soon as possible and in the briefest form.” After noting the failure of monthly and fortnightly journals of both the religious and secular variety to attract a wide readership, Wynne wrote, “weekly publications treating of topics of the day

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1656 Ibid., 6.
1657 Ibid.
1658 John J. Wynne, S.J., to Joseph Hanselman, S.J., “Memorandum for Rev. Father Provincial about the new periodical to be edited by the Jesuits of the Provinces in the United States and Canada,” September 1, 1908, 1, Box 41 Folder 25, AA.
1659 Ibid., 1-2.
briefly and in an attractive manner, easily obtain a wide circulation and influence.”

Wernz approved this format, adding for good measure that articles “should be written by a number of authors on various subjects” lest they be “be lacking in pleasing variety.”

Wynne’s proposal highlighted the shortcomings of the Catholic press. “Nowhere are they [Catholic periodicals] doing what they should,” he complained to Hanselman. One problem was Catholic acquiescence to the status quo, which could verge on a sense of triumphalism. “We are responsible also for much of the ignorance of religious truth and for the prejudices which still prevail to a great extent,” Wynne explained in America’s first issue, “because, satisfied as we are of the security of our own position, we do not take the pains to explain it to others or to dispel their erroneous views.”

Another problem was the lackluster quality of Catholic journalism.

Wernz acknowledged the need for meeting a high journalistic standard and stressed that special care should be taken in the identification and formation of prospective writers for the journal. Over and over, Wernz emphasized that accuracy, factual reporting, generosity towards opponents, and civility of tone should animate the review. The journal “should be distinguished by a balanced, urbane, correct and finished style that shows a true command of the writer’s art.” Wynne shared Wernz’s vision, and suggested following the guidelines for writers in the Institutes, namely, that writers should avoid creating conflict and that they should exercise “asperity of style,” particularly since “many of the contributors may be unaccustomed to write” and might

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1660 Ibid., 2.
1665 Ibid., 4-5.
1666 Ibid., 5.
therefore “easily display their faults if not warned.” Wynne knew that these instructions might prove offensive, so he stressed the need for tact among the editors as they attempted “to get the contributors to write as desired.” He was satisfied that the Jesuits could meet the challenge, and “that with little practice many of them would soon become first rate writers” as long as the authors were “well-chosen in the beginning.” To ease the burden, he suggested that the editors follow the system used with the Catholic Encyclopedia, where authors were given a strict set of guidelines prior to commencing their work.

Another problem, Wynne argued, could be found in the format of Catholic journals. Catholics were simply not aware of the signs of the times, and therefore were unable to meet the demands of contemporary media culture. In particular, Catholic journals were too limited in scope, i.e., not national, or international, in perspective. “They are for the most part diocesan or local journals,” Wynne wrote, “many of them excellent in their way, but limited in the range of subjects, and circumscribed in territory.” They did not “attempt to chronicle events of secular interest or to discuss questions of the day in light of Christian principles.” In a word, they were passé.

America proposed a change. Wynne wanted editors with enough foresight to read ahead of current events. “We often complain that the Catholic press is not enterprising,” he wrote to Himmel, “that its managers work on narrow or restricted lines,

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1669 Ibid.
1673 Ibid.
1674 Ibid.
and we marvel at the large circulation of secular magazines, even of the yellow or trashy ones. Now we want to change all of this. We have a National Catholic Review, which appeals to everyone, everywhere.”\footnote{1676} Wynne was certain that “one central publication… built up by skillful hands in every region of the globe” could address the shortcomings of the Catholic press.\footnote{1677} However, he was also aware that some Catholics might be uncomfortable with centralization, so he was sure to offer consolation.

Far from interfering with any of the excellent Catholic newspapers already in existence, \textit{America} will strive to broaden the scope of Catholic journalism and enable it to exert a wholesome influence on public opinion, and thus become a bond of union among Catholics and a factor in civic and social life.\footnote{1678}

In the end, even critics of nationalization praised Wynne for launching the journal. “The Catholics of America have long been waiting for a paper of this caliber,” said recently installed Boston Archbishop William O’Connell, “and it is now with a distinct sense of relief that we feel that real Catholic journalism has begun in America.”\footnote{1679}

4. Catholic Education

Wynne intended \textit{America} to serve as a catechetical tool, to offer both Catholics and non-Catholics alike a clear explanation of “sound doctrine” and “an authoritative statement of the position of the Church in the thought and activity of modern life.”\footnote{1680} Ultimately, Wynne wanted what he called “a means of informing and strengthening the minds of Catholics against deception.”\footnote{1681} In this way, \textit{America} stood in the Jesuit

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\textbf{\footnotesize 1676} Wynne to Himmel, January 14, 1910, 1. \hfill \textbf{\footnotesize 1677} Wynne, “Editorial Announcement,” 5. \hfill \textbf{\footnotesize 1678} Ibid., 6. Infringement seems to have been a major fear among American Catholic editors of the early twentieth century. See for example Herman J. Heuser’s reaction to the transformation to the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart} in Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 131 FN 34. \hfill \textbf{\footnotesize 1679} Archbishop William H. O’Connell to John J. Wynne, S.J., December 14, 1909, Box 62 Folder 20, AA. \hfill \textbf{\footnotesize 1680} Wynne, “Editorial Announcement,” 5. \hfill \textbf{\footnotesize 1681} Wynne, “Landed to Most Reverend,” 8.
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catechetical tradition, which “was emblematic” of all early Jesuit ministries.\footnote{1682}{John W. O’Malley, S.J., “Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer? How to look at Early Modern Catholicism,” in The Counter-Reformation: Essential Readings, ed. David M. Luebke (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1999), 71.}

Moreover, \textit{America} drew upon the legacy of liberal education in its attempt to apply Catholic principles to the whole of human life.\footnote{1683}{O’Malley, “Was Ignatius a Reformer?” 71.}

It is in the intellectual sphere Catholics need special information and principles that will enable them to appreciate the value or worthlessness of modern criticism and its effect on traditions doctrinal, scriptural, historical, hagiographical; to know what is scientifically established and what is yet in the region of theory; to distinguish clearly between what is of faith and obligatory in practice, and what is only a pious belief or devotion; the need in a popular form of adapting to the capacity articles treating of many questions that are raised about scripture, theology, religion, politics, mystical and theories of mysticism and archaeology.\footnote{1684}{Wynne, “For Provincial Hanselman,” n.d., 6-7.}

Wynne’s desire to educate in periodical form was not new. As early as 1892, while Campbell was struggling through his own unsuccessful bid to launch what would eventually become \textit{America}, Wynne unsuccessfully lobbied the Society of Jesus to create an Educational Review in order “to advertise and defend” Catholic scholarship and to stimulate and direct activity.\footnote{1685}{John J. Wynne, S.J., to [Henry?] Shandelle, October 4, 1902, Box 16 Folder 19, AA.}

Wynne’s vision for \textit{America}, which built upon Campbell’s failed project, coincided with that original educational plan.

Since \textit{America} would be attentive to the demands of modern life, it necessarily needed to pay attention to contemporary trends in education. From the beginning, Wynne made it clear that he intended \textit{America} to engage readers on any number of the leading academic disciplines of the day. Only in this way could the journal satisfy its promise to discuss the “questions of the day affecting religion, morality, science and literature.”\footnote{1686}{Wynne, “Editorial Announcement,” 5.}

Wynne understood that the success of the journal in this regard lay, in part, in its ability to speak with an authoritative voice. In his original proposal for the magazine, he therefore urged that editors “be chosen because of their ability to conduct
special departments, such as the departments of science or pedagogy. Wernz sanctioned this approach and requested that each of America’s associate editors “apply himself in a special way to one subject, in which he should become outstanding so as to be able to treat it in a worthy and scholarly way in published writings.” Specialization informed Wernz’s designation of the editors as the ecclesiastical censors in their respective departments.

Wynne was clear that he wanted highly educated men as editors, those versed in contemporary literature, periodicals and current events, those well-connected and therefore able to procure accurate “first-hand knowledge” of events, men creative when suggesting topics and finding writers, of “critical habit of mind,” able to provide an article quickly in an emergency, versed in a second language, with some expertise in either “scripture, theology, philosophy, history, modern literature, and science.” However, he was not satisfied that Jesuits alone could provide the kind of authoritative voice he desired for the journal. He therefore urged that the review utilize the expertise of “laymen who are eminent in their profession, law, medicine, education, science, etc.” Though Wernz finally sanctioned most of what Wynne requested, he disagreed on this point, and stated that only with rare exceptions should laymen (or women) writers be allowed to author articles for the magazine. Wernz’s primary concern seemed to be that America “really be, and be known as, a work of the Society.”

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1689 Ibid., 8.
1692 Wernz, “Directives,” 7. Wernz also suggested that women’s names not appear beneath their articles.
1693 Ibid. Wernz also forbade Scholastics to write except under rare circumstances (7-8).
Eventually, Wynne fleshed out a concrete plan for content coverage. When he did, the subjects he suggested paralleled those that occupied progressive thinkers. In fact, Wynne’s repetition of the subjects he wanted covered in America read like a litany of progressivism and closely matched the content Wynne stressed in the creation of the Catholic Encyclopaedia. For example, in a 1908 letter to Hanselman, Wynne advised that coverage be given to “education, science, economics or sociology, literature, arts, etc., etc.” Later in the same letter he suggested that topics include essays “on actual questions, religious, scriptural, theological, apologetical, aesthetical,” on subjects “philosophical, ethical, political, national, social, educational, scientific, economic,” and on “history literature, art [and] archaeology.” In another letter to Hanselman, Wynne even suggested that the editors organize themselves around these disciplines by splitting into departments covering scripture, theology, philosophy, science, history, literature and education. Each of these departments would be designed with the purpose of guiding Catholics through a discernment of contemporary intellectual trends.

Wernz was more precise on the ordering of content. He directed the journal to treat first, “questions in theology, philosophy, the social and physical sciences, history and literature,” second, “questions in any way connected with ecclesiastical studies or the Church, with civil society and the proper training and education of youth,” and third, “in general, questions that men of our time are accustomed to discuss in teaching and writing.” Wernz went on to add that additional topics not pertaining to religion might

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1694 Wynne, “A Report for Father Provincial,” August 1, 1908, 3.  
1695 Ibid., 5. The topics were repeated on page two of Wynne’s September 1, 1908 letter to Hanselman and pages five to six of his October 22, 1908 letter to Wernz.  
be included if they could “win for the Church the good will of the learned and the educated.”

_America_ reflected Wynne’s proposals when it finally went to press in April of 1909. Following Wernz’s format, _America_ included a global roundup known as a “Chronicle,” a section dedicated to the “Questions of the Day,” “Correspondence” from _America’s_ local contacts around the world, “Editorial Comments,” and sections devoted to “Literature,” “Book Reviews,” “Education,” “Science,” “Art,” “Ecclesiastical News,” and “Obituaries.” America’s second issue introduced sections dedicated to “Sociology” and the “Press.” Thus, the tone was set for the journal’s future.

Never content with a single project, Wynne advocated that the Society publish additional intellectual journals during his deliberations with his superiors. When Wernz issued the final _ordinatio_ for _America_ in 1909, he accepted Wynne’s request for “another, more scholarly publication” in the future. This publication did not arrive until _Theological Studies_ was founded in 1940. The delay was, again, related to a shortage of qualified writers. Wynne also wanted a publication on arts and letters, which did not come to life until 1926 with the birth of _Thought_. Finally, Wynne wrote to Farley about the possibility of founding a Catholic daily in New York. With his typical

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1698 Ibid., 3.
1699 Ibid., 2.
1700 See the table of contents in _America_, 1 no. 1. (April 17, 1909). Wernz, “Directives,” 3. A superficial glance at formats suggests that _America_ also closely followed another famous national weekly, _The Nation_, 1 no. 2. (May 8, 1909).
1701 See the table of contents in _America_, 1 no. 2. (May 8, 1909).
1702 Wernz, “Directives,” 1. See also Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 2. For Wynne’s request, see Wynne, “Pecuniae depositae” in “Finis Libelli,” 14. Wynne did not think a scholarly publication would turn a profit, but he believed that the proceeds from a successful weekly could be used to offset the likely deficit (“Pecuniae depositae,” 14).
1703 Wynne, “Memorandum,” September 1, 1908, 2.
impetuosity he told the archbishop, “In working for a high class weekly, I feel that we are only paving the way for a great Catholic daily, and I often ask myself, Why wait?”

5. Education of the Laity

*America* represented a shift in the publication of American Catholic periodicals towards recognizing the growing number of educated members of the laity. Though he was reticent to allow lay writers, Wernz’s “Directives” offered a succinct description of *America’s* target audience that included the laity. “The magazine shall address itself to Catholics and non-Catholics,” he wrote, “and not only to the learned (*docti*) but also to all groups and classes of the educated citizenry (*culti*).” Wynne was typically more scattered, if also more egalitarian, when discussing *America’s* intended readers. He indicated that *America’s* audience represented a microcosm of American culture, “heterogeneous in almost every respect except their common bond or relation with us.” Thus, the audience would include all of those who comprised the American melting pot, “our old students,” “prominent parishioners,” those interested in the church, “men of affairs,” “inquiring Protestants,” and “frequenters of libraries.”

In short, anyone who “would welcome an authoritative exponent of Catholic sentiment.”

There was only one problem: the laity itself was poorly catechized. In his original proposal for *America*, Wynne lamented:

More than half of our Catholic people are taught in the public schools; many of our Catholic young men and women attend non-Catholic colleges and academies; hundreds of them are in the teachers’ colleges and training schools; all read the newspapers and magazines, which abound in errors about our Church, its doctrines, principles and institutions; numbers of our best Catholic men and women come under the dangerous influence of the public libraries, the home educational system and the lectures of school and university extension, which are anything but Catholic…It is

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1705 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Archbishop John Farley, February 22, 1909, 3, Box 62 Folder 19, AA.
1708 Ibid.
the sense of this need that prompts many of the clergy and laity, some of our best Catholic men and women, to urge us to issue a periodical such as we now propose.\footnote{Wynne, “Proposal for the Publication,” 1-2.}

Wynne footnoted his complaint with a story that illustrated the extent of the problem. Some laymen chosen by their diocese to represent Catholic educational interests to their state legislature “showed at every turn, and even admitted, that they were unfamiliar with the elementary principles, the simplest arguments for the rights of parents in the education of their children.”\footnote{Ibid., 2.}

The educated laity figured again later in the proposal when Wynne lamented that the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart} was “partly as a high-class religious magazine for the more intelligent among the laity…and partly as the organ of the Apostleship of Prayer, and it is not therefore effecting either purpose as effectively as if the high-class religious magazine and the \textit{Messenger} proper were to be issued separately.”\footnote{Ibid., 14-15.}

Wynne’s wish to publish a high-class magazine “for the more intelligent among the laity” was complemented by his desire to collaborate with the laity in the actual production of the journal. Thus, he recommended that the journal not rely exclusively on Jesuits as writers, but that the editors also solicit articles from “laymen who are eminent in their profession, law, medicine, education, science, etc., to supplement the contributions of our own.”\footnote{Wynne, “Report for Father Provincial,” August 1, 1908, 4.} He emphasized that collaboration with the laity was a necessary prerequisite to recruiting “the very best talent,” particularly on “subjects in which they are masters.”\footnote{Wynne, “Proposal for the Publication,” 12.}

Despite Wernz’s reticence, statistics provided by Parsons for the first year of \textit{America} reveal that Wynne had the final word on lay participation in the creation the
journal. Among those who authored articles for the magazine, Parsons listed 153 Jesuits, 38 secular and lay clergy, and 309 lay men and women.  

