

1918—1968—2018: A Tissue of Laws and Choices and Chance

Theological Studies
2018, Vol. 79(3) 487–519
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DOI: 10.1177/0040563918784767
journals.sagepub.com/home/tsj



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Abstract

2018 marks the fiftieth anniversary of 1968 and *Humanae Vitae* as well as the centenary of the 1918 Armistice ending the Great War. The negative reception of *Humanae Vitae* is frequently viewed within the narrow causal lens of “the sixties” and in particular the tumultuous year 1968. However, the factors shaping the laity’s reception were 50 years in the making, including internalized authority and agency via the postwar currents of both “mysticism” and Catholic Action. Additionally, birth control was a discourse spanning 1918 to 1968.

Keywords

Catholic Action, contingency, contraception, *Humanae Vitae*, history, mysticism, providence, tradition, World War I, 1968

My interest here is to call your attention to the role of Theodosius’ horse in the story [of the Council of Chalcedon, 451]. He literally stumbled into it, an intruder into the natural flow of a plausible narrative. His unwitting agency in removing Theodosius from the scene might well make us wonder, at least in passing, about this baffling business of the trifles that turn history out of its channels ...

Historical truth is stranger than fiction and more difficult to make sense of. The plot of a novel gets its “intelligibility” from the coherence of the author’s imagination. Historical accidents have no such logos. If the incident of Theodosius’ horse turned up

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as the climax in a historical novel, it would be rejected by critical readers as far too artless. Actually, of course, it is only a single sample from a thousand others, all from "real life." Historical existence is a tissue of laws and choices and chance.

—Albert C. Outler, "Theodosius' Horse: Reflections on the Predicament of the Church Historian" (1965)¹

Full 2018 marks two important turning points for the twentieth century in general and the practice of Catholicism in particular. A hundred years ago, on November 11, 1918, the Armistice concluding the carnage of the First World War took effect at the eleventh hour of that eleventh day of the eleventh month. Fifty years later, on November 5, 1968, Richard M. Nixon was elected president of the United States following a tumultuous and violent election year. The following month, on December 10, *Look* magazine's cover featured a close-up photo of Pope Paul VI's anguished face. The headline read, "In their agony over birth control, Catholics are asking SHOULD THE POPE RETIRE?" The encyclical *Humanae Vitae* had been promulgated earlier that hot summer, on July 25, the feast of James the Apostle.²

Events in 1918 and 1968 triggered what would become paradigm shifts in Catholic practice and theology and, as a result, in the ever-evolving meaning of "religion." The significant changes would become long-lasting. However, what most strikes the historian of religion about these profound shifts is not their longevity but rather the contingent and arbitrary nature of their causation. The question this poses for any sense of "providence" in the history of the "development of doctrine" is, at best, unsettling.³ And yet that is precisely the question Albert C. Outler dared to investigate in his reflections on "Theodosius' Horse" in 1965, arguably the first year of "the sixties."⁴

1. Albert C. Outler, "Theodosius' Horse: Reflections on the Predicament of the Church Historian," *Church History* 34 (1965): 251–61; reprinted in supplement, *Church History* 57, centennial issue (1988), 9–19 at 11, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3165647>.
2. The accelerated unraveling of old paradigms had been foreshadowed in the headline of *Look* magazine's cover issue for January 23, 1968: "WILL THE DUTCH CHANGE AMERICAN CATHOLICISM? They wrote a new catechism, created new liturgies, shattered the silence of rigid obedience. Is this tomorrow's Church today?"
3. As John T. McGreevy wrote in 2004 of the late John T. Noonan Jr., "Few, if any, of the other major scholars of his generation have so obsessively ruminated on a single problem, so endlessly circled what Noonan as early as 1957 termed the relationship between 'development' and 'dogma' or, as he once explained it, using history, which is not theology, to illumine the 'authentic tradition of the church.'" McGreevy, "A Case for Doctrinal Development," *Commonweal Magazine*, June 23, 2004, <https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/case-doctrinal-development>.
4. I owe my first reading of Outler's essay to Professor Francine Cardman of the Weston Jesuit School of Theology who assigned it as a conclusion to her semester's survey of ancient and medieval church history. For reflections on the problem of religious

After summing up the dim prospects for Alexandrine Christology so long as the emperor was alive, Outler interrupts his theological account with an apparent “trifle.” In the year 450, recounts Outler, on July 25—curiously, the same date on which *Humanae Vitae* would be promulgated some 1500 years later—“Theodosius was pitched from his horse while riding beside the river Lycus and three days later was dead. It was an odd and unlikely accident, for the emperor was an experienced horseman, was well-mounted, and the fatality rate for such spills is low. But its consequences were epochmaking.”⁵ Outler then summarizes the effects radically disproportionate to the triggering cause:

This should be enough of a familiar story to remind you of what happened thereafter: the elevation of a home synod of Constantinople to the status of an ecumenical council, and the confirmation of “the creed commonly called Nicene”; the formulation of the “Definition” of Chalcedon with its balanced coaptation of Antiochene and Alexandrine Christologies; the restoration of the Roman papacy to a new level of universal prestige; the ensuing revolts against the imperial government in Egypt and Syria, and the tragic confusion of the monophysite, monothelite, and iconoclastic controversies. It is not a pretty story and I know of no fully plausible narration of it. But, any way you take it, Chalcedon marks an epoch in church history, the anchor point for the church’s Christological doctrine.⁶

The shifts in religious practice and thought catalyzed by the events of 1918 and 1968 may not have been as epochal as the doctrinal inheritance of Chalcedon. They were, however, radical changes in what has sometimes been imagined as ahistorical tradition, having neither beginning nor ending. Moreover, their causes were contingent to a disturbing degree. The events of 1918 and 1968 make explicit the frequently forgotten (or purposely suppressed) gap between authoritative tradition and historical contingency.

In the following, I begin with 1918. An initial brief overview of French Catholicism on the eve of the Great War sets the stage for the changes that will follow. In particular, I lay out two shifts in Catholicism that take place during the postwar period. First, an increasing interest in “mysticism” marked a strong turn of religion away from institutions and doctrines and toward individual subjectivity. This subjective turn had been perhaps the central feature of religion’s evolution in modernity, arguably beginning in the Renaissance and Reformation, but most certainly dominant in the aftermath of the French Revolution and Friedrich Schleiermacher’s turn to experience and emotion. Individual internalization, whether titled “mysticism” or “spirituality,” increasingly marked religion during the 1920s and 1930s.

Second, and somewhat paradoxically, an increasing engagement with communal identity and action—embodied in the postwar “Catholic Action” movement—also

rationality and history after 1945, see Stephen Schloesser, review of *Passion of Israel: Jacques Maritain, Catholic Conscience and the Holocaust*, by Richard Francis Crane, *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 29 (2011): 193–96, <https://doi.org/10.1353/sho.2011.0165>.

5. Outler, “Theodosius’ Horse,” 10.

6. Outler, “Theodosius’ Horse,” 10–11.

proliferated during the postwar period. In spite of the seemingly contradictory contrast between the individualism of “mysticism” and the communal thrust of Catholic Action, an underlying similarity is perhaps the stronger aspect. For in both contemplation and action, postwar Catholics internalized senses of authority and agency. By the time *Humanae Vitae* arrived in July 1968, three generations of Catholics had experienced a half-century of this appropriating interiorized authority.

Following an overview of these two cultural shifts in religious *mentalités*, I turn to a third discourse: birth control. Population control had also been a key anxiety in nineteenth-century modernity, territory staked out as early as the first edition of Thomas Malthus’ *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798). However, the Great War had catalyzed significant shifts in both gender and sexuality as well as hygienics and eugenics. The pressure of contraceptive discourse intensified throughout the 1920s, reaching a momentary Catholic plateau in the papal encyclical *Casti Connubii*, promulgated on New Year’s Eve, 1930. Nevertheless, the issue would continue to grow throughout the 1930s and into the Second World War—especially (and horrifyingly) in the guise of racial eugenics—and resurface in the post-Fascist 1950s within the context of Western liberal democracy. In short: birth control discourse traveled a long trek between 1918 and 1968.

Finally, I conclude with 1968. By that year, birth control had moved to center stage in Catholicism for several reasons including the technological invention of the oral contraceptive pill, Pope John XXIII’s papal birth control commission, and the Second Vatican Council. However, as in 1918, utterly contingent and seemingly external factors also played key roles in *Humanae Vitae*’s reception—most notably, again, war, now raging in Vietnam, an unlikely local theater in which world-historical forces of decolonization and Cold War rivalries intersected. These are material factors fairly easy to identify and interconnect.