Alongside Wynne’s desire to educate the laity was the frustration he experienced over Catholic inability to command attention and respect in the sphere of higher education. In 1909, Wynne told Walter George Smith that his resignation from the Board of Trustees at the University of Pennsylvania would be “a clear challenge to numbers of Catholics and even many non-Catholics, who would work out some plan by which Catholics can take some part, whether as officials, lecturers or students in the university life of the country.” He added that Smith’s resignation would also present a challenge to those who advocated for a Catholic presence on campuses “without discrimination.”

6. American Catholic Citizenship & National Unity

Jesuit antagonism towards public education partially explains why in the years preceding the launch of America, the Society was conspicuously absent from the national social and political conversation. As editor of the Messenger of the Sacred Heart, the only Jesuit journal of note in the United States, Wynne was the dominant public voice of the Society of Jesus in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Jesuit absence can be traced to a number of causes, but the primary motivating factor seemed to be a defensive posture towards American culture. Wynne recognized the Jesuit’s absence and desired to change they way the Society engaged

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1715 Parsons, “Twenty Five Years,” 11. Parsons mistakenly lists Wynne’s termination date as 1911 in the following paragraph; I have not counted articles to corroborate Parsons’ total.
1716 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Walter George Smith, Esq., December 8, 1909, 2, Box 62 Folder 20, AA. Wynne noted in the letter that Columbia, Yale, Harvard and Cornell would be disappointed with the resignation of a Catholic trustee (2-3).
1717 Ibid.
1718 Carey, Roman Catholics in America, 68-69.
American culture. With the founding of the Catholic Encyclopedia, the Catholic Mind, and finally America, Wynne became one of the most famous Jesuits in the United States and one of the dominant voices in American Catholic print media.

America was Wynne’s definitive attempt to engage the Progressive Era. Although he had a very good sense of Jesuit failings, Wynne was also confident that the Society possessed the ability to meet and accommodate the exigencies of progressive culture, and to influence the national political and intellectual conversations in a positive direction. He rejected any claim that the Jesuits could not meet the challenge.\textsuperscript{1719}

Wynne’s proposal was not an example of narrow Catholic triumphalism or an attempt to gain political power. He rejected the formation of a Catholic political party.\textsuperscript{1720} He did, however, believe American Catholics needed solid intellectual advice when making political decisions. In a letter to Hanselman, Wynne advised that, “in the social and political order they [Catholics] need guidance to take their part in national life; in public affairs; in social movements, instead of forming an element by themselves and standing aloof, as if uninterested in the common welfare.”\textsuperscript{1721} By rejecting American Catholic disinterest in the “common welfare,” Wynne demonstrated an awareness of national unity that went beyond the confines of the Church and suggested that Catholics had a moral obligation to contribute to society. That he made this claim at precisely the time progressives and pragmatists were accusing Catholics of impeding progress shows how sensitive he was to the Catholic position in American society.

\textsuperscript{1719} Wynne, “Proposal for the Publication,” 13.
\textsuperscript{1720} Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 82.
\textsuperscript{1721} Wynne, “For Provincial Hanselman,” n.d., 7. In other words, Wynne would have rejected “ghetto” Catholicism.
Of course, national political reform was a contentious issue. American Catholics occupied a delicate position in the national conversation, and Catholics themselves could be bitterly divided on political questions, as the Americanist controversy had demonstrated. To placate Catholic fears of nationalization and all that it implied, Wynne suggested that the constructive nature of America would make it “a bond of union among Catholics and a factor in civic and social life.” However, Catholics would not become such a vocal factor as to cause unnecessary strife. While Wynne wanted political engagement, he advised that America treat all political issues with caution. He stressed that Catholics needed “to avoid making political issues or capital out of public questions in which religion and morality and education are concerned, at least until they shall have tried every other means and failed.”

Perhaps due to the delicate nature of the question, at times Wynne appeared conflicted on the extent to which he thought the journal should engage in political discourse. On the one hand, he explained that it would be better if America avoided discussing certain issues, if only to avoid the appearance of partisanship. On the other hand, he suggested that the magazine should “as much as possible” offer an interpretation of news and events.

In any case, Wynne was, as always, concerned with civility of tone, a practice that he inherited from the Jesuits. He urged that America only use the term political “in its better significance.” On this point, Wernz emphatically agreed. His “Directives”

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gave explicit guidelines for dealing with disputed issues that resonated with Wynne’s own position. Wernz stated that, “In matters that are the subject of sharp dispute (especially if they touch in any way the concerns of a foreign people) editorial opinions are to be conformed to those of the Fathers of the Society or other acknowledged authorities in the field.”

Wernz was particularly concerned with guarding the reputation of the Church and urged caution when discussing reports from Rome. But he was equally cautious that the editors of America avoid giving offense to civil authorities.

Purely political and secular matters should have no place in our magazine. Indeed, questions sharply disputed among Catholics are also to be avoided, so long as the integrity of the faith is not called in question. If in political and secular matters questions arise that are intimately with the Catholic faith and good morals, it certainly is not inappropriate for this magazine to set forth clearly and to support and defend with solid reasons the sound principles of Catholic doctrine on which the solution of such questions must be based. Let our writers take care, however, to avoid the appearance of favoring any political party or of meddling in purely political and secular matters.

And in such matters our writers must be especially careful lest they go beyond the simple factual reporting of political doings at home and abroad that have no immediate connection with religion, and should wish to pass judgment upon them according to their own private opinions.

Wynne incorporated Wernz’s advice into his inaugural editorial when he explained that America would “aim at becoming a representative exponent of Catholic thought and activity without bias or plea for special persons or parties” and that “courtesy” would “preside over” the magazine’s “relations with the press and other expounders of public sentiment.” A key component to America’s success would be “its strict avoidance of proselytism and of all unnecessary controversy.” Wynne saw both of these practices as contributing to civility at a time of intense political fracture. As

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1729 Ibid.
1730 Ibid. Wernz extended his discussion of civility to the discussion of the work of other authors, and recommended that America refrain from attributing to others positions that they have not openly declared or which was not explicit in their work (“Directives,” 4-5).
1732 Ibid., 5.
he did with the Catholic Encyclopedia, Wynne presented America as the voice of intellectual charity and rational discourse in a time of fragmentation.

Several articles in the first issue of America reflected the journal’s approach to politics and national identity. Despite Wynne’s recommendation of neutrality on political questions, most of the articles offered a clear political opinion. For example, one article on “Russia” decried the forced conversions of Greek Catholics to the Orthodox Church in Russia.1733 Another discussing Canadian military buildup in response to Germany spoke of the “troubled waters of tempestuous patriotism.”1734 A third article explained that local patronage and corruption in recent Italian elections “have shown that the Italians as a people are unfitted for the use of the ballot.”1735 Two more pieces celebrated prominent Catholics in political life. Louis Drummond, S.J., noted the appointment of a Catholic as Premier of Newfoundland,1736 while Walter Elliot, C.S.P., wrote about the conversion of Emily Virginia Mason, niece of George Mason, to Roman Catholicism.1737 Finally, one article entitled “Women Suffrage” chronicled the lackluster support for the women’s suffrage movement in the United States.1738

M.P. Dowling, S.J.’s article on “Catholics and Socialism” provided a more substantive Catholic response to the questions of socialism, social reform and religious liberty.1739 Keeping with Wynne’s plan to ask “actual” questions and to provide “practical” answers, Dowling began his article by asking a few simple questions that he

1734 “No Canadian Dreadnaught,” America 1, no. 1 (April 17, 1909): 3.
1735 “Italy’s Political Program and Cabinet,” America 1, no. 1 (April 17, 1909): 2.
“practically” reduced to one: “How far is Socialism consistent with Catholicity?” Dowling began by noting that while Catholics were sympathetic to the suffering of the proletariat, they were social reformers who did not seek to overturn the social order, but rather who sought reform through legitimate means. Catholics rejected socialism because it rested on “false principles,” and because it was “untried, impracticable, impossible, unjust, whether considered as a scientific system, a plan of reform, an industrial revolution, a practical program, a revolutionary or evolutionary theory.” He also rejected socialism on religious grounds. “The philosophy on which Socialism rests is materialistic,” he explained, “its theory of human life is unchristian.”

Nevertheless, Catholic principles did not prevent believers from supporting any number of progressive reforms, including “state regulation of industry, wages and hours of labor, single tax, inheritance tax, taxation of incomes, municipal or national ownership or administration of railways, gas, post-office, water, electric light, traction lines and other public utilities.” In closing, Dowling impugned socialism’s prejudice and “intolerance” towards Catholics and made a bold plea for creedless cooperation based on “common morality.”

Michael Kenny, S.J.’s article “Blessed Joan of Arc” was an attempt at rapprochement between church and state. In the article, Kenny adopted a more apologetical stance than Dowling and lauded Joan as the God-inspired savior of her

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1741 Ibid.
1742 Ibid.
1743 Ibid., 9.
1744 Ibid., 8.
1745 Ibid., 9.
country whose story proved the patience and non-revolutionary character of Catholics.\textsuperscript{1747}

“In her life the natural and supernatural are inseparably blended,” Kenny wrote, as if to reinforce the belief that national reform could not be effected without attention to the divine.\textsuperscript{1748} Joan, was the “Deliverer of a Nation,” who “went boldly into danger” and “harbored no resentment.”\textsuperscript{1749} A model of faithful citizenship, “when she fell into her enemies’ hands and fire and torture threatened her, she was immovably loyal to the King and Council that abandoned her.”\textsuperscript{1750} After her death, “English partisans,” “French Huguenots” and “atheistic republicans” (that is, Protestants and Rationalists) impugned her memory, but “the Church waited calmly, unmoved by partisan or national bias, till the perspective of time and change grew large enough to determine the ‘heroicity’ of her virtues.”\textsuperscript{1751} Kenny concluded that, “In declaring Blessed this matchless Maid, Pius X is crowning the brow of Heroism and raising Patriotism to the Altars of the Church.”\textsuperscript{1752}

\textit{America Magazine and Catholic Transnationalism}

Wynne clearly rejected the “partisan” extremes that American Catholics often fell into. On the one hand, there were those who rejected America based on exaggerated loyalty to one’s ancestral homeland, and on the other those who rejected their ancestral homeland based on an exaggerated sense of loyalty to America. Wynne explained that a new national Catholic weekly would serve as a transnational corrective for American Catholics by reminding them that either extreme was unacceptable, or as he put it “by keeping before them the interests, need and progress of the Church in other countries,” by

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1747} Ibid., 6.
\item \textsuperscript{1748} Ibid., 7.
\item \textsuperscript{1749} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{1750} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{1751} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{1752} Ibid., 8.
\end{itemize}
saving them from “the tendency to nationalism, so frequent nowadays,” and by “inspiring them with love and respect for their fellow Catholics in every part of the world.\textsuperscript{1753}

Coming as it did on the heels of \textit{Testem Benevolentiae} and the Spanish-American War, in the midst of a bitter debate over nationality and citizenship, and in the face of so much international saber rattling in the build up to the First World War, \textit{America} was a brash political statement that suggested a realignment of priorities and a transnational alternative to American Catholic identity. Wynne seemed to understand that “America,” broadly conceived, was more than just a nation; it was in its very ethnic composition a transnational concept that subsumed and tempered national identity. In this way, it was analogous to the Church.

It is relatively easy to identify the factors that contributed to Wynne’s transnational outlook. First, there was Catholicism itself, which in the United States during the first part of the twentieth century represented a microcosm of the global Church. Wynne was also a native New Yorker; during the Progressive Era his home was one of the most diverse cities in the world. Then there was the Society of Jesus, which had been involved in missionary activity throughout the Americas since the 1500’s; the transnationalism of the Society undoubtedly shaped Wynne’s expanded sense of what it meant to be an “American.” Finally, there was the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart}, which Wynne edited for nearly two decades.

\textit{America} shared more than just a common history with the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart}. To understand why, one must understand something about the origins of the magazine.

\textsuperscript{1753} Wynne, “Proposal for the Publication,” 4.
The Messenger of the Sacred Heart traces its beginnings to the middle of the nineteenth century and the vast missionary outreach of the Roman Catholic Church which inspired the Apostleship of Prayer movement, begun in France in 1844. In that year, Jesuit Father Francis X. Gautrelet began the [Apostleship] effort by encouraging young Jesuit seminarians to offer their prayers and good works for the success of the Catholic missionary enterprise throughout the world.\footnote{Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 27.}

In 1852, another Frenchman, Henri Ramiere, S.J., “began a newsletter to promote devotion to the Sacred Heart,” and in 1861 the newsletter became The Messenger of the Sacred Heart.\footnote{Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 28.} In 1866, the two movements were formally combined when the Messenger of the Sacred Heart “became the official organ of the Apostleship.”\footnote{Ibid.} That same year Benedict Sestini, S.J., a professor of mathematics and astronomy at Georgetown University, founded the American Messenger.\footnote{Ibid.} Sestini brought the magazine to Woodstock when the College was founded in 1869, and “it remained [there] until his retirement in 1885.”\footnote{Ibid.}

The “international network of Jesuit journals” like the Messenger, which in the American context served as an organ for the promotion of the canonization of the Jesuit martyrs, shaped American Jesuit approaches to the question of nationality and citizenship.\footnote{Ibid., 4. For more on Jesuit transnationalism in America, see McKevitt, Brokers of Culture, 314-39.} The Messenger was undoubtedly part of Wynne’s formation as a Jesuit at Woodstock, where Sestini ran the magazine during the first part of Wynne’s Scholasticate. In fact, there are a number of reasons to think that the Messenger of the Sacred Heart made a significant contribution to Wynne’s thought and that it fundamentally shaped his desire to transform the Messenger into America.\footnote{Keane and McDermott, “A Man of Independent Character,”10.}

Although some American Jesuits, including Anthony Kohlman, thought the Sacred Heart devotion would not do well in the United States, *The Messenger* quickly proved them wrong. Within a few months its circulation exceeded 2,000. Far larger than the circulation list of *The Messenger* itself was the membership of the Apostleship of Prayer in the United States, the voluntary association for practicing and spreading devotion to the Sacred Heart. The association became a prominent element in the spiritual culture of late 19th century American Catholicism. Although its primary base was in religious communities, colleges and seminaries, it included a broad cross section of the middle class Catholic community, especially females and certain ethnic groups, particularly Germans. It abetted the development of certain features of American Catholic spirituality, including a sentimentalization of devotion and the promotion of frequent communion.  

Three points immediately suggest themselves to the reader. First, through his work as editor of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* Wynne came into contact with the educated American Catholic middle class. Second, through the *Messenger* Wynne probably came to appreciate the unity that diverse ethnic communities could find in movements like the Sacred Heart devotion. Third, the *Messenger* undoubtedly sensitized Wynne to the devotional life of women. One finally sees in Curran’s description of the Catholic middle class the likely genesis of Wynne’s own attempt to reach out to the laity and particularly women in the pages of *America*.  

One reason Wynne may have encountered opposition to his plan to incorporate the laity and women more fully into *America* may be found in the Apostleship movement itself, which tended to stress a submissive and passive role for the laity. Hence, Wynne’s recourse to Newman, who urged Catholics “to take an intelligent interest in public affairs and not live as a class apart,” may have been directed at the way Catholics imagined the entire devotional movement.  

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The Apostleship movement’s abetting of “the sentimentalization of devotion” also likely caused Wynne much consternation. Wynne clearly found fault with a form of devotionalism stripped of reason and inattentive to the practical dimension of faith. The excess emotionality of sentimentalism represented the very abdication of rational discernment that Ignatius placed at the center of the spiritual life. One can almost hear Wynne chiding American Catholics with his declaration that the Messenger would no longer be “an organ of piety but of intelligent Catholic devotion.” Wynne’s words make it clear that he did not intend to eliminate devotion, which in any event formed a major part of his ministry as the director of the Auriesville Shrine. Rather, he wanted to harness and guide Catholic devotion by synthesizing it with rational discernment and practical action. By transforming the Messenger into America, Wynne unquestionably intended to redirect sentimentalism towards the development of a healthy Catholic sentiment.

The Messenger also certainly inspired in Wynne his lifelong desire to defend the Church against its detractors. Curran explains that mid-nineteenth century Catholic devotion increasingly associated the Sacred Heart of Jesus with the suffering of the pope. Defense of Jesus, then, became associated with defense of the Church in Apostleship movement and, by extension, in the pages of the Messenger of the Sacred Heart. Curran stresses the connection between devotion to the Sacred Heart and Catholic apologetics when he writes, “In the late eighteen-sixties The Messenger gave much coverage to those who engaged in the highest form of Catholic action available to the

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1766 Wynne’s response to devotions was one of the few distinctly “Irish” traits that he possessed.
1767 Curran, American Jesuit Spirituality, 36.
laity, defense of the Holy See itself in the pope’s army.” Wynne surely imbibed the movement’s apologetic sensibility when he assumed editorial control of the *Messenger* in 1891; it became one of the dominant traits of his long publishing career.

Finally, and most importantly for the present argument, the *Messenger* provided Wynne with a lens through which to view the questions of nationality and citizenship. On this point, the origin of the *Messenger* is of critical importance. Curran explains that Sestini founded the magazine “in response to the forces of darkness that [he] saw threatening Christian civilization in the West.” For his part, Sestini was merely echoing the entire Sacred Heart movement. Curran explains:

In December 1869, the editor admitted that the Church was sadly sharing the ‘fearful restlessness’ that pervaded society. But added, ‘she alone endeavors to remedy; she proposes to reestablish the tottering social edifice on a divine, indestructible basis…” What the Church held out to the world, *The Messenger* explained in an 1873 article, were the very lessons of humility and unity which the devotion to the Sacred Heart taught as the antidote to the independence of mind which was unraveling the modern world. Submissiveness, whether to pope or monarch or industrial aristocracy, was not only the guarantor of peace and order but also the only means of saving modern man from self-destruction. Paternalism was the key to social justice and private tranquility.

The passage could hardly be more descriptive of what Wynne was trying to accomplish when founding *America*. Again, a number of points immediately suggest themselves to the reader. First, Sestini’s dreary assessment of modern political conditions resonated with Wynne’s own appraisal in *America’s* first editorial, as did his proposal that religion alone would save society. Second, Sestini’s focus on the individual also found its parallel in Wynne’s first editorial for *America*. Third, both Sestini and Wynne stressed the need to respect various types of authority. The problem, from Sestini’s perspective, was a certain “independence of mind which was unraveling the

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1768 Ibid., 36-37.
1769 Ibid., 272.
1770 Ibid., 37.
1772 Ibid.
modern world.” Wynne’s own strategy to combat the problem of “exaggerated notions of liberty” came in his plan to use *America* as a tool to help Catholics cultivate the sentiment of the Church (*ad regula sentiendum cum ecclesia*). Fourth, both Sestini and Wynne were aware that Catholics needed guidance when approaching social and political matters. Finally, both men suggested finding unity in something more than national identity and presented Catholic transnationalism as an alternative.

Catholic transnationalism was the dominant theological theme of John J. Wynne’s long career and a common denominator in all four of his major projects – the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, the North American Martyrs, the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *America*. The thematic continuity of transnationalism becomes all the more apparent when one considers that *America* grew directly out of Wynne’s experience editing the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, which was intimately tied to his experience working on behalf of the canonization of the Jesuit martyrs. In *America*, Wynne’s sense of American exceptionalism once again converged with his Catholic transnationalism to produce an extended notion of American identity. America may indeed have been a providential nation, but only insofar as it paralleled the Church in offering a way out of partisanship and nationalism.

*America Magazine and Inculturation*

*America* was a bold political statement. The journal’s name certainly reflected the confidence Progressive Era Catholics had in their position, but it also reflected a

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1774 Wynne to Hanselman, December 2, 1908, 2.
1775 “Peace For Americas,” December 8, 1936, n.p. See also Reher’s comments on Hecker in *Intellectual Life*, 57.
1776 The literature on Jesuit political thought is vast. For a comprehensive introduction to the subject, see Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540-1630* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
certain level of comfort with American culture. If “The object, scope and character” of America was “sufficiently indicated in its name,” then not only the content and range of material covered in the journal would be American, but also its character.\footnote{\text{1777} } America was an act of cultural accommodation.

One can see cultural accommodation at work in myriad ways in Wynne’s vision for America. Many of Wynne’s stated goals in the first editorial of America were quite progressive: that the magazine would be irenic in tone and non-proselytizing, that it would offer coverage of “science, literature, education and sociology,” that it would focus on the forward progress of the church and society, that it would be cosmopolitan in spirit, that it would seek the assimilation of Catholic immigrants, that it would be timely and up-to-date, that it would help solve the “vital problems” affecting the nation, that it would offer “practical and actual” solutions, and that it would seek to inspire “some social work or movement” for “the betterment of the masses.”\footnote{\text{1778} } Subplots in Wynne’s editorial vision for the magazine included American Catholic attempts to deal with developments in the press, changing reading habits, the rise of an educated Catholic middle class, the shift from rural to urban life, industrialization, social unrest, the emergence of a global social dynamic, and national identity and unity.

However, the title America also suggested what American Catholics generally thought about the relationship between Catholicism and the political order of the United States, namely, that the nation rested firmly on Catholic theological principles, and that only a return to these principles would safeguard the county’s future. America was an attempt at transformation.

\footnote{\text{1777} } Wynne, “Editorial Announcement,” 5.  
\footnote{\text{1778} } Ibid.
One can also see cultural transformation at work in myriad ways in Wynne’s vision for America. Many of Wynne’s stated goals for the magazine represented dissatisfaction with the status quo and expressed a desire for transformation. America was itself a necessary transformation of the Messenger that would unify American Catholics around a common cause and transform the meaning of the word ‘America.’

Changes were also needed in the Catholic press, American Catholics needed to “broaden the scope of Catholic journalism,” religion was needed to transform society, Catholics needed to stop behaving as a people set apart from their fellow citizens and start playing a role in national affairs, Catholics should “originate movements for the betterment of the masses,” non-Catholics needed to know Catholicism better.

These examples can be supplemented by instances taken directly from Wynne’s personal letters, memorandums and proposals that demonstrate how America represented an attempt at inculturation, that is, an attempt to both accommodate to and transform American culture. For example, Wynne explained that he wanted America to enable Catholics “to avail themselves of what is best in our American Institutions (accommodation), and at the same time to infuse into them the truly Catholic spirit (transformation).” Again, in Wynne’s defense of his choice of the name The Freeman, he wrote, “in order to be true to our own history and spirit, to carry out our mission, to put ourselves in thorough accord with what is best in national institutions (accommodation) and to enable our people to utilize the greatest bond of American citizenship (accommodation) as a means of salvation and spiritual progress

1779 Ibid., 5-6.
1780 Ibid.
(transformation), I like the name of “The Freeman.” Later in the same letter Wynne explained that the object of America would be, “to enable Catholic citizens to take their part in public affairs (accommodation), to mix with their non-Catholic associates not only without sacrificing their Catholicity (accommodation), but rather with a distinct influence for good and for the Catholic cause among their fellow citizens (transformation).”

Wynne also wanted to challenge Jesuit intransigence towards American culture. He used history as the handmaiden of theology to argue his point. Specifically, he argued that Luther and the other Protestant “heretics” were responsible for introducing errant notions of free will into the world, ideas that the Society of Jesus was explicitly created to combat. Since America was the nation where liberty flourished most abundantly, and since it was a Protestant nation, it was only natural for Jesuits to find a home in American democracy. In other words, America was the natural home for the Jesuits (accommodation). Their mission would be to evangelize Americans on the true meaning of liberty (transformation). It was only because Wynne held these two desires in creative tension – the desire to accommodate and to transform – that he chose the name America in the first place. Wilfrid Parsons succinctly summarized this point when he wrote in 1934 that the journal had always intended to advance “the one ideal of unity,” by bringing “the Catholic idea to Americans (transformation) and to impress the American idea on Catholics (accommodation). In all its struggles and disagreements with friend or foe, it has only striven to make that ideal prevail.”

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1782 Wynne to Hanselman, December 2, 1908, 2. Parenthetical comments added for emphasis.
1783 Ibid., 2-3. Parenthetical comments added for emphasis.
1784 Ibid., 1-2. Wynne also singles out the Jansenists for reproach.
1785 Parsons, “Twenty Five Years,” 11. Parenthetical comments added for emphasis.
The causal link between the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, the Jesuit Martyrs, the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *America* reveals a related point in the discussion of inculturation. *America* complemented the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Where the encyclopedia focused on presenting English speaking Catholics with a doctrinal repository that systematically detailed the Catholic approach to the world, *America* took those timeless Catholic principles and brought them into conversation with the immediacy of Progressive Era culture. In fact, what has already been argued about the *Catholic Encyclopedia* in chapter five can be equally argued about *America* simply by replacing the subject: *America* was also an attempt at theological inculturation. Insofar as it was transnational and found inspiration in Pius X’s call to restore all things in Christ, it was Catholic. Insofar as it took American culture seriously, it was Jesuit. Insofar as it focused on the reform of society, it was progressive. Insofar as it used all of these resources to accommodate and transform society, it was an example of theological inculturation.

**The Problem of Catholic Readership Revisited**

If *America* was Wynne’s definitive statement of theological engagement with Progressive Era culture, it is perhaps fitting that his tenure at the magazine was so tumultuous. *America*’s problems were foreshadowed in a troubling statistic Wynne highlighted in his October 22, 1908 report to Wernz about the subscription numbers at the various periodicals he directed.\(^{1786}\) From the time the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* and the *Messenger* were split in 1902 into devotional and intellectual journals, respectively, the fortunes of the former continued to climb as the magazine reached eighty thousand subscriptions, while the fortunes of the latter continued to plummet to a

mere five thousand subscriptions.\textsuperscript{1787} Meanwhile, the \textit{Catholic Mind}, Wynne’s second attempt at intellectual fare, hovered around a mere one thousand subscriptions.\textsuperscript{1788} Wynne attributed the failure of the more intellectual \textit{Messenger} to confusion over the journal’s name and contents, its long and serious articles, and its small staff.\textsuperscript{1789} However, the situation was more complicated than Wynne cared to admit. On the one hand, there was the continuing problem of Catholic readership. Despite Wynne’s faith that the time was ripe for an intellectual Catholic review, subscription numbers seemed to suggest otherwise. On the other hand, there was the problem of Wynne’s financial management of the magazines he edited. It would ultimately be the financial situation that brought the situation to a climax and, together with sharp criticism of Wynne’s leadership style, would lead to his removal as editor-in-chief of \textit{America} less than a year after he launched the magazine.

\textit{The Removal of Wynne as Editor-In-Chief}

Wynne’s deficiency as a financial manager and his poor skills as a religious superior were noted in a 1907 letter Hanselman wrote to Wernz.\textsuperscript{1790} Overall, Hanselman found Wynne “a very able man.”\textsuperscript{1791} He explained that despite some personality problems and a “peremptory manner with Ours” when it came to supervision, Wynne was “the moving spirit” behind the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} and had great influence in American ecclesiastical matters with bishops, priests and laymen alike.\textsuperscript{1792} “No single man of the province stands more prominently before the public as does Father Wynne,”

\textsuperscript{1787}Ibid. Wynne notes that another journal, known as the \textit{League Director}, ceased publication around this time (3). Ciani also parses these statistics in “Sufficiently Indicated,” 76.\textsuperscript{1788}Ibid., 1.\textsuperscript{1789}Ibid., 4.\textsuperscript{1790}Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 65-66.\textsuperscript{1791}Hanselman quoted in ibid., 66.\textsuperscript{1792}Hanselman quoted in ibid.
Hanselman wrote, adding for good measure that, “President Roosevelt thinks much of him.”\textsuperscript{1793} However, given the way in which Wynne had arrogated to himself more supervisory powers than his position at the \textit{Messenger} warranted, Hanselman recommended sending Wynne on a trip to Europe or perhaps to the Philippines as an excuse to detach him from the community.\textsuperscript{1794}

As plans for \textit{America} progressed, Wynne eventually separated from the \textit{Messenger of the Sacred Heart} entirely. From there, his problems only became worse. In 1908, John O’Rourke, S.J., who succeeded Wynne as editor of the journal, “wrote directly to the General to complain of financial irregularities which he had found in Wynne’s management of the \textit{Messenger} operation.”\textsuperscript{1795} When Hanselman heard about the charge, he wrote to Wernz in defense of Wynne and accused O’Rourke of impropriety.\textsuperscript{1796} Among other things, Hanselman noted that Wynne’s “complicated book-keeping” and juggling of accounts made it difficult to make sense of the various journals’ expenses, but that O’Rourke had acted so “unreasonably insistent” that it was necessary to transfer Wynne to Fordham.\textsuperscript{1797} Hanselman suggested the real cause of the problem was O’Rourke, who was “known to be greedy of money.”\textsuperscript{1798} However, as \textit{America’s} finances continued to plummet, it became increasingly difficult for Hanselman to defend Wynne.