Beyond the material, the evolution of more obscure cultural attitudes is also worth underscoring. These include 50 years of increasingly interiorized authority and agency, made possible by both individually appropriated “mysticism” (including the liturgical movement) as well as communal action. These preconditions in shifting *mentalités* paved the way for the *Look* magazine cover story of December 1968: “SHOULD THE POPE RETIRE?” Such a headline would have been unthinkable just ten years earlier as Pope Pius XII lay dying in early October 1958. It would have been even more inconceivable in late 1928 during the negotiations of the Lateran Accords with Benito Mussolini that radically changed the nature of the papacy (not long before the appearance of *Casti Connubii*). However, five decades of internalization had prepared Roman Catholic *mentalités* and made the unthinkable now thinkable.

The seeds of December 1968 had been planted in November 1918. The war horse had stumbled, as Outler writes, “an intruder into the natural flow of a plausible narrative.” Tradition would confront contingency as two kinds of authority met face to face: institutional and individual. The outcome would set the stage for the twenty-first-century world of autumn 2018.

1879–1914: End of the Long Nineteenth Century

In order to recover some of the cultural chasm that lay between the guns of August 1914 and the concluding November 1918 armistice, a brief return to the state of Roman Catholicism at the very end of the long nineteenth century (1789–1914) is useful.⁷ In 1879, just one year after assuming the papal throne following Pius IX (r. 1846–1878), Pope Leo XIII (r. 1878–1903) issued his third encyclical letter entitled *Aeterni Patris*: “On the Restoration of Christian Philosophy in Catholic Schools in the Spirit of the Angelic Doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas.”⁸ (The specification of “the spirit of [*ad mentem*]” suggests even Leo realized he was engaging in an invented tradition.⁹)

The neo-scholastic agenda had two primary objectives.¹⁰ In the epistemological sphere, it aimed at countering the subjective turn of Immanuel Kant, insisting instead on the mind’s ability to know the essences of things as they are in themselves and not only as they are ordered by knowing subjects.¹¹ In the political sphere, restored conceptual order was intended to lead to restored political order, especially in countering nationalist liberalism—less than a decade after September 1871 when Italian nationalists had conquered Rome, finished off the centuries-old Papal States, and unified the peninsula as the Kingdom of Italy.¹² Although this “Spirit of the Angelic Doctor” would branch out into a plurality of differing and competing streams—perhaps “too

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7. The term “long nineteenth century” as used here derives from Eric Hobsbawm’s trilogy: *The Age of Revolution: Europe, 1789–1848* (New York: Vintage, 1962); *The Age of Capital: 1848–1875* (New York: Vintage, 1975); and *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987).
 8. Leo XIII, *Aeterni Patris* (August 4, 1879), http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_04081879_aeterni-patris.html.
 9. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Stephen Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar Paris, 1919–1933* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 27–35.
 10. David F. Ford specifies three main issues of nineteenth-century challenges posed by modernity to Christianity: (1) rethinking knowledge and rationality and, as a result, reconceiving theology; (2) new historical consciousness and application of critical historical methods to religion; (2) the challenge of alternative explanations of religion. See Ford, “Introduction to Modern Christian Theology,” in *The Modern Theologians: An Introduction to Christian Theology since 1918*, ed. David F. Ford and Rachel Muers, 3rd ed. (New York: Blackwell), 1–15 at 7.
 11. Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 33–35. For neo-Scholasticism as an “epistemologized” Thomism, see Schloesser, “Recent Works in Jesuit Philosophy: Vicissitudes of Rhetorical Accommodation,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014): 105–26 at 125–26, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00101007>; citing Alasdair MacIntyre, *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry: Encyclopaedia, Genealogy, and Tradition* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990).
 12. Stephen Schloesser, “Reproach vs. *Rapprochement*: Historical Preconditions of a Paradigm Shift in the Reform of Vatican II,” in *50 Years On: Probing the Riches of Vatican II*, ed. David G. Schultenover (Collegeville, MN: Michael Glazier, 2015), xi–I at xxviii–xxxvi.

many Thomisms”—*Aeterni Patris* effectively consolidated Roman Catholic philosophy and theology as an official stance opposing nineteenth-century positivism, liberalism, and “modernity.”¹³

Partly in response to this “restoration” of neo-Scholasticism and manualist theology, as well as to the demythologizing agenda of liberal Protestantism, theologians arose who—whatever their individual differences and agendas—would later be categorized (and condemned) as “Roman Catholic Modernists.”¹⁴ Influenced by both historicism and pragmatism, these thinkers took seriously temporality and particularity—that is, “history”—as fundamental determinants of meaning. Whether as Scripture scholars, ecclesiologists, or historical theologians, all used the nineteenth century’s historical methods to trace developments in the Bible, the Church, and doctrines back to their beginnings.¹⁵ This embrace of history and affirmation of change over time challenged the Church’s struggle with development, especially as embodied in neo-scholastic and manualist theology.¹⁶

In 1902, as the new century dawned, the Lutheran theologian and church historian Adolf von Harnack published his *Essence of Christianity*. For Harnack, the question “What is Christianity?” was “to be answered ‘solely in its historical sense,’ by employing ‘the methods of historical science, and the experience of life gained by studying the actual course of history.’” In response to the question of whether “the real Jesus could be discovered through scientific history,” Alfred Loisy immediately published *The Gospel and the Church*. He concluded affirmatively “but in such a way that the Catholic church was the natural development out of the historical

13. For brief sketch see Jürgen Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle Théologie—New Theology: Inheritor of Modernism, Precursor of Vatican II* (New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 25–27. See also Gerald A. McCool, *Neo-Thomists* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1994); McCool, *From Unity to Pluralism: The Internal Evolution of Thomism* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992); McCool, *Nineteenth-Century Scholasticism: The Search for a Unitary Method* (1977; New York: Fordham University Press, 1989); and MacIntyre, “Too Many Thomisms?” in *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry*, 58–81.

14. For a brief sketch see Mark Schoof, *A Survey of Catholic Theology, 1800–1970*, trans. N. D. Smith (Paramus, NJ: Paulist, 1970), 45–72. See also Gabriel Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence: A Study in Catholic Modernism and Integralism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); and C. J. T. Talar, *(Re)reading, Reception, and Rhetoric: Approaches to Roman Catholic Modernism* (New York: P. Lang, 1999). For opponents, see William H. Marshner, *Defending the Faith: An Anti-Modernist Anthology* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2017).

15. For origins see Claude Welch, “The Claim of History,” in *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 1, 1799–1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 147–69.

16. Stephen Schloesser, “*Vivo ergo cogito*: Modernism as Temporalization and its Discontents: A Propaedeutic to This Collection,” in *The Reception of Pragmatism in France and the Rise of Catholic Modernism, 1890–1914*, ed. David G. Schultenover (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 21–58.

Jesus.”¹⁷ The following July, the sickly 93-year-old Pope Leo XIII finally died after a quarter-century on the throne. He was succeeded on August 4, 1903 by the vigorous and relatively young 68-year-old Cardinal Giuseppe Melchiorre Sarto who took the name Pope Pius X (r. 1903–1914).

A mere four months later, Pius X published a decree condemning five of Loisy’s books.¹⁸ More systematic condemnations followed, culminating in *Lamentabili Sane Exitu* (July 3, 1907) and *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (September 8, 1907). Like the *Syllabus of Errors* (1864) issued 40 years earlier by Pius X’s namesake, *Lamentabili* condemned 65 propositions expressing “dangerous errors concerning the natural sciences, the interpretation of Holy Scripture, and the principal mysteries of the faith.” The condemned proposition 22 exemplified the antihistorical stance: “The dogmas the Church holds out as revealed are not truths which have fallen from heaven. They are an interpretation of religious facts which the human mind has acquired by laborious effort.” In other words: revealed Church dogmas had in fact fallen from heaven, fully formed and independently of human thought. This proposition summarized the integralist stance.¹⁹

In 1909, a secret international antimodernist network was set up. Its Latin title, the *Sodalitium Pianum* (S.P., i.e., “Solidarity of St. Pius V”), was known in France by its code name Sapinière. Pius X both encouraged and subsidized the activities of this “secret police.” In 1910, the Holy See required all priests having pastoral charge to sign the “Oath against Modernism.” This oath included affirming an antihistorical agenda: dogmas were immutable. Although the Great War was not yet on the horizon, the integralist reaction peaked on its eve during the years 1912–1913.²⁰