Not all of the financial mismanagement of \textit{America} was Wynne’s fault. He originally requested that the subscription price for the journal be set at four dollars per

\textsuperscript{1793} Hanselman quoted in ibid.\textsuperscript{1794} Ibid., 67.\textsuperscript{1795} Ibid., 72.\textsuperscript{1796} Ibid.\textsuperscript{1797} Ibid., 73.\textsuperscript{1798} Ibid.
year, but the Jesuit provincials decided in January of 1909 to set the price at three dollars per year. At a meeting with provincials in June of 1909, just four months after *America* began publication, Wynne complained that the journal was already losing money, in part because it was being issued below cost. *America* also suffered for want of a treasurer. Each of these problems was internal to the organization of *America*. However, there were also external problems unique to the Progressive Era press. “There is scarcely a religious monthly or quarterly which pays its expenses, or at least which reaches a large circle of readers,” Wynne wrote in to Hanselman in September of 1908. “And even the secular monthly periodicals which are not sensational have a very limited circulation,” he added. This may have been true, but Wynne may also have misjudged the advantages of “weekly publications treating of topics of the day briefly and in an attractive manner,” which he believed “easily obtain a wide circulation and audience.”

An outside publisher would certainly have financially benefitted the review at the early stage of its development. In fact, Wynne had considered using one, but his experience in Europe suggested that it would be best if Jesuits retained control of the venture. Wernz was more receptive to using an outside publisher, and even made a

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1799 Ibid., 76.  
1800 Ibid., 77.  
1801 Ibid., 93.  
1802 Ibid.  
1803 Wynne, “Memorandum,” September 1, 1908, 2.  
1804 Ibid.  
1805 Ibid.  
provision for it in the final *ordinatio*,\textsuperscript{1807} though he, too, cautioned that the Society would need to retain total control of the review.\textsuperscript{1808}

Wynne actually addressed the question of publication at a dinner party in early 1909 that was attended by Robert Collier, son of Catholic publishing mogul Peter Collier; Bishop Thomas Byrne, of Nashville, Tennessee; and magazine mogul Condé Nast.\textsuperscript{1809} When asked how the magazine would treat political issues, Wynne assured Collier that he opposed the formation of a Catholic political party.\textsuperscript{1810} This may have assuaged the fears of some of his dining companions, but it hardly satisfied their curiosity about the new journal. Ciani writes that:

> the main question of Wynne’s dinner companions that evening was why the review should be solely in the hands of the Jesuits. Why not involve all the levels of Catholic life, including laymen, in the magazine, thus making it more representative? Would Jesuit control mean that some legitimate points of view would be excluded? If Jesuits control it, ‘would not that fact alone keep aloof some of our foremost Catholic writers?’\textsuperscript{1811}

Wynne may have agreed with his dinner companions on the need to include the laity as writers, but he was less sanguine on the prospect of allowing an outside publisher to participate in the project. He also bristled that his dining companions “found the Jesuits ‘not as progressive or as ready to co-operate with others as we might be.’”\textsuperscript{1812} He suggested that cooperation among prelates was famously difficult to achieve, and argued that the need for editorial consistency and a unified vision in the face of a quick turn around time precluded the possibility of extensive collaboration and instead suggested that it would be better to have a single editor.\textsuperscript{1813} “Wynne assured the publishers that

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\textsuperscript{1807} Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 92.
\textsuperscript{1808} Ibid., 82.
\textsuperscript{1809} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1810} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1811} Ibid. 82-83
\textsuperscript{1812} Ibid., 82.
\textsuperscript{1813} Ibid., 83.
\end{flushright}
such a review as the Society planned would not put into the hands of Jesuits alone the
development of Catholic thought in America. On the contrary, [he] said, it would greatly
develop the market to make way for other reviews of the same merit.  

The question of whether or not the journal would result in Jesuit control of
American Catholic thought reveals the extent to which market pressures dominated the
conversation of publishers. Wynne’s response to the question of editorial control was
nuanced, if a bit evasive. For example, he could have responded that the collegiality of
America’s editorial staff was progressive in its own way, although this would have done
little to assuage the charge of clericalism and Jesuit hegemony. In fact, Wynne’s
contention that the review would be better served by having a single editor is belied by
the success he had developing the Catholic Encyclopedia, which was the result of intense
collaboration between five editors, the clergy and the laity. Rather, Wynne’s comment
about having a single editor more likely resulted from the irritation he felt when dealing
with his own order.

Ultimately, Wynne’s decision to retain full financial control over the magazine’s
publication was perhaps his biggest miscalculation. At a meeting in June of 1909, the
provincials attempted to remedy part of the financial problem by appointing J.J.
Williams, S.J., as treasurer. “It was hoped that, by economizing on salaries and
appointing a capable procurator or treasurer, the review could stay financially sound.”

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1814 Ibid.
1815 The fact that even Collier and Nast were concerned with market control suggests that the
dominant Progressive Era trends of market saturation, mergers and monopolies should perhaps nuance the
charge of Catholic provincialism. Ciani also suggests that anti-Jesuit bias was at work (“Sufficiently
Indicated,” 83).
1817 Ibid., 94.
1818 Ibid., 93.
The need for more intense marketing also came into sharp focus. Wynne himself was unhappy with Jesuit failure to support the journal, which he considered the most important factor inhibiting the journal’s success and to which he attributed the less than hoped for number of subscriptions. Part of Williams’ assignment actually involved traveling to procure subscriptions for the magazine, which Wynne deemed essential to the journal’s survival. Wynne also devised a number of creative sales drives reminiscent of those he developed for the Catholic Encyclopedia. These included “a program of parish agents” and “delivery routes staffed by parochial schoolboys.” The plan seems to have worked, since the final two months of 1909 saw subscriptions increase by three thousand two hundred and the doubling of sales at newsstands. By the end of 1909, America had just over seventeen thousand subscribers. However, the review was still losing money.

In January 1910, America’s financial situation started to become desperate. One letter reveals the extent of the debt America had accrued: three thousand dollars in debt, with only seventeen dollars in the bank. At a meeting with provincials in St. Louis, Wynne attributed most of the magazine’s expenses to one-time start up costs and to debt that remained from the Messenger and its ancillary publications, particularly the Catholic Mind. He also repeated that America was losing money because it was being

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1819 Ibid., 95.
1820 Ibid.
1821 Ibid.
1822 Ibid.
1823 Ibid.
1824 Ibid.
1825 Unsigned and Undated Letter, 3, Box 45 Folder 16, AA. O’Connor took over as treasurer in mid-1911 and was credited with making America solvent.
1827 Ibid., 97.
offered at less than cost.\textsuperscript{1828} However, at the meeting the provincials lodged a number of additional complaints against Wynne that went beyond financial mismanagement.\textsuperscript{1829}

Hanselman started the meeting by claiming that he found no fault with \textit{America} itself; in fact, he praised the quality of the journal.\textsuperscript{1830} At issue was not just Wynne’s financial mismanagement of the review, but his overall personality.\textsuperscript{1831} Hanselman complained that Wynne was “too autocratic, self-willed, desirous of centering everything in himself, working to control all the details of every department, intolerant of the views of others, etc.”\textsuperscript{1832} Wynne also came under censure for spending too freely, for using an extern clerk to handle the magazine’s finances,\textsuperscript{1833} for falling into spiritual disarray, and for sleeping late.\textsuperscript{1834}

Undoubtedly, Wynne’s many responsibilities as the editor of \textit{America}, the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia}, the \textit{Catholic Mind}, etc., were beginning to take a toll on his productivity and his spiritual life, so much so that he likened the experience at \textit{America} to incarceration. “We have practically cut ourselves off from all external ministry,” Wynne lamented, adding “The only regular duty we have assumed is Mass on Sundays in the neighboring prison.”\textsuperscript{1835}

Notwithstanding the trials and tribulations of the Catholic press, the financial hole in which Wynne left the \textit{Messenger}, as well as the financial troubles the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} and the \textit{Catholic Mind} endured, suggest that the provincials were correct in

\textsuperscript{1828} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1829} Ibid., 96.
\textsuperscript{1830} Ibid. Hanselman seems to have been sincere, since he remarked later in the year that, “The excellence of the Review continues unchallenged.” See Joseph F. Hanselman, S.J. to Unknown Father Superior, September 1, 1910, Box 48 Folder 5, AA.
\textsuperscript{1831} Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 96.
\textsuperscript{1832} Hanselman quoted in ibid.
\textsuperscript{1833} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1834} Ibid., 98.
charging him with financial mismanagement. They were also likely correct in charging Wynne with being autocratic. Wynne was clearly dissatisfied with what he perceived to be the Jesuit’s organizational inertia and their inability to produce high quality journalism. On this point, Wynne’s comments to Collier and Nast about the usefulness of having a single editor were telling. However, the provincials may have been unfair in charging Wynne with poor management of the Jesuit community attached to *America*, since Joseph Husslein, S.J., remarked in a sketch of *America’s* early history that by late 1910 – that is, just a few months after Wynne was removed as editor-in-chief – the living arrangements had become so unbearable that a decision was made to relocate the entire community.\(^\text{1836}\) They may also have nuanced their condemnation of Wynne’s conduct towards the staff of Jesuit writers, since a later unsigned article in the *America* Archives reveals that Michael Kenny was particularly intransigent towards accepting even the slightest criticism of his writing.\(^\text{1837}\) But there was more to the provincials’ dissatisfaction with Wynne than character or cash.

As the provincials continued the January meeting, additional grievances surfaced that were more ideological in nature. Missouri Provincial Rudolph Meyer charged that *America* was not Catholic enough.\(^\text{1838}\) Northwest Provincial Herman Goller agreed, complaining that the journal was “not decidedly enough Catholic,” and that “Everything is too much in the Wynne mould.”\(^\text{1839}\) This was not the first time such complaints had been made against Wynne. Earlier, Wernz had written to Hanselman to communicate several charges he had received against Wynne, namely, that he was absent too often.

\(^\text{1836}\) Husslein, “America,” 2-3. The situation involved the management of domestic affairs.  
\(^\text{1837}\) Unsigned and Undated Letter, 2.  
\(^\text{1838}\) Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 96. Ciani reports that Meyer “wanted it to be emphatically Catholic without being aggressively Catholic” (96).  
from the *America* community, that he failed to use censors on doctrinal matters, that he published an article that suffered from “traditionalism,” and that he did not take a strong enough stand in defense of Catholic education.\textsuperscript{1840}

The litany of grievances against Wynne sounded remarkably similar to those that Boursaud made against Campbell and Dewey, and suggest that the inner dynamics of the Society of Jesus were as much to blame as any fault the provincials may have had with Wynne. Dewey, who worked to transform the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* into an intellectual journal and who was tapped by Campbell to serve as the first editor of the failed 1891 review, came in for particular scrutiny. If Boursaud complained that Campbell was disorganized and failed to consult, he charged that Dewey was autocratic and employed an extern to assist him in the planning of the magazine.

No matter the similarity in charges, the provincials apparently had had enough. After some deliberation, they voted unanimously “that Father Wynne be removed not only from the superiorship [of the community] but from *America* altogether” since he was “too wasteful, too capricious…too anxious to run *America* in a lordly way….\textsuperscript{1841}

Hanselman was blunt in his letter to Wernz asking that Wynne be removed. He stated that financial mismanagement was the main reason for Wynne’s removal, reminding Wernz that this was not the first time Wynne had run into financial troubles.\textsuperscript{1842} He also rather disingenuously suggested that Wynne had only been made editor in chief because no other suitable candidate was available with his level of experience.\textsuperscript{1843} Now that the review had been successfully launched, Wynne was no

\textsuperscript{1840} Ibid., 99.
\textsuperscript{1841} Provincials quoted in ibid., 97.
\textsuperscript{1842} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1843} Ibid., 98.
Wynne was also denounced for being autocratic and intolerant in character, for using an external lay treasurer instead of the Jesuit appointed to *America*, for making his community unhappy, for neglecting his spiritual duties, for being too “worldly” and “independent,” and finally for being “a little too colorless in some questions, viz. Catholic education.”

Unaware that the provincials had recommended his removal, Wynne also wrote, this time to Hanselman, to complain that he needed a competent treasurer, but also to express strong disappointment with the Society of Jesus. “I am not, and I suppose I never shall be, quite over the shock of the St. Louis meeting…It will need all the authority Very Rev. Father General can exercise to get some of the provincials…to cooperate in real earnest,” he lamented. Wynne even took the bold step of suggesting that he might be the problem, and offered to resign as editor-in-chief.

In March 1910, Wernz finally responded to Hanselman’s request for Wynne’s removal. “Wernz clearly liked Wynne.” He indicated in his letter that he saw nothing serious in Wynne’s conduct beyond the fact that he was a bad financial manager and a bad superior. He dismissed the provincials’ suggestion that Wynne was not central to the project’s success, and remarked that he could not be removed without putting the entire review in jeopardy. He suggested that Wynne be retained as editor-in-chief, but

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1844 Ibid.
1845 Hanselman quoted in ibid., 97-99.
1846 Ibid., 97.
1847 Ibid., 99.
1848 Ibid., 99-100.
1849 Ibid., 100.
1850 Ibid., 101.
1851 Ibid., 100.
1852 Ibid.
removed as superior of the *America* community. "That same day the general wrote to Wynne marveling at his achievement, commending his work and citing his health as the reason for relieving him of certain responsibilities." 

It was left to Hanselman to explain to Wynne what responsibilities he was being relieved of. Wynne rejected the offer because he refused to live “as an inferior in a house where he had been superior.” Wynne himself apparently blamed this inability on his ‘character,’ a word Hanselman continually underlined in [his] letter” of response to Wernz. In any event, both Wynne and Hanselman seemed ready for a definitive decision to be made. Wynne preferred “absolute removal,” and Hanselman “begged the General twice in the letter to cable the order quickly to New York” because his “actual and hard-earned experience” of Wynne convinced him that though he was “very plausible and good” at devising “schemes and arrangements,” when it came to “practical economic execution” he was “wretched and extravagant.”

On April 9, 1910, less than one year after *America* was launched, Wynne was removed as editor-in-chief. The cable from Rome had just four words: “Remove Wynne; letter following.” Wernz again reached out to Wynne in an attempt to console him. “The next day Wernz wrote to Wynne explaining that he thought he might have welcomed the chance to serve only as editor without so many concerns,” but that he “hoped the freedom Wynne now gained would benefit the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and

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1853 Ibid., 101.
1854 Ibid.
1855 Ibid.
1856 Wynne quoted in ibid., 101.
1857 Ibid., 102.
1858 Ibid.
1859 Ibid.
Wynne’s other projects.”\textsuperscript{1860} Wernz wrote again, just over a month later, to note that he eagerly awaited news of Wynne’s future projects.\textsuperscript{1861}

A year later Wynne wrote to Wernz to express the source of his disaffection. He deemed Jesuit-run schools inadequate. Wynne’s dissatisfaction with the quality of Jesuit education was a stinging indictment of the entire program of studies conducted at Woodstock College, which he judged a total failure, and explains the reason he operated like a micromanager when supervising Jesuit writers at the \textit{Messenger} and \textit{America}.\textsuperscript{1862} In fact, Wynne’s letter to Wernz presented a series of complaints that were consistent with the anxieties the two men shared when founding \textit{America} – that Jesuit writers were poorly trained, unscholarly, and therefore unable to write at the level necessary to sustain a successful magazine.\textsuperscript{1863} Given his refusal to countenance any of the charges against Wynne other than those that suggested he was a poor manager of money and men, one suspects that Wernz agreed with Wynne’s assessment of the American Jesuits.

Wynne ultimately indicted his superiors rather than the students they trained.\textsuperscript{1864} “Our rectors are unscholarly and yet they presume to control the studies” of students, he wrote to Wernz.\textsuperscript{1865} The result was the discredit of the Society of Jesus and the lack of distinction of the lay students they educated.\textsuperscript{1866} Wynne even told Wernz that while editing the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} he resorted to using women from the Religious of the

\textsuperscript{1860} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{1861} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{1862} Ibid., 129 FN 8. Wynne’s criticism of Woodstock was scathing. In addition to criticizing the location of the college “in an enervating climate and in an isolated place,” he complained to Wernz that “neither in our scholasticates nor in our colleges and schools have we masters who can speak or write with authority. We are almost absolutely unfit to meet or influence the learned or educated world about us” (129 FN 8).  
\textsuperscript{1863} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{1864} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{1865} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{1866} Ibid.
Sacred Heart, “who exemplify true scholarly training and posses a knowledge of religion, philosophy, history and literature which our college graduates do not receive.” In Wynne’s complaint we see part of the reason he insisted on having lay collaborators assist in the production of the magazine. He deemed the Jesuits unable to meet the demands of a first class intellectual review. As a consolation to the Jesuits, Wynne did not believe this fault the exclusive domain of the Society of Jesus. When *Commonweal* was launched in 1924, Wynne confided to Shahan that he “would like to see it prosper,” but admitted his fear “that its editorial staff is not up to their task.”

With his termination from *America*, Wynne’s project in support of Catholic literacy took an ironic turn. However, this would not be the last plot twist in *America*’s early history. In May of 1910, Hanselman wrote Wernz to inform him that the provincials decided Thomas J. Campbell “would be the best man” to replace Wynne as editor in chief. The irony was not lost on Ciani, who writes that just as Campbell’s failure launched Wynne on the path that ultimately led to *America*, Campbell would return to the review to succeed his failed protégé.

Wynne’s removal from *America* is all the more ironic in light of the fact that he was a mathematician by training and that he took night courses in business of his own volition while still a student at Xavier College. The major flaw in Wynne’s conduct was not moral, for he was never accused of misappropriating funds, but rather financial shortsightedness, which plagued him until the end of his life. As late as 1936, Wynne,

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1867 Wynne quoted in ibid.
1868 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Thomas J. Shahan, December 29, 1924, Shahan Correspondence Series 69, Box 16 Folder 6, Thomas J. Shahan Papers, ACUA.
1869 Wernz assigned Michael O’Connor, S.J., as Wynne’s immediate replacement in April 1910, but the provincials decided on Campbell about a month later (Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 102).
ever in debt, wrote to Fordham president Aloyisius Hogan, S.J., to thank him for his solicitude and for his “generous oversight of obligations on my part which I have been unable to pay.” Wynne promised that if certain unnamed ventures panned out, he would repay Hogan in kind.

Wynne’s letter to Hogan reveals a character flaw his Jesuit superiors never noticed. Wynne was an eternal optimist, and remained convinced (despite the grim reality of Progressive Era Catholic publishing) that with just a little bit more work – a few more subscriptions, an another edition or reprint, the cooperation of a few more influential patrons – his projects would eventually pay off. They didn’t, which was not an indictment of Wynne per se, as much as it was of the reading habits of American Catholics. However, Wynne was usually left scrambling to cover expenses and find new and innovative ways to make his projects break even. No matter, Wynne stayed optimistic about the future until the end of his life. He was, at least in this way, progressive.

Despite any misgivings the original staff at America had about Wynne’s leadership style, he never held a grudge. In fact, quite the opposite. In 1934, he wrote in admiration of America’s original editorial staff and publically praised each of the editors for their individual talents and contributions.

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1871 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Aloyisius Hogan, S.J., January 24, 1936, ANYPSJ.
1872 Ibid. Wynne was gracious enough to return the favor, too. When Parsons wrote to ask if Wynne would be willing to forgo payment for an article he wrote, Wynne responded “The best word I culled from our Constitutions is that of St. Ignatius on the tip to ours itinerant, ‘parva pro nihil putanda.’ My contribution was parva, and I never thought of any return. And then he playfully added, “Happy New year to all America-ns.” See John J. Wynne, S.J. to Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. December 29, 1933, Box 32 Folder 23, AA.
1873 See for example “Peace for Americas,” December 8, 1936.
1874 Wynne, “Early Years,” 6. Wynne’s statement is important because it clarifies the various tasks the editors performed, and stressed a few individuals who are missing from Ciani’s history. John J. Wynne, S.J. to Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., April 4, 1933, Box 32 Folder 23, AA.
suggest any strain with the Society of Jesus – twice to stress that the project involved the cooperation of the laity and women, and once to stress the need to edit poor writing. All three instances would have passed unnoticed among those not aware of the internal debate Wynne had with the provincials over the publication of America.

Conclusion

America represents a watershed moment in American Catholic history. As the first national Catholic weekly, the journal embodied Progressive Era American Catholicism’s optimism about its ability to shape the tone and content of national and international discourse. “America’s story in that early phase parallels the story of Catholicism in the United States and the emergence of an American Catholic citizenry from a state of…powerlessness to new influence in the affairs of the republic.” It would not be wrong to suggest that America was one embodiment of American Catholicism’s coming of age. The attribution is especially apt since America was removed from mission status in June of 1908, and America was founded less than a year later in April of 1909.

America also represents a watershed moment for the Society of Jesus in the United States. Despite all of the internal disputes, the magazine “represented a confidence among the conservatives [Jesuits] that they did indeed have something to contribute to America.” By all estimates, they were correct in this estimation. By the time America celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1959, the magazine had outlasted its early growing pains to enjoy a wider circulation than many of its non-Catholic Progressive Era peers, including The Nation, the New Republic, and the Christian

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1877 Carey, Roman Catholics in America, 69.
From John Courtney Murray and Avery Dulles to Cardinal Cushing and Cardinal Krol, from Dorothy Day and John Tracy Ellis to John F. Kennedy and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the list of notable writers who have graced the pages of *America* over the last hundred years reads like a Who’s Who of influential American Catholics. John J. Wynne wouldn’t have had it any other way.

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1878 Daley, “America,” 8. It was O’Connor who, acting as treasurer, finally lifted the “corporation” from “absolute bankruptcy” to financial solvency. See Unsigned and Undated Letter, 3.

1879 The list was taken from a press release for America’s seventy-fifth anniversary in 1984. Among the many Jesuits and non-Jesuits listed on the release, one name was conspicuously missing: John J. Wynne. See “America’s 75th Anniversary,” advertisement, Box 40 Folder 20, AA.
CONCLUSION

“VIR DEO CONJUNCTUS”1880

“...I went to the library one day and took down the Catholic Encyclopedia to read about the Trappists.....What I saw on those pages pierced me to the heart like a knife.”1881

- Thomas Merton, 1948

When John J. Wynne, S.J., died in 1948, he was eulogized by fellow Jesuit Albert J. Loomie, S.J., as “vir deo conjunctus.”1882 The Latin phrase, which means, “a man united to God,” suggests the intimate union of the human and the divine. Loomie, a contemporary of Wynne, used the phrase to summarize Wynne’s life in the Society of Jesus. The phrase is an apt metaphor, since it is emblematic of the broader convergences that animated Wynne’s entire career, convergences between God and the world, America and Catholicism, and the Progressive Era and Catholic theology. The phrase is also an apt metaphor because it is emblematic of theological inculturation.

Three conclusions will be presented that, taken collectively, summarize Wynne’s legacy and demonstrate his significance for American Catholicism. The first conclusion relates directly to the major thesis of the dissertation: that theological inculturation is the

most appropriate way to understand the life and work of John J. Wynne, particularly in publications like the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *America*. The second conclusion will argue that inculturation and several other prevailing themes in Wynne’s career reveal the extent to which his life and work were informed by the charisms and spirit of the Society of Jesus. The third and final conclusion will argue that the emphasis Wynne put on the promotion of, defense of, and redemptive characteristics of Catholicism, as well as his attempt to inspire an original Catholic literature in English, made him a key forerunner to the Catholic Revival of the mid-twentieth century.  

**John J. Wynne, S.J. and the Inculturation of American Catholicism**

The introduction drew upon the insights of Peter Schineller, S.J. and William L. Portier to define inculturation as a two-step process of accommodation and transformation: accommodation to the norms of a particular cultural context and a critique of that context according to the norms of the theological tradition in order to transform the culture. Schineller posited that there are three poles to the inculturation process: the context itself, or the milieu into which theological principles will be inserted; the Christian message, or the transformative application of theological principles to the context; and the agent, who acts as the facilitator of inculturation. Since inculturation involves imbedding theological principles into the human community in order to transform society, inculturation was presented as a theological category analogous to incarnation, with the agent acting as a minister of Christ.

The dissertation has shown that John J. Wynne’s corpus of work, especially his creation of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *America*, is best interpreted through the lens of theological inculturation. Throughout his life as an educator, editor and vice-postulator,  

1883 The characteristics are taken from the title of Sparr, *Promote, Defend, And Redeem*, 1990.
Wynne met and accommodated the exigencies of his Progressive Era context as part of his overall vision to transform the standing of Roman Catholicism in the United States of America. Wynne’s work had both intellectual and practical components. Intellectually, Wynne attempted to accommodate Catholic theology to the most popular disciplines of Progressive Era scholarship – philosophy, education, history and the state. Practically, he attempted to accommodate Catholic theology the most popular forms of Progressive Era communication – the encyclopedia, the periodical, and the historical narrative. In each case, Wynne’s desire for accommodation was complemented by his desire to transform both America and American Catholicism according to the message imparted by a Catholic theological worldview. Wynne’s approach had both external and internal implications. For non-Catholic Americans, Wynne wanted to lift the veil of mystery surrounding Roman Catholicism in order to ease the burden of Catholic integration (accommodation), while simultaneously providing resources for non-Catholics to consider in their quest for national reform (transformation). For Catholics, Wynne wanted to provide resources that would help them promote and defend their faith, again easing the burden of integration into American culture (accommodation), while simultaneously challenging Catholics to outgrow their parochialism and take an active role in the reform of American society (transformation).

Though he never used the word, Wynne himself demonstrated that inculturation is an appropriate lens for interpreting his work when he wrote that he hoped America would enable Catholics “to avail themselves of what is best in our American Institutions, and at the same time to infuse into them the truly Catholic spirit.” More broadly, Wynne’s lifelong emphasis on transnationalism implied the need for inculturation. As an

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interpretive category, inculturation finally helps solve the riddle of criticism surrounding Wynne, who was alternately lauded as the great defender of Catholicism in the United States and “accused of ‘secularity’ and not being ‘Catholic enough.’”

Wynne as an Agent of Inculturation

John J. Wynne, S.J., was an effective agent or minister of inculturation. Schineller defines the agent of inculturation as a “resource person” and suggests that effective ministers are self-critical and self-aware, and pay particular attention to their own biases. Schineller explains that the agent “acts as a facilitator” rather than a director. The agent should be a trusted authority, humble, aware of God’s presence in the situation, not afraid of failure, willing to learn, and willing to listen. Finally, the effective minister of inculturation relies on teamwork and collaboration, and “complements his or her own talents and resources with the talents of others.”

Each of Schineller’s qualifications was represented to a greater or lesser degree in John Wynne. Throughout his life, Wynne was a facilitator of large-scale projects, the “motivating and innovative force behind America, as behind a number of other initiatives during the progressive era.” Wynne was widely regarded as one of the foremost public voices of Catholicism in the United States, was regularly consulted for authoritative commentary by newspapers and politicians, and was trusted even by

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1886 Schineller, Handbook, 68.
1887 Ibid.
1888 Ibid., 69-70.
1889 Ibid., 68-69.
1890 On Wynne’s ability to discern the spirit of his times, see Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 4.
1891 Carey, Roman Catholics in America, 68-69.
members of the hierarchy. Wynne was not afraid to fail. At his fiftieth jubilee as a Jesuit, he remarked that, “as a young Jesuit he had read endless biographies about people ‘who hesitated and dreaded to make the forward step which afterwards led them on to greatness.’” He concluded, “I think the reason why men and women generally do not accomplish great things is because of their dread of attempting something beyond the ordinary.”

Wynne was also willing to learn, mostly because he was willing to listen. His journeys around the United States and Europe on behalf of the Catholic Encyclopedia and America, the endless surveys and consultations he conducted on behalf of his publishing ventures, and his willingness to adapt his publications to meet the needs of those he served, all while working to satisfy his religious superiors and the hierarchy, suggest a flexible and attentive individual sensitive to the needs of others. Wynne was a team player who enlisted the support of bishops, clergy, scholars, laymen and laywomen, and even local parish children, to collaborate on his projects. Seldom if ever did he have full control of the ventures he managed. He shared editorial responsibilities on both the Catholic Encyclopedia and America. On both projects he sought to complement his own skills with the skills of others, and he was willing to offer public praise to those who collaborated with him. On the encyclopedia project, which he personally conceived, he even ceded the position of editor-in-chief to a layman, Charles G. Herbermann. Yet, fellow editor Thomas J. Shahan was able to remark of Wynne that he was “the good heart

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1892 Talbot once commented that Wynne reserved the right of poets and painters, quidlibet audendi, of daring as much as he pleased. See Francis X. Talbot, S.J. to Laurence J. Kelly, S.J., November 14, 1925, Box 32 Folder 14, AA.
1895 As he did both publicly and privately with America in Wynne, “Early Years,” 6, and Wynne to Parsons, April 4, 1933. Wynne urged the same public recognition for all involved in the Catholic Encyclopedia in John J. Wynne, S.J. to Eugene Philbin, December 27, 1913, ANYPSJ.
and the broad mind in which his co-laborers could always meet with confidence and joy.”