Meanwhile, as if to verify the now deceased Leo XIII’s earlier suspicions about the linkage between false ideas and political aberrations, France passed its anti-clerical laws beginning in 1903 and culminating in the Act of Separation of Church and State in 1905—long-term consequences of the Dreyfus Affair.²¹ The Republic confiscated

17. Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2, 1870–1914 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 147, 148. Adolf von Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902); Alfred Loisy, *L’Évangile et l’église* (Paris: Picard, 1902).
18. C. J. T. Talar, *Metaphor and Modernist: The Polarization of Alfred Loisy and His Neo-Thomist Critics* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987).
19. For “integralism,” see Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 54–56.
20. For the legacy of the Modernist Crisis, see Phillip M. Thompson, *Between Science and Religion: The Engagement of Catholic Intellectuals with Science and Technology in the Twentieth Century* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), 1–30. For recent studies of prewar general culture, see: Florian Illies, *1913: The Year Before the Storm*, trans. Shaun Whiteside and Jamie Lee Searle (Brooklyn and London: Melville House, 2014); Charles Emmerson, *1913: In Search of the World Before the Great War* (New York: Public Affairs, 2013); Jean-Michael Rabate, *1913: The Cradle of Modernism* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2008); Philipp Blom, *The Vertigo Years: Europe, 1900–1914* (New York: Basic Books, 2008). For rare classic film footage, see Nicole Védres, dir., *Paris 1900* (1947).
21. This and following taken from Schloesser, “Reproach vs. *Rapprochement*,” xxxix–xli; see also Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 54–56; Schloesser, “*Vivo ergo cogito*,” 46–47,

all Church properties, and members of religious orders were exiled from metropolitan France.²² Dominicans founded their house of studies (Le Saulchoir) in Belgium while Jesuits continued their ongoing exile (begun in the 1880s) at their formation house on the British island of Jersey.²³

Pius X excommunicated all Catholic deputies who had voted for the separation. This action accorded with his namesake's condemned proposition #55 in the 1864 *Syllabus of Errors*: "The Church should be separated from the state, and the state from the Church."²⁴ Pius also forbade Catholics to participate in the new lay committees that would oversee parishes. One catastrophic long-term effect of the Dreyfus Affair: many Catholics chose state over church. Perhaps it is just as well that Leo XIII had died two years earlier. He was spared seeing the utter failure of his dreams of *ralliement*, Catholics "rallying" to the Republic. French Catholics had snatched defeat from the jaws of victory.²⁵

This was the state of affairs on the eve of the Great War in July 1914: an unforgiving binary drawn between two opposing "civilizations," Catholicism versus modernity. On July 28, 1914, the Great War broke out. On August 20, less than a month into the war, Pius X died. Although his relatively short reign of eleven years had minimized the importance of temporality, history was now heading full speed toward global catastrophe. In these radically changed geopolitical circumstances, Pius' successor, Benedict XV (r. 1914–1922), immediately charted a new course in his encyclical *Ad Beatissimi Apostolorum* (November 1, 1914).²⁶ Benedict urged a heart-wrenching appeal for peace—peace throughout Europe, and peace in the church as well. Without specifically naming the integralists, Benedict ordered "that no one should consider himself to affix on those who merely do not agree with his ideas the stigma of disloyalty to faith or to discipline." Moreover, he expressed "Our will that Catholics should

49–51; and Schloesser, "Jesuit Hybrids, Catholic Moderns, Futural Pasts," in *For the City & the World: Conversations in Catholic Studies and Social Thought (Lane Center Lectures 2005–2010)*, ed. Julia Dowd (San Francisco: University of San Francisco / Association of Jesuit University Presses, 2010), 114–41, at 122–23. See also Frederick Brown, *For the Soul of France: Culture Wars in the Age of Dreyfus* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 175–230.

22. Nicholas Atkin, "The Politics of Legality: The Religious Orders in France, 1901–45," in *Religion, Society, and Politics in France since 1789*, ed. Frank Tallett and Nicholas Atkin (London: Hambledon, 1991), 149–65.

23. Both Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1955) and Henri de Lubac (1896–1991) spent part of their Jesuit formation in political exile at Jersey.

24. Pius IX, *Syllabus of Errors* (1864), 55, <https://www.ewtn.com/library/papaldoc/p9syll.htm>, from Pius IX, *Acerbissimum* (Sept. 27, 1852).

25. Schloesser, "Reproach vs. *Rapprochement*," xxxix; Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 53–54.

26. Pope Benedict XV, *Ad Beatissimi Apostolorum* (November 1, 1914), http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xv/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xv_enc_01111914_ad-beatissimi-apostolorum.html (hereafter cited as *ABA*). For the Italian context, see Vanda Wilcox, ed., *Italy in the Era of the Great War* (Boston: Brill, 2018).

abstain from certain appellations which have recently been brought into use to distinguish one group of Catholics from another.”²⁷

Elected at age 59 in 1914, Benedict XV had been intended to have a long papacy insuring continuity and tradition. However, as rupture dominated that epoch, it was perhaps fitting that a bout of pneumonia unexpectedly cut short the pope’s life in 1922. Tragically, Benedict had been unsuccessful in his great dream of persuading Europe to peace. He did, however, accomplish three important immediate postwar tasks before his untimely death: he closed down La Sapiinière in 1919 after German intelligence revealed its existence; he reestablished Vatican relations with the French Republic; and he permitted Italians to participate in the government.²⁸ Both of these last two acts ended the Magisterium’s long-standing opposition to the separation of church and state. In doing so, Benedict XV radically altered the very nature of the “church” in Catholicism.

However, a radically changed political epoch was about to emerge, one transcending the old monarchy vs. democracy binary and infused with a new kind of violence. Only nine months after Benedict died on January 22, 1922, the October 28–29 March on Rome brought Benito Mussolini and the Fascist Party to power. Fascism would now compete for dominance with Soviet Communism, established five years earlier in the October 1917 Revolution. The “Unknown Pope” Benedict had brought Catholicism to terms with an earlier modernity. In this brave new postwar world, precariously situated between liberalism, communism, and fascism, his successor, Pope Pius XI (r. 1922–1939), would need to address entirely new circumstances.²⁹

1918: Making Peace with Time

What was the effect of the Great War on Roman Catholicism?³⁰ In a word: time. The global upheaval made the reality of temporality and historical change impossible to deny. If the primary conceptual opposition in the Roman Catholic Modernist crisis had been that of immanence versus transcendence, the flight into transcendence was no longer seen as an acceptable option. Indeed, immanence might be a possibility, especially for a sacramental religion—but if so, one wouldn’t want (in the words of one shell-shocked fictional character) “a f-faith that couldn’t face the facts.”³¹

What were the changed circumstances that brought Catholicism, however unwillingly or unwittingly, to this turning point of conversion? They had been numerous:

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27. ABA 23 and 24. See also John F. Pollard, *The Unknown Pope: Benedict XV (1914–1922) and the Pursuit of Peace* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1999), 69.
 28. Pollard, *Unknown Pope*, 69; Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 102–4.
 29. Schloesser, “Reproach vs. *Rapprochement*,” xli–xlvi.
 30. For the impact of the Great War on theology, see “La Première Guerre Mondiale: Impact sur la Théologie,” ed. Christoph Theobald, special issue, *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 105, no. 4 (October–December 2017).
 31. Pat Barker, *Regeneration* (1991; repr., New York: Penguin, 1992), 82–83; in Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 116.

In material terms, the sheer volume of destruction had been overwhelming. The question for those who had survived was: how could the overwhelming sacrifice be made worthwhile? They needed to build a world worthy of such a bloodletting.³²

In psychological and ideological terms, what had died in the trenches was the underlying nineteenth-century ideologies of science, progress, and “civilization”—the positivist and colonizing foundations upon which liberal societies had been built.³³ The quantum leap in firepower and the ability to commit mass murder had brought technological advances: chemical weapons, machine guns, trains, submarines, tanks, and finally—in a foreshadowing of the civilian saturation bombing soon to come—airplanes. “The simple truth of 1914–18 trench warfare,” writes historian John Keegan, “is that the massing of large numbers of soldiers unprotected by anything but cloth uniforms, however they were trained, however equipped, against large masses of other soldiers, protected by earthworks and barbed wire and provided with rapid-fire weapons, was bound to result in very heavy casualties among the attackers.”³⁴ Appropriately enough, the monstrous figure of Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* celebrated his hundredth birthday in 1918: throughout the industrial age, creatures had turned against their creators.³⁵ In the Great War, many opined that the celebrated technology had transformed “civilization” into “barbarism.”³⁶

In societal terms, wartime conditions had altered human relationships.³⁷ On the domestic front, women provided for both the national war effort as well as their own

32. Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 96.