Wynne’s own suggestion that he had a character flaw and his offer to resign as editor-in-chief of America suggest that he was self-aware, particularly when it came to his own limitations as a religious superior. Though at times obstinate, he welcomed criticism, suggesting in a letter to fellow Jesuit Francis X. Talbot that those willing to offer criticism should be willing to receive it. Finally, though it would be foolish to describe Wynne as anything other than pugnacious, despite his frequent clashes with those in positions of authority, and even with those in his own order, one word frequently emerged to describe Wynne by those who knew him best: modest.

Rethinking the Catholic “Ghetto”

The comprehensive nature of the main thesis implies three additional sub-theses related to theological inculturation. First, Wynne and his Progressive Era peers did not remain isolated in an American Catholic “ghetto.” Of course, much more can and needs to be said about the formation and existence of an American Catholic “ghetto” in the twentieth century. The current work is by no means intended to offer the final word on

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1896 “Chronicle,” The Catholic Historical Review 12, no. 2 (July 1926), 309.
1897 John J. Wynne, S.J. to Francis X. Talbot, S.J., June 8, 1936, Box 63 Folder 16, AA.
1898 Even Wynne’s fiftieth jubilee was subtitled a “Conflict and Triumph.” Wynne thought opposition central to progress and stated that the Church is “the one institution on earth which thrives by opposition and conflict” (“Retrospect,” 79-80).
1899 McTigue, “Introductory,” 4; 14; Michael Williams, “The Conflict and Triumph,” in Fifty Years in Conflict and Triumph (New York: Press of the Loughlin Brothers, 1927), 48. Towards the end of his life, The Morning Herald noted that Wynne had a “quiet and unassuming manner,” that “he made friends easily” and that locals who lived near the Auriesville Shrine remembered having “pleasant associations” with him. See “Reverend Wynne to Observe 70th Anniversary,” The Morning Herald: Gloversville and Johnstown, NY, July 29, 1946, 10. One blemish was Wynne’s prejudice against Jews, which was most blatant in the battle he initiated over publication rights to the Jesuit Relations. John J. Wynne, S.J. to Francis X. Talbot, S.J., December 8, 1925, Box 32 Folder 24, AA. However, Wynne was not above using a Jewish publisher for his own works, nor against extending religious liberty to Jews. For example see John J. Wynne, S.J. to Edward A. Pace, March 24, 1921, Correspondence and Statements, Box 2 Folder 1921, Catholic Encyclopedia Archives, ACUA, and Wynne, “Dongan Charter,” 297.
the subject. Rather, it intends to point out that the historical record suggests the need for a more nuanced approach to the question of “Ghetto Catholicism.” Several reasons can be given in justification of this claim.

While many Catholic scholars were reticent to engage American culture and/or secular learning, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries leading American Catholic intellectuals – those who radically transformed the American Catholic Church in the Progressive Era – studied at prominent universities in Germany and at Johns Hopkins University in the United States in an attempt to integrate the latest scholarship into a Catholic theological worldview. Unfortunately, Catholics suffered major disadvantages that barred them entry to the more prestigious institutions and prevented them from influencing American culture to the degree they wished. First, the overwhelming majority of American Catholics was first and second generation immigrants with little or no education; American Catholicism itself did not have a vast intellectual tradition or an extended system of higher education to draw upon as a resource. In fact, it was the very creation of such a system that animated American Catholic efforts at reform during the early twentieth century. Second, progressive scholars frowned upon *a priori* religious commitments and therefore challenged the legitimacy of Catholic scholarship. Third, anti-Catholicism and tests of orthodoxy in certain disciplines prevented Catholics from holding academic posts at non-Catholic colleges and universities. The result was discrimination that forced Catholics, not always willingly, into parallel institutions. Ironically, Philip Gleason demonstrates that it

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wasn’t until American Catholics began to sacrifice their theological commitments in the late twentieth century that integration was finally declared a success. In light of continuing debates over the decline of Catholic identity at American Catholic institutions of higher education, the hoary discourse about ghetto Catholicism deserves reconsideration.

Doing “Fuller Justice” to “Dark Age” Catholicism

The second sub-thesis is an extension of the first. American Catholic intellectual life was not dormant during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but rather, an increasing number of American Catholics actively engaged progressive scholarship and enthusiastically worked to apply Catholic theological principles to some of the most pressing social issues of the day. It was during the Progressive Era that American Catholicism came of age.

The introduction drew upon the thought of William L. Portier to argue that the hermeneutic of theological inculturation “does fuller justice” to the concerns that informed Progressive Era thinkers like John J. Wynne. By now, the validity of the argument should be apparent. Theology never happens in a void; attention to cultural context is an essential component of any attempt to incarnate the Christian message into a particular time and place. John J. Wynne and his Progressive Era American Catholic peers were shaped by the culture they inhabited. As intellectuals they were deeply

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1904 The main exception was in biblical studies, which did not receive papal approbation until Pius XII promulgated Divino Afflante Spiritu in 1943.
influenced by the methods, sources, and norms of Progressive Era scholarship, just as they were by the methods, sources, and norms of Catholic theology.

In *Men Astutely Trained: A History Of The Jesuits In The American Century*, Peter McDonough highlights the need for attention to theological context when he argues that the exploration of a phenomenon as complex as the Society of Jesus, where “demographic, organizational, cultural, and psychological changes are intertwined,” necessarily means that “patterns of causation are complex.”\(^1\) While it may be tempting “to view everything from a single angle,” McDonough cautions that, “changes in one dimension…do not always mesh instantaneously with changes at another.”\(^2\) He concludes that, “while no one perspective is wrong, each is incomplete.”\(^3\)

Portier warns that contemporary scholars face a similar danger when they fail to contextualize theology in the way McDonough suggests and rely instead on historians who “have tended to see their own reflections” in past events.\(^4\) More often than not, such evaluations tend to fall into “One-sidedly accommodationist interpretations” which “fail to do justice to [the] genuinely religious and incarnational other side” of theological movements.\(^5\) Such reductive analyses, while perhaps useful, are in Portier’s estimation, “woefully incomplete.”\(^6\) Portier concludes with a note of caution when he argues that American Catholic scholars “are at the mercy of the historians upon whom they rely.”\(^7\)

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\(^1\) McDonough, *Men Astutely Trained*, xix-xx.

\(^2\) Ibid., xix.

\(^3\) Ibid., xx.

\(^4\) Portier, “Inculturation As Transformation,” 111. Portier gives several examples.

\(^5\) Ibid., 112. Portier refers in particular to Americanists; I am arguing that it is worth broadly extending the principle to encompass all scholarship that attempts to understand the past.

\(^6\) Ibid.

\(^7\) Ibid., 111.
Perhaps the boldest argument I would like to make in the dissertation is that American Catholic scholarship is incomplete. Too often, scholars ignore late nineteenth and early twentieth century developments in American Catholicism – despite the fact that they were the genesis for much that is taken for granted in contemporary American Catholic life – based on the preformed notion that the era was intellectually sterile, a Catholic “dark age.” When scholars do discuss developments in the period, they often rely exclusively on the modernist crisis as a hermeneutical key and dismiss the extent to which American Catholics engaged a host of other issues affecting the Church. Such narrow interpretations are incomplete and necessarily constrict analysis of the period until it fits into the box of the modernist crisis. This is not to suggest that the modernist crisis had no impact or that it is not worthy of scholarly attention. The modernist crisis as an interpretive lens is not inappropriate, but it does not offer a complete picture, nor even provide a modest explanation, for the fact that the American Catholic church went through a period of remarkable transformation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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1913 One major problem with the “dark age” hypothesis is the fundamental presumption, implicit in the theory, that there was a period of light before the darkness. For American Catholics there wasn’t, since it wasn’t until the Progressive Era that the American Catholic church finally blossomed. Another problem is that scholars of American Catholicism want to maintain two seemingly contradictory positions. First, that the modernist crisis after Pascendi created a veritable dearth of American Catholic scholarship, and second, that there were virtually no modernists in America. Margaret Mary Reher addresses this question in “Americanism and Modernism Continuity or Discontinuity?” U.S. Catholic Historian 1, no. 3 (Summer, 1981): 87. Ultimately, the “dark age” hypothesis fails to do justice to the widespread optimism of American Catholics like Wynne even after the condemnation, the general lack of fear American Catholics like Wynne had of modernism, and the zeal with which they threw themselves into projects aimed at creating national institutions and a public presence.

1914 One exception to modernism is immigration, which provides a second narrative norm. See for example “The Immigrant Church, 1820-1920” in Jay Dolan’s treatment of the period in The American Catholic Experience, and “The Immigrant Church” in James M. O’Toole’s The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America (Cambridge, MA: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2008).

1915 My contention is simply that present-day Catholic scholars are sometimes guilty of reading contemporary concerns about academic freedom back into the early twentieth century American Catholic context (Gleason, Modernity, 12). For a sample of primary sources that demonstrate the breadth of intellectual issues Progressive Era Catholics wrestled with, see Frank L. Christ and Gerard E. Sherry, eds.,
John J. Wynne was not motivated by a fear of modernism, though it is safe to assume that after the promulgation of *Pascendi* he would have been attentive to the various theological problems created by the condemnation. However, these were minor concerns to Wynne, who was primarily concerned with the intersection of Catholicism and Progressive Era American culture. How could Catholics achieve fair and balanced representation in the secular press? To what extent did Catholics participate in the creation of Western culture? Was Catholicism hopelessly obscurantist and anti-intellectual, as the pragmatists claimed? In an age of increasing possibilities and the rapid flow of information, how could Catholics go about educating themselves for full participation in both their Church and the democratic process? Where would they turn for accurate information? Was Catholicism really inimical to democracy, as nativists claimed? Could American Catholics finally be both good Americans and good Catholics? These and countless other questions – which are as relevant today as they were when first asked – motivated John Wynne and his fellow editors when they conceived and created the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *America*.

Such considerations obviously extend beyond modernism to include consideration of the role Neo-Scholastic theology played in integrating the American Catholic approach to democracy, the role print culture played in forming public opinion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the role Catholicism played in the critique of modernity, the extent to which Catholics created their own theologically informed

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solutions to pressing social problems, the manner in which religious pluralism necessitated an ecumenical spirit, and the incongruous ways in which American Catholics finally resorted to using Enlightenment categories to defend the role of religion in society against the progressive critique. Adequate treatment of this complex pattern of causation would necessarily need to consider an examination of the web of relationships that existed between Neo-Scholastic theology, pragmatic philosophy, sociology, American political philosophy, Jesuit political thought, secular and religious history in both Europe and the United States, sociology, psychology, secular pedagogy, parochial education, and American print culture, to name just a few disciplines.

Getting the Past Wrong

Two examples illustrate the danger of interpreting the Catholic Encyclopedia and America through the lens of non-contemporaneous concerns. The first imports later twentieth century theological considerations onto the production of the Catholic Encyclopedia; the second interprets the production of America through non-theological categories. Both emphasize cultural accommodation to the extent that the American pole swallows the Catholic pole.

The first example is found in Joseph N. Moody’s look back at the original Catholic Encyclopedia in his review of the 1967 New Catholic Encyclopedia. Moody explains that production of the original encyclopedia, which coincided with the release of Pascendi in 1907, “spanned the most unhappy period for Catholic scholarship in the

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1917 For a fascinating study in this regard, see Mary Elizabeth Walsh, “The Saints And Social Work; A Study Of The Treatment Of Poverty As Illustrated By The Lives Of The Saints And Beati Of The Last One Hundred Years” (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 1936).

modern history of the Church.”1919 Of course, preparations for the Catholic Encyclopedia and its first volumes were produced before the modernist crisis actually began, but Moody overlooks this point. Instead, he interprets the original encyclopedia exclusively through the lens of the modernist crisis. Without any reference to the editors’ original intentions, Moody concludes that statements in the original encyclopedia’s preface about “‘proper answers to questions,’ ‘serious errors on Catholic subjects,’ and ‘an impartial record of different views of acknowledged authority on all disputed questions’” were all part of a “defensive stance” taken by the editors, whom he assumed were responding to the modernist crisis.1920 Again, without any reference to the editors’ dissatisfaction with the errors of the secular press, the lackluster state of American Catholic scholarship, or the desire to create a truly Catholic (i.e., transnational) work, Moody concludes, “One can appreciate why they [the editors] turned largely to foreign scholars to fulfill their task and why their contributors did not fully recognize the objective ‘to give the whole truth without prejudice.’”1921 Moody’s erroneous conclusion, conditioned by his modernist hermeneutic, is that the original encyclopedia’s stress on correct information and defense of doctrine was a dogmatic response to modernism. The implication, explicitly stated, is that the original Catholic Encyclopedia was reactionary. “The first Catholic Encyclopedia” he declares, “was produced at a time when the Church was tightening its defense against change and was suppressing innovation in all aspects of intellectual life.”1922

1919 Ibid., 372.
1920 Ibid.
1921 Ibid.
1922 Ibid., 375.
By contrast, Moody argues that the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*’s editors, attentive to the irenic spirit of the Second Vatican Council, “operated in the diametrically opposite context from their predecessors” and were more successful in their “responsiveness to the new currents stirring in the Church.” Moody’s theological and historical “presentism,” his tendency to view past events through his own contemporary lens, leads him to discount the remarkable extent to which Wynne and his fellow editors of the original *Catholic Encyclopedia* responded to “new currents” affecting the Progressive Era church. Moreover, Moody’s plea to post-Vatican II ecumenism completely disregards the fact that anti-Catholic prejudice motivated the creation of the original encyclopedia, and that the encyclopedia was envisioned as a tool of ecumenical dialogue.

Moody reveals his ultimate concern when he argues that the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* is more attentive to the spirit of “unprecedented” academic freedom made possible by the Council. Postulating an opposition between the “anti-intellectual tendencies in the Church [of the early twentieth century] and the modern renewal of Catholic intellectualism [in his own decade],” Moody states that the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* is “much more American in its contributions than its predecessor.” Neo-Scholasticism also comes in for a thumping when Moody applauds “the maturation of American Catholic intellectualism in recent decades, notably in the field of theology.

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1923 Ibid., 375-376.
1924 Ibid., 376.
1925 Ibid.
and scripture.”1926 Once again, Moody concludes that the New Catholic Encyclopedia is “clearly more scholarly than its predecessor.”1927

The collective implication of these two statements – that being more American means being more intellectual – is extraordinary, and proves Portier’s point that theologians who fail to attend to the particularities of history often wind up seeing their own reflections in the events they study, with the result that they are swallowed up in the pole of American accommodation. Incredibly, Moody’s rational for making the assertion that the new encyclopedia is intellectually superior to the original is based on the same criteria critics used to commend the original Catholic Encyclopedia after its release in 1907. That is, even as he argues that the New Catholic Encyclopedia is more scholarly than the original Catholic Encyclopedia, Moody praises the New Catholic Encyclopedia for having precisely the same qualities that the original Catholic Encyclopedia was praised for having: its diversity of editors,1928 the range of topics covered,1929 its emphasis on “topics of critical interest today,”1930 the international and ecumenical collaboration the project engendered,1931 the “objectivity” of the work,1932 the praise the work received from Protestant scholars,1933 the fine quality of the physical book,1934 the excellent maps and illustrations,1935 the thorough bibliographies,1936 the originality of the work,1937 the

1926 Ibid., 390. Here, Moody notes the thought of John Tracy Ellis.
1927 Ibid., 391.
1928 Ibid., 373.
1929 Ibid., 374.
1930 Ibid.
1931 Ibid., 375.
1932 Ibid.
1933 Ibid.
1934 Ibid., 377.
1935 Ibid.
1936 Ibid.
1937 Ibid.
authorities enlisted to write articles, the attention given to the Church in Latin and South America, and the attention given to history. In a final compliment that can only be deemed historically ironic given the influence German scholarship had on scholars during Progressive Era, Moody declared the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* a worthy “equal” of the famous German *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*.

If Moody’s evaluation of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* is a good example of what happens when scholars interpret the past through the lens of their own contemporary theological concerns, the conclusion to John L. Ciani’s thesis on *America* is a good example of what happens when scholars view the past through non-theological categories entirely. Ciani’s conclusion, entitled “Individuality, Freedom and a World in Which to Use Them,” presents an equally decontextualized evaluation of the past. Though he argues that, “American’ and ‘Catholic’ are the two words which sum up the program of Wynne’s Apostolate as a Jesuit,” Ciani clearly favors the American pole of the equation:

An examination of these issues in the pages of the review shows the *Messenger*. John Wynne and Roman Catholicism, in effect, engaging a larger world in a dialogue designed to end ignorance, fear and hatred of Catholics and to inform American Catholics about the issues which provoked their responsible citizenship and shaped their free access to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the United States.

In Ciani’s framework, Wynne emerges as a success precisely because he emphasized the American pole of accommodation. He writes, “John Wynne was not a team player. He was a rugged individual, a pioneer of sorts. He was fascinated by human individuality, by personal and national freedom and by the world and those who

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1938 Ibid., 374-392.
1939 Ibid., 391.
1940 Ibid., 392.
1941 Ibid., 391-392.
Ciani’s assertion that Wynne’s ‘rugged individualism’ and pioneering spirit animated his life completely disregards the important theological, philosophical, and historical, questions that Wynne wrestled with, and reduces his motivation to a few American socio-cultural clichés. Not only does Ciani’s assertion belie the fact that Wynne spent his life in defense of the Catholic Church, a transnational community of believers, it also counters the estimation of Wynne’s superiors, who noted his obedience.

Ciani’s narrow interpretation also fails to account for the extensive collaboration Wynne engaged in when planning the canonization causes of the Jesuit Martyrs and the publication of both the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *America*. Ciani marvels that Wynne succeeded without “an institutional base such as a college or a university,” and opines that, “even if his publications could be considered such bases, they were his creations. John Wynne was not standing on anyone’s shoulders.” Without taking anything away from Wynne’s creativity or the zeal with which he pursued his most notable accomplishments, Ciani’s claim is indefensible. Not only was each of Wynne’s projects part of the intellectual milieu that inspired it, each also benefitted from having a team of editors and the support of countless writers, wealthy patrons, curious subscribers, and hundreds of staff members. *America* was a collaborative effort that would not have succeeded without the support of the Society of Jesus in the United States and Canada; the *Catholic Encyclopedia* benefitted from the support of the Robert Appleton Company, which published it, from the four editors who collaborated with Wynne on its production, and from the support of the American bishops, who were its financial unsung heroes.

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1943 Ibid., 103.
1944 Ibid., 108.
Ciani’s error seems to lay in the way he essentializes Wynne’s tempestuous relationship with his own religious order. Ciani notes that as early as 1903, Wynne was noted by his superiors for being “too combative and headstrong,” and for acting beyond what his talents might suggest. 1945 Again, Ciani resorts to the trope of American individualism to explain Wynne’s interaction with his fellow Jesuits. “Often on the edge of the Society of Jesus,” Ciani writes, “Wynne was an individualist whose considerable contribution to the church in the United States was made, by his own admission, ‘in spite of superiors.’” 1946 Wynne may have indeed succeeded in spite of his superiors, but rarely does Ciani indict the fear, institutional inertia and petty infighting that seems to have plagued the Jesuits at the turn of the twentieth century. Indeed, Wynne seemed frustrated with what he perceived to be the Jesuits’ lack of intellectual curiosity, their cultural intransigence and their overall timidity. This frustration – and not any strident sense of individualism – was more likely the cause of Wynne’s quip that he succeeded despite the obstacles presented by his Jesuit superiors.

This does not mean that Wynne was not at times irascible. On more than one occasion he scuffled with notable Catholics, sometimes in a less than friendly manner. However, Ciani fails to consider the broader corpus of Wynne’s work, which repeatedly demonstrates that he maintained cordial and lifelong professional relationships with some of the most important figures of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: with American Catholic intellectuals like Peter Guilday, Edward Pace, Thomas J. Shahan, Charles G. Herberman, Condé Pallen, James J. Walsh, and Thomas F. Meehan; with prominent American bishops like John Ireland and New York’s Michael Corrigan, John

1945 Ibid., 109.
Farley, and Patrick Hayes; and with important secular leaders like Eugene A. Philbin, Thomas F. Ryan and President Theodore Roosevelt. In fact, the only group with whom Wynne seems to have continually come into conflict (besides the secular press) was the Society of Jesus in the United States. Rather than recognize this point, Ciani stretches Wynne’s interaction with notable figures to fit his own individualistic interpretation. “So important was the smashing of stereotypes and the affirmation of individuality to Wynne,” Ciani writes, “that he named it as one of the most valued fruits of his life’s work. His professional activities, he said, had brought him into frequent and close contact with men of affairs, journalists, authors and the like,” and by making contact with these individuals he was able “to get rid of many an estimate [he] had formed of certain people by what [he] read of them, usually in the daily press, or heard from others.” Ciani concludes, “The reason for Wynne’s passionate debunking of such false images was his profound belief in human freedom.” Perhaps. But Ciani might also have noted that Wynne’s comments were a direct jab at the sensationalism of the Progressive Era press, and that Wynne’s practice of reaching out to his enemies was a direct result of the Jesuit practice of intellectual charity, as is evidenced by the fact that Wynne repeatedly received, and repeatedly expressed, this injunction in his letters with his superiors when founding America.

None of this is intended to deny that Wynne stressed freedom and individuality. Indeed, Ciani is right to note that Wynne rejected the accusation that the Jesuits were all

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1947 The tone of Wynne’s letters with Guilday, Pace and Shahan was generally very informal, warm and friendly.
1949 Ibid.
cut from the same mold, and that obedience meant that Jesuits forfeited their conscience when dealing with their superiors. He is equally correct when he suggests that the proper use of freedom was one of Wynne’s primary concerns when founding and naming \textit{America}. However, Ciani seems to conflate Wynne’s stress on individuality with individualism. By removing Wynne’s comments from their theological and historical contexts – that is, by removing them from late nineteenth and early twentieth century concerns about the viability of American Catholic citizenship, the extent of Jesuit political thought, and the progressive intellectual context that created this tension by challenging \textit{a priori} religious commitments – Ciani takes what amounts to a single concept in Wynne’s corpus of thought – the individual – and turns it into the dominant leitmotif of his career. In doing so, he reduces Wynne to an ideology, and swallows his significance in the American pole of accommodation. It is no surprise, then, that in Ciani’s schema Wynne fails to meet Schineller’s criteria of an effective agent of inculturation. As a rugged individualist and pioneer, Wynne would have had little time for collaboration.

Before closing, two additional examples of decontextualized scholarship are worth brief mention. In a 2008 biographical sketch of Wynne, James T. Keane, S.J. and Jim McDermott, S.J. follow Ciani’s lead when they write in \textit{America} that among other things, “Wynne was a man of bold action rather than deep reflection.” This, too, is incomplete. Wynne’s obituaries make it clear that his contemporaries saw him as a thinker; they eulogized him as an educator and a historian. Wynne was by his own

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1950} Ibid., 104-105.
\item \textsuperscript{1951} Ibid., 106.
\item \textsuperscript{1952} Wynne’s original comments on the topic can be found in \textit{Retrospect}, 81.
\item \textsuperscript{1953} Keane and McDermott, “A Man of Independent Character,” 10.
\end{itemize}
admission devoted to Catholic literacy, history and education. He also spent the majority of his life advocating the intellectual contextualization of devotions in one form or another – to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, to the Jesuit Martyrs of North America, and finally to Kateri Tekakwitha. At the end of his life Wynne even made the shrine at Auriesville a place of personal retreat where he did the majority of his writing. One would be hard pressed to classify these devotional practices as unreflective. Rather, they were examples of Ignatian contemplation in action.

Finally, even McDonough fails to contextualize the past when he states that *America* was “an attempt to reach out to a modernizing environment,” but that, “these were the years of the backward-looking pontificate of Pius X, who followed his predecessors condemnation of Americanism in 1899 with a repudiation of the generic heresy of ‘modernism’ in 1907.”\(^{1954}\) The implication, of course, is that *America* was open to a vaguely defined sense of progress and modernization, but that the “backward-looking” Pius put an end to things. In both Moody and McDonough, one sees Pius emerge as the villain not because he was excessive in his efforts to root out a suspected heresy, or because he failed to appreciate the nuances of late nineteenth and early twentieth century biblical scholarship, but because he violated the principles of progress and American freedom.\(^{1955}\) It is hardly worth noting that John J. Wynne would have sided with Pius X.

*Second Phase Americanism*

The final sub-thesis is that the continued desire American Catholics had during


the Progressive Era to find a *rapprochement* between Catholic theology and American culture demonstrates that Americanism did not quietly disappear after the 1899 release of *Testem Benevolentiae*, but rather that American Catholics searched for new and creative ways to demonstrate a providential fit between Roman Catholicism and the United States of America that was attentive to both the accommodationist and transformationist poles of inculturation. Douglas Slawson calls the predominant strain during this period Second Phase Americanism. However, though Wynne shares many of the Second Phase Americanist’s concerns, his thought on the relationship between Church and state, religious liberty and national conversion, as well as his shift of focus to contemporary life, demonstrates a clear transition towards the norms that would eventually emerge in the middle of the twentieth century in the thought of fellow Jesuit John Courtney Murray.

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1957 Carey, *Roman Catholics in America*, 69. Carey argues that by shifting the focus to contemporary life, Wynne and the American Jesuits at *America* made the later theological developments of John Courtney Murray possible. The attempt to connect Wynne to Murray is preliminary; it does not intend to make a direct connection, but rather to suggest a trajectory in American Catholic thinking on the relationship between Church and state, particularly as manifested in American Jesuit thought. The reason for the suggestion is obvious. Wynne’s writings on democracy and religious liberty stand in a long line of Jesuit political thought, and the dissertation’s suggestion that Wynne represents the survival of an alternate strain of American Jesuit political thought that culminates in Murray makes the connection worth exploring. For the sake of substantiating the claim, a few points of convergence are worth noting. First, Murray (like Wynne) was “especially interested in relations among Christians;” like Murray, Wynne “had experienced religious liberty as a positive good and so defended it in his writings on church and state” (Portier, “Inculturation As Transformation,” 108). Wynne was also deeply interested in the question of civility, broadly construed (Portier, “Inculturation As Transformation,” 108 FN 2), was comfortable with religious pluralism as a practical reality (Portier, “Inculturation As Transformation,” 113 FN 13; 121-124; 121 FN 31) and avoided the explicit use of religious language “based on the perceived fit between American institutions and a Catholic perspective on human nature” (Portier, “Inculturation As Transformation,” 123). This becomes particularly apparent with Wynne’s lack of urgency around the question of national conversion. Both Wynne and Murray also put a premium on human freedom (Dulles, Preface, xxiii). Wynne also anticipated several points made explicit by Murray, including the beliefs that the public profession of religion was not a requirement of the state, that the state was necessary in order to protect the freedom of the Church, and that the Church needed to accept separation as a precondition “to maintain its own autonomy and authority” (Jo Renée Fornicola, “American Catholic Political Theology,” *Journal of Church and State* 29, no. 3 (1987): 465. Jo Renée Fornicola’s treatment of Murray is of particular interest because it describes Murray’s “task” as one of reconciling religious liberty and the separation of Church and state with the perfection of Catholic theology, which was precisely what
John J. Wynne, S.J., and the Society of Jesus

John J. Wynne, S.J., had a stormy relationship with the Society of Jesus. Wynne himself expressed this tension when he plaintively wrote to America editor-in-chief Wilfrid Parsons in 1934 to ask why he had not once been invited to the journal’s home since leaving the magazine in 1910. Yet, Wynne was also one of the most popular Jesuits in the country. In 1939 the Brooklyn Eagle commented that, “there are few members of the Society of Jesus, with its mission of preaching and higher education, who are better known in the realms of literature and scientific progress than Father Wynne.”