33. As Bruce L. McCormack writes, the liberal Protestant theology of Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889) “belongs to a world that passed away in World War I . . . Few today would be willing to affirm the cultural optimism that suffused Ritschl’s work.” Bruce L. McCormack, “The Person of Christ,” in *Mapping Modern Theology: A Thematic and Historical Introduction*, ed. Kelly M. Kapic and Bruce L. McCormack (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 149–73 at 166, 169. For the Catholic Modernists’ dilemma, see C. J. T. Talar and Lawrence F. Barmann, *Roman Catholic Modernists Confront the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). In this sense, perhaps the death of the “Americanist” Archbishop John Ireland on Wednesday, September 25, 1918, seven weeks before the November 11 armistice, was fitting in its timing.

34. John Keegan, *The First World War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 293.

35. Mary Shelley’s dialectic echoes both G. W. F. Hegel’s master–slave dialectic as well as Karl Marx’s concept of alienated labor. For Marx, see Elsie B. Michie, “*Frankenstein* and Marx’s Theories of Alienated Labor,” in *Approaches to Teaching Shelley’s Frankenstein*, ed. Stephen C. Behrendt (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1990), 93–98. For the bicentennial of Shelley’s novel, see Jill Lepore, “The Strange and Twisted Life of ‘Frankenstein’,” *The New Yorker*, February 12 and 19, 2018, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/02/12/the-strange-and-twisted-life-of-frankenstein>.

36. In late 1916, halfway through the war, one soldier wrote, “Confronted by the spectacle of a scientific struggle in which Progress is used to return to Barbarism, and by the spectacle of a civilization turning against itself to destroy itself, reason cannot cope.” Louis Mairet, quoted in Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 10.

37. Peter Englund, *The Beauty and the Sorrow: An Intimate History of the First World War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011).

families by working in factories. At the war front, nurses and ambulance drivers acquired new levels of agency and independence in attending to the wounded.³⁸ In the trenches, soldiers' prejudices about social class were challenged as aristocrats, businessmen, urban laborers, and rural peasants shared close quarters.³⁹ The nineteenth-century vision of forming citizens through required military service had been largely realized.⁴⁰ The first inklings of new understandings of sexuality also seem to have emerged as a result of mass conscription and close quarters.⁴¹ Racial differences were simultaneously lessened and heightened. Discovering a level of acceptance that they had never known back in the United States, many African Americans stayed behind in Europe even as lynching, the Ku Klux Klan, and draconian immigration measures gained momentum.⁴² While colonial soldiers were treated with contempt, they nevertheless evolved a greater sense of identity and agency during their time at the war front. The French, increasingly aware that boundaries separating colonizers and colonized were more porous than previously imagined, tightened restrictions for citizenship and pursued policies frustrating mixed-race reproduction.⁴³ The stage had been set for colonial revolts during the next world war.

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38. Mathilde Dubesset, Françoise Thébaud, and Catherine Vincent, "The Female Munition Workers of the Seine," in *The French Home Front 1914–1918*, ed. Patrick Fridenson, trans. Bruce Little and Helen McPhail (Oxford: Berg, 1992), 183–218; Françoise Thébaud, "The Great War and the Triumph of Sexual Division," in *History of Women in the West*, ed. Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, vol. 5, *Toward a Cultural Identity in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Françoise Thébaud, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1996); Christine E. Hallett, *Containing Trauma: Nursing Work in the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).
 39. Peter Hart, *Voices from the Front: An Oral History of the Great War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Santanu Das, *Touch and Intimacy in First World War Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
 40. Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 292–302.
 41. Florence Tamagne, *History of Homosexuality in Europe, Volume I & II: Berlin, London, Paris 1919–1939*, trans. Alice Seberry (New York: Algora, 2006), 21–25; H. Fischer and E. X. Dubois, *Sexual Life during the World War* (London: Francis Aldor, 1937), esp. chap. 5; Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), chap. 8.
 42. William A. Shack, *Harlem in Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story between the Great Wars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). For the 1920s USA, see Felix Harcourt, *Ku Klux Kulture: America and the Klan in the 1920s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017); Linda Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition* (New York: Liveright, 2017); Crystal Nicole Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011); Cameron McWhirter, *Red Summer: The Summer of 1919 and the Awakening of Black America* (New York: Henry Holt, 2011).
 43. Jennifer Anne Boittin, *Colonial Metropolis: The Urban Grounds of Anti-imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010); Alice

On the religious front, there seems to have been an “ecumenism of the trenches.”⁴⁴ Clergy sent to the front as chaplains and medical assistants encountered lay persons of various faiths (or no faith at all) in ways they had never experienced before.⁴⁵ For aristocrats like the Jesuits Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (on the front lines at Verdun) and Henri de Lubac (wounded in the war), heightened ecumenical awareness came in both religious and socio-economic forms.⁴⁶ Casualties

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- L. Conklin, “Redefining ‘Frenchness’: Citizenship, Race Regeneration, and Imperial Motherhood in France and West Africa, 1914–40,” in *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism*, ed. Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 43–64; Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).
44. Annette Becker, *War and Faith: The Religious Imagination in France, 1914–1930*, trans. Helen McPhail (New York: Berg, 1998); orig. Becker, *La guerre et la foi 1900–1930* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1994). Coinage of the term “ecumenism of the trenches” is attributed to Timothy George, “Catholics and Evangelicals in the Trenches,” *Christianity Today* 38/6 (May 16, 1994): 16–17.
45. For a brief sketch see Michael Burleigh, *Earthly Powers: Religion and Politics in Europe from the French Revolution to the Great War* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), 451–56. See also Anita Rasi May, *Patriot Priests: French Catholic Clergy and National Identity in World War I* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018); Alain Toulza, *La Grande guerre des hommes de Dieu: héros des tranchées, entre persécutions et Union sacrée* (Paris: DRAC, Droits du religieux ancien combattant, Défense et renouveau de l’action civique, 2016); Philippe Pasteau, *Ferveur religieuse pendant la Grande Guerre* (Versailles: Via romana, 2016), 13–50; Ron E. Hassner, *Religion on the Battlefield* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016); Xavier Boniface, *Histoire religieuse de la Grande Guerre* (Paris: Fayard, 2014), 63–74; Daniel Moulinet, *Prêtres soldats dans la Grande Guerre: les clercs bourbonnais sous les drapeaux* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014); Xavier Boniface and François Cochet, eds., *Foi, religions et sacré dans la Grande guerre* (Arras: Artois presses université, 2014); Paul Christophe, *Des missionnaires plongés dans la Grande Guerre 1914–1918: Lettres des Missions étrangères de Paris* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2012); Marie-Claude Flagéat, *Les jésuites français dans la Grande Guerre: témoins, victimes, héros, apôtres* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2008); Nadine-Josette Chaline, “Les aumôniers catholiques dans l’armée française,” in *Chrétiens dans la Première Guerre mondiale: actes des Journées tenues à Amiens et à Péronne, les 16 mai et 22 juillet 1992*, ed. Nadine-Josette Chaline (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1993), 95–120.
46. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *Writings in Time of War*, trans. René Hague (New York: Harper & Row, 1968); orig. *Écrits du temps de la guerre: 1916–1919* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1965); Teilhard de Chardin, *The Making of a Mind: Letters from a Soldier-Priest, 1914–1919*, trans. René Hague (London: Collins, 1965); orig. *Genèse d’une pensée: lettres, 1914–1919* (Paris: Grasset, 1961); François Euvé, “L’Impact de la Première Guerre Mondiale sur la Théologie Française: Le Cas Teilhard de Chardin,” in “La Première Guerre Mondiale: Impact sur la Théologie,” ed. Christoph Theobald, special issue, *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 105, no. 4 (October–December 2017): 577–94; Georges Chantraine, *Henri de Lubac*, vol. 1, *De la naissance à la démobilisation, 1896–1919* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2007), 293–458.

suffered by the clergy would be successfully deployed to argue for Catholic cohabitation in the republican state. Jesuit war veteran Paul Doncoeur defied the Republic: “We are not leaving!”⁴⁷

Contrary to earlier modernist stereotypes of an avant-garde severing itself from all past tradition, the 1920s can now be seen as a decade marked by the mourning of a traumatized culture.⁴⁸ Monument building and prosthetics became big business.⁴⁹ Like so many mutilated bodies, shattered narratives needed to be repaired or replaced with new elements that accommodated unaccountable horrors. One small but telling detail: belief in Purgatory seems to have waned, quietly undermining a cornerstone of Catholicism’s sacramental system since the early Middle Ages.⁵⁰ As scholarship of the last quarter-century has demonstrated, the necessity to come to grips with trauma produced a culture that was neither cleanly “modernist” (deleting the past) nor naively “nostalgic.” Rather, the 1920s were an unstable combination of both modernity and tradition—perhaps an “off-modern.”⁵¹ The *Ressourcement* movement—“back to the sources”—was a thoroughly off-modern exercise in keeping with the broader postwar culture.⁵²

In this radically changed twentieth-century postwar context, the old binary of immanence versus transcendence could be reconfigured in new clothing. The theological and cultural tasks would be undertaken by laity as well as clergy, many of them (to the chagrin of stalwarts like Réginald Garrigou-Lagrange) recent converts. Three years before “Catholic Action” became Pius XI’s signature agenda, Raïssa Maritain (née Oumançoff), a Russian Jewish refugee and Catholic convert, issued her manifesto: “No timidity. No pharisaism. No ignorance. No prudishness. No Manicheanism. But rather Catholic doctrine luminous and total.”⁵³

47. Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 104–6.

48. Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 10–11; for cultural trauma bibliography, see 330–31, nn31–33.

49. Daniel J. Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men’s Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). See also “Prosthetic Devices,” *Medicine in World War I*, Yale University Library, created 2017/2018, <http://exhibits.library.yale.edu/exhibits/show/wwmedicine/prosthetic-devices>.

50. Guillaume Cuchet, *Le crépuscule du purgatoire* (Paris: A. Colin, 2005); Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

51. Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 11–14.

52. Gabriel Flynn and P. D. Murray, eds., *Ressourcement: A Movement for Renewal in Twentieth-Century Catholic Theology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

53. Raïssa Maritain, quoted in Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 122. See also Brenna Moore, *Sacred Dread: Raïssa Maritain, the Allure of Suffering, and the French Catholic Revival (1905–1944)* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013); and Moore, “Friendship and the Cultivation of Religious Sensibilities,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 83 (2015): 437–63, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jaarel/lfu111>.

Interiorized Authority: Individual Mysticism

In the postwar epoch, a surge in discourse of the “mystical” can be seen as an interiorization of authority and a democratization of religiosity.⁵⁴ From the perspective of the individual, the 1920s witnessed an upsurge of interest in the “mystic,” the popularization of a nineteenth-century movement emphasizing the possibility of direct and immediate contact with forces (including romantic nature) outside the self.⁵⁵ In the prewar world of nineteenth-century positivism and secularization, “mysticism” had negatively connoted an irrational relic needing to be routed: “the progress of truth consisted in the light of science invading dark chambers inhabited by mysticism, until at last no darkness should be left.”⁵⁶

However, by the end of the nineteenth century, as liberal “religion” had been transformed largely into rational moral or ethical systems, appeal of the “mystic” (as opposed to the “religious”) lay precisely in its “primitive” turn to mysteries beyond rational and ethical boundaries.⁵⁷ Since this movement emphasized experience over concepts, it also contained within itself the potential for ecumenical boundary crossings, not only between Christian denominations divided by doctrines, but between religious practitioners of every kind as well as the nonreligious (as conventionally defined).⁵⁸ The “mystic” played a key role in what became known as Roman Catholic Modernism, especially in works pioneered by George Tyrrell (who had died prior to the war in 1909) and Henri Bremond. Both Jesuits, at first from within and later from outside the Society

54. Jürgen Mettepenningen identifies “At least nine theological developments [that] can be traced to the 1920s, 30s and 40s.” See Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle théologie—New Theology*, 27–29.

55. In 1968, the Jesuit historian Michel de Certeau identified a distinctively late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century strain of discourse about the “mystic”: see de Certeau, “Mysticism,” trans. Marsanne Brammer, *Diacritics* 22 (1992): 11–25, <https://doi.org/10.2307/465276>; originally in *Encyclopaedia universalis* (1968). Four years later, de Certeau explored this further in “Histoire et mystique,” *Revue d’histoire de la spiritualité* 89 (1972): 69–82; cf. de Certeau, “History and Mysticism,” in *Histories: French Constructions of the Past*, ed. Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt, trans. Arthur Goldhammer et al. (New York: New Press, 1995), 437–47.

56. Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 15; quoted in Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 117.

57. Friedrich von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion as Studied in Saint Catherine of Genova and Her Friends* (London: J. M. Dent, 1908); Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man’s Spiritual Consciousness* (London: Methuen, 1911); Underhill, *Practical Mysticism: A Little Book for Normal People* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1914); Underhill, *Mysticism and War* (London: J. M. Watkins, 1915).

58. Martin Jay, *Songs of Experience: Modern American and European Variations on a Universal Theme* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); cf. Schloesser, “Propaedeutic.”

of Jesus, worked at making the laity conscious of religious—mystic—experience in everyday life.⁵⁹ The postwar epoch validated those earlier experiments.

The finite limitations of human action would be revealed in the trenches of the killing fields, and the Great War's collective encounter with chaos and incomprehensibility gave new value to the language of *la mystique*.⁶⁰ On March 12, 1915, as battles of attrition were fought in order to break through the trenches, Pierre-Dominique Dupouey wrote a letter in which he called the war-front *la grande ligne mystique*—the “great mystical line all along which flows so much blood.” This use of *la mystique* endured through the end of the war and continued into the next decade.⁶¹ Two years later, now following the unimaginable casualties of 1916 battles like Somme and Verdun, a Catholic revivalist named Pierre de Lescure wrote an essay entitled “Mysticism and Realism” about the dialectical character of his own “mystic generation”: “The mystic generation is realist in religion ... It will be realist in the action determined by its religious vision.”⁶² In 1920, Jules Sageret published *The Mystical Wave*, a long investigation of “mystical” currents in philosophy and science, including Bergsonism, neo-Thomism,

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59. Giacomo Losito and Charles J. T. Talar, eds., *Modernisme, mystique, mysticisme* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2017); C. J. T. Talar, ed., *Modernists and Mystics* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009). See for example: Henri Bremond, *The Mystery of Newman*, trans. H. C. Corrance, introduction by George Tyrrell (London: Williams and Norgate, 1907); George Tyrrell, “The Presence of God,” in *Hard Sayings: A Selection of Meditations and Studies* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898), 29–44; “Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi” (1899); and “Religion as a Factor of Life” (1902); both reprinted in George Tyrrell, *Tradition and the Critical Spirit: Catholic Modernist Writings*, ed. James C. Livingston (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 64–77 and 21–31; Tyrrell, “Insufficiency of Merely External Religion,” in *External Religion: Its Use and Abuse*, 4th ed. (London: Sands & Co., 1903), 58–79. In 1906, the year in which he was dismissed from the Jesuit order, Tyrrell responded to a university professor's question about whether it was “necessary to separate oneself from the communion of the Church” over intellectual conflicts. “Yes,” responded Tyrrell, “if theological ‘intellectualism’ be right; if faith mean mental assent to a system of conceptions of the understanding ... No, if Catholicism be primarily a life, and the Church a spiritual organism in whose life we participate.” Tyrrell, “Letter to a University Professor,” in Livingston, *Tradition and the Critical Spirit*, 104–11.
60. For a fuller exposition of the following see Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 116–19. See also Dominique de Courcelles and Ghislain Waterlot, eds., *La mystique face aux guerres mondiales* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2010).
61. Pierre-Dominique Dupouey, March 12, 1915; in Dupouey, *Lettres et essais* (Paris: Le Cerf, 1935), 180; in Becker, *La Guerre et la foi*, 11; trans. *War and Faith*, 6. Becker's work is dedicated to an investigation of this phenomenon: “C'est de cette mystique que ce livre entend rendre compte” (It is this mystique that I wish to account for here). Becker, *La Guerre et la foi*, 13; trans. *War and Faith*, 6.
62. Pierre de Lescure, “Mysticisme et Réalisme,” *La Revue des Jeunes*, January 10, 1917, 26. For the concept “generation,” see Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 108–9.

and “Energetisme.”⁶³ The journal *Revue d’ascétique et de mystique* was launched in 1920 and its German counterpart soon followed in 1926: the *Zeitschrift für Aszese und Mystik*.

During the war, Bloud et Gay, a firm heavily involved in the Catholic wartime publishing effort, had begun a projected eleven-volume work by the former Jesuit Abbé Henri Bremond entitled *A Literary History of Religious Sentiment in France from the End of the Wars of Religion to Our Own Time* (1916).⁶⁴ After the war they continued to publish those volumes as they emerged, including *Devout Humanism*, *The Mystical Invasion, 1590–1620*, and *The Mystical Conquest* (vols. 3–6). Bloud et Gay’s 1922 *French Catholic Almanac* devoted a full-page advertisement publicizing Bremond’s history of the “mystical,” boldly declaring, “The reawakening of Mystical Studies is one of the most significant facts of the postwar.”⁶⁵ The work had received one of the Académie Française’s most coveted prizes.

Bloud et Gay also published Paul Archambault’s series entitled “Notes for the New Day,” a journal produced by a brilliant group of friends gathered around the philosopher Maurice Blondel. The title of an early issue, appearing directly after one entitled *The Testimony of a Generation* (1924), asked, *What is the Mystical?* (1925). Later volumes pointed to the other half of the mystic–realist dialectic: *Where to Look for the Real?* (1927) and *Toward an Integral Realism: The Philosophical Work of Maurice Blondel* (1928).⁶⁶

Even a brief sketch of individual works published in the 1920s offers a sense of the promise of “mystic” discourse in the postwar epoch. Of particular note is the ecumenical expansion of interest to Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism, all intimately connected to the colonial expansion (and immigration surge) resulting from the 1919 Treaty of Versailles.⁶⁷

63. Jules Sageret, *La Vague mystique: Henri Poincaré, énergetisme, néo-thomisme, bergsonisme, pragmatisme, Émile Boutroux* (Paris: E. Flammarion, 1920).

64. For Bloud et Gay, see Stephen Schloesser, *Visions of Amen: The Early Life and Music of Olivier Messiaen* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), 203n18.

65. Advertisement on back cover, *Almanach catholique français pour 1922*, preface by Mgr. A. Baudrillart, published under the patronage of the Comité Catholique des Amitiés Françaises à l’Étranger (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1922).

66. *Cahiers de la Nouvelle Journée* (Paris: Bloud et Gay): *Le Témoignage d’une génération* (no. 2, 1924); *Qu’est-ce que la mystique? Quelques aspects historiques et philosophiques du problème* (no. 3, 1925); *Où chercher le Réel?* (no. 9, 1925); and Paul Archambault, *Vers un réalisme intégral. L’Oeuvre philosophique de Maurice Blondel* (no. 12, 1928). See also Paul Archambault, “Qu’est-ce que la politique? Technique, art et mystique,” *Politique* 4 (April 1929): 388–89.

67. Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2002). The “East” functioned as an “orientalist” site onto which both positive and negative values could be projected. For some, it represented a peaceful alternative to the industrialized, technocratic, and militarized “West.” For others, it represented a threat needing resistance. For the former see *Les appels de l’Orient*, *Les cahiers du mois* 9/10 (Paris: Émile-Paul Frères, 1925); for the latter, Henri Massis, *Défense de l’Occident* (Paris: Plon, 1927); immediately translated as Massis, *Defence of the West*,

- 1917 Rudolph Otto, *The Holy*⁶⁸
- 1920–22 Henri Bremond, *Literary History of Religious Sentiment* (vols. 3–6)⁶⁹
- 1918 Friedrich Heiler, *Prayer in Mysticism*⁷⁰
- 1919 Georges Dandoy, SJ, *Essay on the Doctrine of the Unreality of the World*
Friedrich Heiler, *The Meaning of Mysticism for World Religions*
Friedrich Heiler, *The Secret of Prayer: Evangelical Christianity and Mysticism*⁷¹
- 1921 Maurice de La Taille, *Contemplative Prayer*
René Guénon, *General Introduction to the Study of Hindu Doctrines*
Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*⁷²
- 1922 Friedrich Heiler, *Buddhist Contemplation*
Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality*
Louis Massignon, *The Passion of al Hallaj, Mystical Martyr of Islam*
Nikolai Arseniev, *The Thirst for Authentic Being: Pessimism and Mysticism*⁷³
- 1923 Rudolph Otto, *Idea of the Holy* (English trans. of 1917)
Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality* (English trans. of 1922)⁷⁴

trans. F. S. Flint (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1928). See also the 1922 launch of *The Light of the East. A Catholic Monthly*, edited by Georges Dandoy, SJ, in Calcutta. For an overview, see Barrie Cadwallader, *Crisis of the European Mind: A Study of André Malraux and Drieu La Rochelle* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1981).

68. Rudolph Otto, *Das Heilige. Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen* (Breslau: Trewendt & Granier, 1917).
69. Henri Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours / III–VI, La conquête mystique* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1920–1922).
70. Friedrich Heiler, *Das Gebet in der Mystik: Eine religionspsychologische Untersuchung* (München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1918).
71. Georges Dandoy, *An Essay on the Doctrine of the Unreality of the World in the Advaita* (Calcutta: A. Rome, 1919); Friedrich Heiler, *Die Bedeutung der Mystik für die Weltreligionen. Vortrag gehalten am 21. März 1919 in der Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte in München* (München: E. Reinhardt, 1919); Heiler, *Das Geheimnis des Gebets; Evangelisches Christentum und Mystik; Die Gemeinschaft der Heiligen* (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1919).
72. Maurice de La Taille, *L'oraison contemplative* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1921); René Guénon, *Introduction générale à l'étude des doctrines Hindoues* (Paris: M. Rivière, 1921); Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1921).
73. Friedrich Heiler, *Die Buddhistische Versenkung: eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (München: Reinhardt, 1922); Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *La mentalité primitive* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1922); Louis Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hosayn-Ibn-Mansour al Hallaj: martyr mystique de l'Islam, exécuté à Bagdad le 26 Mars 922: étude d'histoire religieuse*, 2 vols. (Paris: Geuthner, 1922); Nikolai Sergueevitch Arseniev, *Жажда подлинного бытия пессимизмъ и мистика / Žažda podlinnago bytiâ: pesimizm 'i mistika* (Berlin: Izdatelstvo S. Efron, 1922).
74. Rudolph Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and its Relation to the Rational*, trans. John W. Harvey (London and New York: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1923); Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive*

- 1924 Émile Baumann, *The Golden Ring of Great Mystics*
Jean Baruzi, *Saint John of the Cross and the Problem of Mystical Experience*
Joseph Maréchal, *Studies on the Psychology of the Mystics*⁷⁵
- 1925 Nikolai Arseniev, *Eastern Church and Mysticism*
Jacques and Raïssa Maritain, *On the Life of Prayer*
Louis Renou, *The Value of Perfection in Vedic Hymns*⁷⁶
- 1926 Rudolph Otto, *Western-Eastern Mysticism*
Nikolai Arseniev, *Mysticism and the Eastern Church* (German tr. of 1925)⁷⁷
- 1928 Edmond Bruggemann, *The Flemish Mystics and the French Catholic Revival*
Emil Brunner, *Mysticism and the Word*
Jacques and Raïssa Maritain, *Prayer and Intelligence* (English trans. of 1925)
Jacques and Raïssa Maritain, *Of Life and Prayer* (German trans. of 1925)⁷⁸
- 1929 Romain Rolland, *Essay on Mysticism and Action of Living India* (3 vols.)
Romain Rolland, *The Life of Ramakrishna* (French and German)⁷⁹

By the time of the October 1929 stock market collapse, as the postwar 1920s passed into the interwar 1930s and Great Depression, “mystic” interest had migrated significantly to non-Western arenas.

Mentality, trans. Lilian A. Clare (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.; New York: Macmillan Co., 1923).

75. Émile Baumann, *L'anneau d'or des grands mystiques de saint Augustin à Catherine Emmerich* (Paris: B. Grasset, 1924); Jean Baruzi, *Saint Jean de la Croix et le problème de l'expérience mystique* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1924); Joseph Maréchal, *Études sur la psychologie des mystiques* (Bruges: Charles Beyaert; Paris, F. Alcan, 1924). Maréchal's second volume, published in 1937, devoted significantly more material to Eastern mysticism.
76. Nikolaj Sergeevič Arsen'ev, *Ostkirche und Mystik. I. Vom Geist der morgenländischen Kirche. II. Verklärung der Welt und des Lebens in der christlichen Mystik* (München: Reinhardt, 1925); Jacques Maritain and Raïssa Maritain, *De la vie d'oraison* (Paris: L'Art catholique, 1925); Louis Renou, *La Valeur du parfait dans les hymnes védiques* (Paris: E. Champion, 1925).
77. Rudolf Otto, *West-östliche mystik: vergleich und unterscheidung zur wesensdeutung* (Gotha: L. Klotz, 1926); Nikolai Sergeevich Arsen'ev, *Mysticism and the Eastern Church*, trans. A. Chambers, with a preface by Friedrich Heiler and introduction by Evelyn Underhill (London: Student Christian Movement, 1926).
78. Emil Brunner, *Die Mystik und das Wort: der Gegensatz zwischen moderner Religionsauffassung und christlichem Glauben dargestellt an der Theologie Schleiermachers* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1928); Edmond Bruggemann, *Les mystiques flamands et le renouveau catholique français* (Lille: Mercure de Flandre, 1928); Jacques Maritain and Raïssa Maritain, *Prayer and Intelligence: Being La vie d'oraison of Jacques and Raïssa Maritain*, trans. Algar Thorold (London: Sheed & Ward, 1928); Maritain and Maritain, *Vom Leben des Gebetes*, trans. Thomas Michels (Augsburg: Filser, 1928).
79. Romain Rolland, *Essai sur la mystique et l'action de l'Inde vivante* (Paris: Stock, 1929); Rolland, *La Vie de Ramakrishna* (Paris: Stock, 1929); Rolland, *Das Leben des Ramakrishna*, trans. Paul Amann (Erlenbach-Zürich: Rotapfelverlag, 1929).