Despite his outsider status among Jesuits, Wynne’s life was nothing if not Ignatian in character. In “Jesuits and Theology: Yesterday and Today,” Avery Dulles, S.J., argues that while there is no specific Jesuit theological method, Jesuit “latitude” in “choice of authorities” has not prevented the development of certain “characteristic Jesuit concerns and themes in theology.” Dulles explains that “If one were to look for a
common bond among Jesuit theologians, it would be found not so much in theology” as
in the spirituality of Ignatius’ writings.\textsuperscript{1961}

Dulles suggests that Ignatian spirituality is expressed in a number of ways. First
and foremost, it is expressed through Ignatius’ “gift for synthesizing contemplation and
service.”\textsuperscript{1962} On the contemplative side, the \textit{Spiritual Exercises} “have given Jesuits a
sense of the immediate presence of God” and a corresponding “practical realism” that
“[insists] on the importance of adapting one’s speech and behavior to the possibilities and
requirements of concrete situations, taking account of ‘times, places, and persons.’”\textsuperscript{1963}
The Jesuit sense of immediacy and the order’s historically conditioned zeal for
missionary activity has demanded an awareness of the need for cultural adaptation, or
what Dulles calls “inculturation.”\textsuperscript{1964}

As a complement to contemplation, Ignatius stressed dedication “to the service of
the Church militant” and “the need for unquestioning obedience to the hierarchy and
especially to the pope as vicar of Christ on earth.”\textsuperscript{1965} Jesuit service to the Church
militant has placed the order at the center of many important developments in the post-
Tridentine Church.\textsuperscript{1966} Along the way, Dulles explains, “Jesuit theology has taken on
different hues in different centuries.”\textsuperscript{1967}

In their early debates with Protestants and Jansenists, Jesuits developed “a high
regard for human nature, human reason, and human freedom, seeking to capture them all

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{1961} Ibid., 525. McDonough writes, “Jesuits bear the marks of epoch of their founding. They
incorporate more acutely than any other groups in Catholicism the tensions between modernity and
tradition” \textit{(Men Astutely Trained}, xii).
\textsuperscript{1962} Dulles, “Jesuits and Theology,” 525.
\textsuperscript{1963} Ibid. Dulles quotes the Jesuit Constitutions, George E. Ganss, ed., \textit{The Constitutions of the
Society of Jesus} (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), 136; 455.
\textsuperscript{1964} Ibid., 528.
\textsuperscript{1965} Ibid., 525.
\textsuperscript{1966} Ibid., 526.
\textsuperscript{1967} Ibid., 525.
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for the service of the Creator and Redeemer.”1968 Jesuits have a “relatively optimistic view of human nature.”1969 As a society created “especially for the defense and propagation of the faith,” many Jesuits entered the fields of apologetical and polemical theology.1970 In the process, they “erected a broad platform for reasonable discussion with thoughtful Protestants and unbelievers,” even as they stressed the transnational character of the Church in response to Tridentine-era “Gallican movements that were tending to fragment the Church along national lines.”1971

“In their educational apostolate Jesuits were concerned not only with elementary and secondary schooling, but also with university studies and the formation of a learned clergy.”1972 The Jesuits were notable for dedication to an “eclectic” brand of Scholasticism.1973 “No mere effort to repristinate the past, it took up many new questions arising out of recent advances in the sciences, geographical exploration, and modern philosophical systems.”1974 Dulles explains that Jesuits were also notable for their “fruitful work in the sphere of social and personal ethics,” and for their early contributions to Catholic theories of human rights.1975 He notes in particular the writings of Suarez “in favor of the rights of women and slaves,” and the writings of Suarez and Bellarmine on the notion that “just governments must rest upon the consent of the governed.”1976

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1968 Ibid., 526.
1969 Ibid., 528.
1970 Ibid., 526.
1971 Ibid., 529.
1972 Ibid., 526-527.
1973 Ibid., 527.
1974 Ibid.
1975 Ibid.
1976 Ibid.
In the period around the First Vatican Council, Jesuits increasingly supplemented their particular brand of Neo-Scholasticism with “papal pronouncements, many of which had been drawn up with the assistance of Jesuits as close advisors.”\textsuperscript{1977} Dulles explains that at this point a rift emerged between those Jesuits who “based their theology on natural reason and on the authority of the papal and conciliar documents,” and “A second group, out of favor in Rome,” who “sought to connect theology more intimately with prayer and the experience of the Holy Spirit.”\textsuperscript{1978} Dulles explains, “The first group appealed by preference to the ‘Rules for Thinking with the Church’ and selected passages from the Constitutions.”\textsuperscript{1979}

It was during this period a young John Wynne entered the Jesuit novitiate at West Park, New York to commence his studies. Though Wynne may have clashed with his fellow Jesuits in the decades that followed, the prevailing themes in his career reveal that the Ignatian character of the Society of Jesus shaped his life and work.

John J. Wynne’s desire to synthesize the intellectual and devotional aspects of Catholicism demonstrates Ignatian contemplation in action. On the one hand, Wynne’s “practical realism” stressed the need for cultural adaptation, or what Dulles calls “inculturation.”\textsuperscript{1980} Ciani calls Wynne’s “fascination with the world” one of his “very Jesuit traits.”\textsuperscript{1981} On the other hand, Wynne’s life was characterized by an unwavering

\textsuperscript{1977} Ibid., 531.
\textsuperscript{1978} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1979} Ibid., 532.
\textsuperscript{1980} Ibid., 528.
\textsuperscript{1981} Ciani, “Sufficiently Indicated,” 107. Wynne seemed particularly prescient in his anticipation of the changes of the Second Vatican Council, including “collegiality, the role of the laity, reading the signs of the times, ecumenism, interfaith relations, religious freedom, [and] engagement with the world” (Doyle, “Inculturation,” 6).
service to the Church militant, particularly to the hierarchy. In each case, Wynne was animated by the Ignatian desire to capture all things for the Creator. As a result, Wynne was deeply immersed in the Jesuit tradition of apologetics, and sought to create platforms by which English-speaking Catholics might engage in reasonable dialogue with Protestants and unbelievers in the American context. In response to the nationalistic currents that emerged during the post-Reformation period and continued through the Progressive Era, Wynne stressed the need for a transnational understanding of the Church.

Jesuit optimism about human nature clearly fueled Wynne’s approach to society and informed his unfailing belief in human progress; it also informed his high regard for human reason and human freedom. Wynne admitted that he was influenced by the thought of Suarez and Bellarmine, a fact that can be gleaned in his many references to slavery, the rights of women, and democracy.

Wynne was also preoccupied with Catholic literacy and devoted his career to enhancing Catholic education at the elementary, secondary and collegiate levels; he spoke frequently on the need for an educated Catholic clergy. Wynne’s own eclectic brand of Scholasticism sought to integrate everything from developments in evolutionary science and Jesuit geographical exploration to printing technology and the ‘-isms’ of modern philosophy. Wynne’s publications, which utilized a Neo-Scholastic framework, communicated papal pronouncements, and stressed ‘Rules for Thinking with the Church,’ place him squarely within the dominant Jesuit theological tradition of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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1982 Dulles, “Jesuits and Theology,” 525. There is a certain amount of irony in Wynne’s close identification with the hierarchy at the expense of his own Jesuit superiors.
1983 Ibid., 527.
Finally, Wynne’s lifelong dedication to the canonization causes of the North American Martyrs and Kateri Tekakwitha, as well as his service to the Native American community, embodied the Jesuit zeal for missionary activity.

To Dulles’ list, one additional characteristic may be added. John Wynne’s aesthetic sense, his involvement in the media, his “exquisite taste in typography,” his introduction of images to the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, his heavy use of imagery in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, and his insistence that *America* cover the arts and drama, can certainly all be traced to Ignatius’ stress on the use of mental imagery in the *Spiritual Exercises*, and to the later Jesuit tradition in art, architecture and drama.

**John J. Wynne, S.J., and the Catholic Revival**

In his analysis of the mid-twentieth century Catholic literary revival, Arnold Sparr describes the Catholic Revival, sometimes referred to as the Catholic Renaissance, as an attempt “to promote the intellectual standing of American Catholicism, to defend the Catholic faith and its adherents from detractors, and to redeem what was seen as a drifting and fragmented secular culture.”

Sparr writes that a number of factors shaped the initial development of the Catholic Revival in the 1920s and early 1930s. At the center of the movement stood the American Jesuits. Sparr explains that the revival was dominated by “early Jesuit leaders” like *America* editor-in-chief Francis X. Talbot, Calvert Alexander and Daniel Lord.

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1984 Francis X. Talbot, S.J. to John J. Wynne, S.J., June 9, 1936, Box 63 Folder 16, AA.
1985 Sparr, *Promote, Defend and Redeem*, xi-xii. Sparr rejects Halsey’s treatment of twentieth century American Catholicism, primarily because it “treats Catholic thought and culture ahistorically between the wars” (xiii).
1986 Ibid., 17.
who “framed their program of reform within a rigid neo-scholastic framework” that contrasted with “the subjective disillusionment of the post-World War I age.” Rooted in Neo-Scholasticism, the American revival found inspiration in the English Catholic Revival inspired by Newman and was intimately linked to a rejection of developments in modern philosophy.

Jesuits like Talbot did not limit their understanding of Catholic literature to works of prose and poetry, but included everything from “books of philosophy, history and theology” to “magazine articles and even pamphlets.” Lord took particular aim at secular journals and secular schools for the way they mistreated Catholicism. His targeting of secular journals was not incidental. Sparr notes that the Jesuits “loomed large in the Catholic publishing field” during this time with magazines like America, the Catholic Mind, the Messenger of the Sacred Heart, and Thought. He credits America in particular with playing an important role “in raising the intellectual awareness of educated Catholic Americans.” Each of these magazines was based in New York, which Sparr calls central to the development of American Catholicism’s “self conscious” concern for “intellectual achievement.”

Sparr explains that the question of Catholic literary expression “went to the heart of what was troubling Catholic leaders throughout the 1920s and early 1930s.”

1988 Ibid., xiii.
1989 Ibid., 40.
1990 Ibid., 32.
1991 Ibid., 53.
1992 Ibid., xv-xvi.
1993 Ibid., 15.
1994 Ibid., 18. To this list Sparr adds Queen’s Work and the Modern Schoolman.
1995 Ibid., xv.
1996 Ibid.
describes the connection succinctly: “Literary expression was merely another dimension of intellectualism.”

When Catholics surveyed the intellectual landscape of the United States, they were not pleased with what they saw. Wilfrid Parsons decried the “deplorable state of American Catholic fiction” and George N. Shuster complained that “the postwar American Church was without positive influence over American culture.” Shuster was particularly troubled by what he considered American Catholicism’s provincialism and parochialism.

For his part, Alexander complained that American Catholicism alone lacked a public voice.

Sparr explains that, “Three forces [finally] converged during the 1920s and early 1930s to provoke American Catholic attempts to stimulate a Catholic literary revival in the United States.” First, Catholics “felt compelled to prove” that “Catholic intellectual and cultural life compared favorably with that of the rest of American society,” second, Catholic educators became “convinced that the Catholic laity must become more knowledgeable about its faith and thereby more articulate in defending the Church against her critics,” and third, American Catholics in general came to believe that Catholicism offered the only possible solution to the world’s many social ills.

The American Catholic Revival was a blooming of American Catholic confidence that had its genesis in the intellectual milieu of the Progressive Era. Peter Huff demonstrates that the entire generation of writers who later dominated the American Catholic literary revival – Walker Percy, Dorothy Day, and Thomas Merton, to name a

1997 Ibid., 12.
1998 Ibid.
1999 Ibid., 13.
2001 Ibid., 32.
2002 Ibid., 17.
2003 Ibid.
2004 Huff, Allen Tate, 11.
few – spent their formative years in the Progressive Era.\textsuperscript{2005} Woods, too, writes that the revival “built on the intellectual foundations Catholics had laid during the Progressive Era.”\textsuperscript{2006}

The emphasis John J. Wynne put on the promotion of, defense of, and redemptive characteristics of Catholicism, as well as his attempt to inspire an original Catholic literature in English, made him a key forerunner to the Catholic Revival. Each of the factors that Sparr suggests contributed to the Catholic Revival mirrors a perennial concern of Wynne during the Progressive Era. First, there were the twin influences that initiated Wynne’s desire to create a Catholic literature in English while he was a student at Woodstock: Newman and Neo-Scholasticism. These initially combined to inspire the Catholic Encyclopedia. Then came the Jesuit magazines Sparr places at the center of the revival; Wynne had a hand in the development of each. He transformed the Messenger of the Sacred Heart into a successful general interest magazine, founded America and the Catholic Mind, and laid the groundwork for Wilfrid Parson’s later founding of Thought.

Wynne was deeply concerned with Catholic literacy because he understood the fundamental role literacy played in shaping Catholic intellectualism. For Wynne, literacy meant more than novels and fiction. He wanted to create an entire Catholic literature in English. Hence, he did not bracket his desire to the creation of the encyclopedia and

\textsuperscript{2005} Huff, \textit{Allen Tate}, 16. Huff’s treatment of the revival can be found on pp. 7-24. Merton mentioned the \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia} three times in \textit{The Seven Storey Mountain}; each time, the encyclopedia served as the basis for Merton’s exploration of a religious order he contemplated joining. Day, too, showed an interest in the encyclopedia. In 1930, she sent a letter of introduction to Wynne asking to write for the revision of the article on the Church in Mexico. Dorothy Day to John J. Wynne. S.J., December 28, 1930. Wynne responded to Day on January 7, 1931, telling her that he found her articles in \textit{Commonweal} “quite good” and that he would retain her name as a future writer. John J. Wynne. S.J., to Dorothy Day, January 7, 1931. Several years later, Day wrote to Wynne apparently because she owed him money. Dorothy Day to John J. Wynne, S.J., January 6, 1936. Wynne responded by telling Day to pray to Tekakwitha. John J. Wynne, S.J., January 13, 1936. The correspondence can be found at the Catholic Encyclopedia Collection 20, Box 15 R 35 (Folder Wynne, John J.), ACUA.

\textsuperscript{2006} Woods, “Assimilation and Resistance,” 308.
magazines; he also wrote hagiographies, newsletters and pamphlets, created missals, devised correspondence courses in home education, and even made plans for the production of Catholic textbooks.

Wynne harbored no illusions about the insufficiency of Catholic education. As early as 1902, he was hard at work promoting Catholicism, defending Catholicism, and offering Catholicism as a redemptive solution to Progressive Era ills. Like Lord, Wynne attacked secular journals for their treatment of Catholicism. Like Parsons, he decried the state of American Catholic literary attainments. Like Shuster, he was frustrated by Catholicism’s provincialism and parochialism. Like Alexander, he was troubled that Catholicism lacked a public voice. He even targeted the deficiencies of his own religious order when he wrote to Wernz that Woodstock had failed in its educative objective.

Like the Catholic revivalists of later decades, Wynne went on the offensive. He “felt compelled to prove” that “Catholic intellectual and cultural life compared favorably with that of the rest of American society,” was “convinced that the Catholic laity must become more knowledgeable about its faith and thereby more articulate in defending the Church against her critics,” and believed that Catholicism could contribute to the redemption of the world. Nowhere was Wynne’s desire to promote, defend and redeem Catholicism more explicitly stated than in the inaugural editorial he wrote for America magazine, which included among the magazine’s objectives “a record of

2007 Sparr, Promote, Defend, Redeem, 15.
2008 Ibid., 17. Wynne understood that part of the problem was ecclesiastical attitudes towards the laity. In a 1918 letter to Burke, he wrote, “Perhaps some priests, and maybe some bishops, forget that the laity are so uncertain of their steps when taking part in ecclesiastical activities that they need more recognition and encouragement than we usually think of giving them.” John J. Wynne, S.J. to John Burke, C.S.P., December 7, 1918, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops Office of the General Secretary, Box 153 Folder 14, ACUA.
religious progress” (promote), “a defense of sound doctrine” (defend), and the safeguarding of American society (redeem).²⁰⁰⁹

It is easy to miss Wynne’s contribution to the development of the Catholic Revival. By the late 1920s and early 1930s, when the revival was getting started, Wynne was primarily engaged in the movements to canonize the North American Martyrs and Kateri Tekakwitha. Yet, even at this late period, he was recognized as a central figure in the development of both American Catholic literacy and the revival itself.²⁰¹⁰ At Wynne’s 1926 jubilee, Commonweal founder Michael Williams even hailed him as a prelude to the revival.²⁰¹¹

However, John J. Wynne was not satisfied. He held out hope for the future. In his 1948 obituary in Woodstock Letters, Loomie wrote, “Much of [Wynne’s] literary work he looked upon as but the necessary beginnings of a Catholic intellectual life in America.”²⁰¹²

²⁰¹¹ Williams, “Conflict and Triumph,” 49.
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