The interiorization of the “mystic” also influenced liturgical studies and movements. Already in *The Liturgical Year* (1889–1907), Dom Prosper Guéranger had distinguished three liturgical levels: the historical, the practical, and the mystical.⁸⁰ Beginning during the Great War and continuing afterward, Dom Columba Marmion brought the same message of the liturgical year’s “mysteries” to a broader lay audience in a much shorter and more accessible venue.⁸¹

In 1918, the year of the Armistice, Romano Guardini published *Spirit of the Liturgy*.⁸² In 1921, two Benedictines, the Belgian Dom Lambert Beauduin and the German Dom Odo Casel founded the *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*. In 1922, after several post-war years of holding Bible studies and courses explaining the Mass, the Austrian Augustinian Pius Parsch celebrated a *Chormesse* (“liturgical Mass”). Liturgical historian Anthony Ruff writes, “As a chaplain during World War I, Parsch observed that the soldiers understood nothing of the Mass they attended. In comparison he recalled Eastern Orthodox liturgies where the laity play a more active role. He became convinced that the active participation of the faithful was of central importance.”⁸³

Unexpectedly, the year 1926 turned out to be a watershed.⁸⁴ Parsch founded the periodical *Bibel und Liturgie*; American Benedictine Virgil Michel founded the Liturgical Press and *Orate Fratres*; and the first edition of the ecumenical periodical

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80. Stephen Schloesser, “The Charm of Impossibilities: Mystic Surrealism as Contemplative Voluptuousness,” in *Messiaen the Theologian*, ed. Andrew Shenton (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 163–82 at 168–70.
81. Schloesser, “Charm of Impossibilities,” 180–81; Schloesser, *Visions of Amen*, 148–52, 178–82, 219–27, 229–39.
82. Romano Guardini, *Vom Geist der Liturgie* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1918). Compare the application to ecclesiology in Guardini, *Vom Sinn der Kirche* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag, 1923). Published together in English translation as Guardini, *The Church and the Catholic; and the Spirit of the Liturgy*, trans. Ada Lane (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1935).
83. Anthony Ruff, *Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform: Treasures and Transformations* (Chicago: Hillenbrand, 2007), 230–31. Three decades later, after a second world war, scholar Theodor Schnitzler would criticize Parsch’s approach: “Along with his era, Pius espoused a certain naïve liturgicalism. This was revealed in a near-archeological attitude that without hesitation considered a text beautiful if only it were old, and considered it less beautiful if it were of more recent date.” Schnitzler can hardly be blamed for not having seen that this paradoxical antiquarian-modernist trend—and the 1930s *Ressourcement* as well—was only one aspect of a much broader postwar off-modernity. Theodor Schnitzler, “Der Mensch und sein Werk,” *Liturgisches Jahrbuch 4* (1954): 232–36 at 234; quoted in Ruff, *Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform*, 232n152. For off-modernity, see Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 13–14. For a recent exhibition, see Yves Le Fur, Gérard Wajcman, Stéphane Breton, and Musée du quai Branly–Jacques Chirac (Paris), *Picasso primitif* (Paris: Flammarion / Musée du quai Branly–Jacques Chirac, 2017).
84. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *In 1926: Living at the Edge of Time* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

Irénikon appeared. It followed five years of the Malines Conversations (*Mechelse gesprekken*), ecumenical dialogues between Anglicans and Catholics taking place between 1921 and 1926.⁸⁵ The dialogues followed the “Appeal to All Christian People” issued by the Lambeth Conference in 1920.⁸⁶ In sum: a positive turn to the “mystical,” emphasizing individual experience and emotion, began an interiorization of authority that prepared the groundwork for lay reception in 1968.

Interiorized Agency: Communal Catholic Action

The interiorization of authority also had a communal and societal aspect. In addition to “mysticism,” the 1920s witnessed an upsurge of interest in “Catholic Action,” a phenomenon leading one church historian to christen this epoch in the United States the “Church of Catholic Action.”⁸⁷ Here too there had been precedents before the war. In 1903, shortly after ascending the papal throne, Pius X had spoken of “Catholic Action,” first in a *motu proprio* and then in his first encyclical.⁸⁸ French Catholics responded immediately with the foundation in 1904 of the “Semaines Sociales de France” (Social Weeks of France).⁸⁹ The following year, Pius X promulgated his encyclical *Il Fermo Proposito* (June 11, 1905), calling for

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85. Ruff, *Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform*, 231; Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle théologie—New Theology*, 28.
86. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 5, *Christian Doctrine and Modern Culture (since 1700)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 284. Pelikan writes, “Ecumenicity was the great new fact in the history of the church, and hence also in the history of Christian doctrine; and the doctrine of the church became, as it had never quite been before, the bearer of the whole of the Christian message for the twentieth century, as well as the recapitulation of the entire doctrinal tradition from preceding centuries.” Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, 5:282.
87. James M. O’Toole divides “The Immigrant Church Addressing Developments from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Close of Immigration in 1924” from “The Church of Catholic Action Covering the Period from 1930–1960.” See O’Toole, *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2008). For bibliography, see Roy Brooks-Delphin, “*Jamaica Triumphant* (1937): Daniel Lord, Pageantry, and the Foundations of Jamaican National Theater,” in *Crossings and Dwellings: Restored Jesuits, Women Religious, American Experience, 1814–2014*, ed. Kyle B. Roberts and Stephen R. Schloesser (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 454–95 at 460–61n23.
88. “The times we live in demand action—but action which consists entirely in observing with fidelity and zeal the divine laws and the precepts of the Church, in the frank and open profession of religion, in the exercise of every kind of charitable works, without regard to self-interest or worldly advantage.” Pius X, *E Supremi* (October 4, 1903), 14, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_04101903_e-supremi.html. The encyclical was followed up with a *motu proprio*, *Fin Dalla Prima Nostra* (December 18, 1903), trans. in *American Catholic Quarterly Review* 29 (1904): 234–39.
89. For overview, see Jean-Dominique Durand, ed., *Les Semaines sociales de France: cent ans d’engagement social des catholiques français, 1904–2004; actes du Colloque international d’histoire, 13–16 octobre 2004, [tenu à l’] Université Jean-Moulin-Lyon 3* (Paris: Parole et silence, 2006).

“Catholic Action ... throughout the world as well as in Our Italy.” The field of Catholic Action was “extremely vast” and included the laity’s cooperation “for the extension and increase of the Kingdom of God” in both spiritual goods as well as the “many goods of the Natural order over which the Church has not direct mission, although they flow as a natural consequence from her divine mission.”⁹⁰

However, “Catholic Action” as a consolidated movement was more properly a post-Great War invention first outlined in detail by Pope Pius XI.⁹¹ Ten months after following Benedict XV on the papal throne (February 6, 1922) and two months after the Fascist March on Rome, Pius promulgated his encyclical *Ubi Arcano Dei Consilio* (*In the Scrutable Designs of God*).⁹² “Finally,” declared the pontiff, “We include among these fruits of piety that whole group of movements, organizations, and works so dear to Our fatherly heart which passes under the name of ‘Catholic Action,’ and in which We have been so intensely interested.”⁹³ Pius XI’s highly unexpected ascent to the papacy after the untimely death of Benedict XV had brought him face to face with the new world: Soviet Communism and the Communist International (Comintern, founded March 1919) and other effects of the 1917 October Revolution; and now too

90. Pius X, *Il Fermo Proposito* (June 11, 1905), 2, 3, and 4, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_11061905_il-fermo-proposito.html.

91. For a succinct overview of the movement, see Robert A. Graham, “The Laity, the Council and the New Apostolate,” *America*, May 6, 1961, <http://americamagazine.org/issue/100/laity-council-and-new-apostolate>. For European origins, see Gerd-Rainer Horn, “Catholic Action: A Twentieth-Century Social Movement (1920s–1930s),” in *Western European Liberation Theology: The First Wave (1924–1959)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 5–53. For the United States, see Jeremy Bonner, Jeffrey M. Burns, and Christopher D. Denny, *Empowering the People of God: Catholic Action before and after Vatican II* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014).

92. Pius XI, *Ubi Arcano Dei Consilio* (December 23, 1922), https://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19221223_ubi-arcano-dei-consilio.html.

93. Pius XI then made explicit why a qualitatively new degree of cooperation was needed between clergy and laity: “However, these very social changes, which have created and increased the need of cooperation between the clergy and laity to which We have just referred, have themselves brought along in their wake new and most serious problems and dangers. As an after-effect of the upheaval caused by the Great War and of its political and social consequences, false ideas and unhealthy sentiments have, like a contagious disease, so taken possession of the popular mind that We have grave fears that even some among the best of our laity and of the clergy, seduced by the false appearance of truth which some of these doctrines possess, have not been altogether immune from error.

“Many believe in or claim that they believe in and hold fast to Catholic doctrine on such questions as social authority, the right of owning private property, on the relations between capital and labor, on the rights of the laboring man, on the relations between Church and State, religion and country, on the relations between the different social classes, on international relations, on the rights of the Holy See and the prerogatives of the Roman Pontiff and the Episcopate, on the social rights of Jesus Christ, Who is the Creator, Redeemer, and Lord not only of individuals but of nations.” Pius XI, *Ubi Arcano*, 54, 59–60.

the triumph of Mussolini and the Fascists two months before *Ubi Arcano*. These new historical realities were direct (if utterly contingent) consequences of the Great War.

The 1922 encyclical gave new energy to the *Semaines Sociales* movement.⁹⁴ In 1923, Bloud et Gay, the publishing firm marketing the “mystic,” published *The Social Weeks* as the third volume in their series “The French Catholic Effort.”⁹⁵ In 1924, *Economic Life and Catholicism* surveyed the themes of the Social Weeks between 1919 and 1924: “Sources, Principles, and Method”; “The Problem of Production”; “Injustice in Economic Life”; “How to Adapt the State to its Economic Functions?”; “The Problem of Population”; “The Agrarian Problem.”⁹⁶ The decade’s remaining themes give a sense of the topics as the postwar changed to the interwar after 1929 inaugurated the Great Depression:

- 1925 The Crisis of Authority (17th session, Lyon)
- 1926 The Problem of the Intellectual Life (18th session, Le Havre)
- 1927 The Woman in Society (19th session, Nancy)
- 1928 The Law of Charity, Principle of Social Life (20th session, Paris)
- 1929 The New Conditions of Industrial Life (21st session, Besançon)
- 1930 The Social Problem in the Colonies (22nd session, Marseille)
- 1931 Christian Morality and Business (23rd session, Mulhouse)
- 1932 The Disorder of the International Economy and Christian Thought (24th session, Lille)⁹⁷

Lenten pastoral letters from French bishops during the 1920s and 1930s emphasized the necessity of Catholic Action in every life. One bishop’s slogan exclaimed: “No Catholic life without Catholic Action!”⁹⁸ These “bishops of Catholic Action” emerging about 1927 were largely veterans of the Great War a decade earlier.⁹⁹ Their Lenten letters demonstrate a definitive turning point away from French Catholicism’s traditional embrace of resignation and toward taking action, that is, interiorized agency.¹⁰⁰

94. For the related but less well-known “Social Secretariat” movement, see Olivier Chatelan, “Un catholicisme social omniprésent mais peu connu: les secrétariats sociaux en France, des origines aux années 1960,” *Chrétiens et Sociétés* 22 (2015): 247–66, <https://doi.org/10.4000/chretienssocietes.3907>.

95. Jean Terrel, *Les Semaines sociales* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1923).

96. Eugène Duthoit, *Vie économique et catholicisme: leçons d’ouverture aux Semaines sociales de France, 1919–1924* (Lyon: Chronique sociale de France, 1924).

97. The themes for the 61 sessions between 1904 and 2016 are listed on the official website of the *Semaines Sociales de France*: http://www.ssf-fr.org/archives_56_session-0.html.

98. Jean-François Galinier-Pallerola, *La résignation dans la culture catholique: 1870–1945* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2007), 78. See pastoral letter for Lent 1932 of Mgr. Emmanuel Coste, Archbishop of Aix-en-Provence (1931–1934) in *Semaine religieuse d’Aix* 7 (1932), 68; quoted in Galinier-Pallerola, *La résignation*, 79.

99. Frédéric Le Moigne, *Les évêques français de Verdun à Vatican II: Une génération en mal d’héroïsme* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2017), 29–34, 39–45.

100. In the United States, numerous publications appeared as Catholics responded to the social demands of the Great Depression. Examples include Daniel A. Lord’s *The Call to Catholic Action* (St. Louis: Queen’s Work, 1933), a series of conferences published as

The year 1936 was a tumultuous moment throughout Europe as the Spanish Civil War became a local theater for clashing Communist and Fascist forces. That same year, following years of economic frustration and despair in the Great Depression, the French voted in their first socialist government in May. The 1937 publication of Emile Mersch's *Morality and the Mystical Body* (1937) has been interpreted in this context as a morality grafted on to a spirituality of the (Mystical) Body of Christ.¹⁰¹ A similar melding of the individual and social might also be seen in the sometimes-overlooked subtitle of Henri de Lubac's foundational work: *Catholicism: The Social Aspects of Dogma* (1938).¹⁰²

The first draft of *Catholicism* had appeared just before the May 1936 elections in the *Chronique Sociale de la France*.¹⁰³ In the book's introduction, after acknowledging that he had not directly "dealt with Catholic Action" and recommending his readers to several references, de Lubac laid out his plan.¹⁰⁴

The first part shows in a general conspectus how our whole religion, in the principal articles of its *Credo* (chapter 1), in its living constitution (chapter 2), in its sacramental system (chapter 3), in the end that it offers to our hope (chapter 4), *exhibits an eminently social character, which it would be impossible without distortion of our religion to disregard*. From this character the second part draws certain conclusions which concern the part assigned by Christianity to history.¹⁰⁵

De Lubac's sociopolitical overtones should be read within the overall crisis of 1936. But they also foreshadow the horrors about to follow the 1938 publication. Nazi Germany would quickly conquer and then occupy France. De Lubac, the wounded veteran of the Great War, would join his fellow Jesuits at the Fourvière theologate in their resistance activity for *Témoignage Chrétien* (Christian Witness).¹⁰⁶

Charles J. Callan, ed., *A Call to Catholic Action: A Series of Conferences on the Principles Which Should Guide Catholics in the Social-Economic Crisis of Today* (2 vols., 1935); Luigi Civardi, *A Manual of Catholic Action*, trans. from the Italian by the popular English Jesuit Cyril C. Martindale (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1936); and Daniel Lord, "Jamaica Triumphant: Faith and the Community; Organizing the Drama for Powerful Catholic Action," *America*, February 13, 1937, 438–39. For bibliography see Brooks-Delphin, "Jamaica Triumphant (1937)," 461–62n23.

101. Emile Mersch, *Morale et corps mystique* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1937); cf. Mersch, *Morality and the Mystical Body*, trans. Daniel Francis Ryan (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1939). Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle théologie—New Theology*, 28. Horn, *Western European Liberation Theology*, 69–76.
102. Henri de Lubac, *Catholicisme: les aspects sociaux du dogme* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1938).
103. Henri de Lubac, *Catholicism: Christ and the Common Destiny of Man*, trans. Lancelot C. Sheppard and Elizabeth Englund (San Francisco: Ignatius, 1988), 18n10.
104. De Lubac recommends Émile Guerry, *L'Action catholique* (1936), Alfred de Soras, *Action catholique et action temporelle* (Spes, 1938), and "an excellent article by" A. Hayen, "Un type achevé de l'action catholique, le Jocisme et ses structures essentielles," *Nouvelle Revue théologique* (1935). De Lubac, *Catholicism*, 18n9.
105. De Lubac, *Catholicism*, 18, emphasis added.
106. Stephen Schloesser, "Against Forgetting: Memory, History, Vatican II," *Theological Studies* 67 (2006): 275–319, <https://doi.org/10.1177/004056390606700203>; repr. in

In sum: an engagement with Catholic Action and an emphasis on social aspects catalyzed a turn away from religious resignation toward a deepening internalization of authority and agency. Taken together with the parallel interest in “mysticism,” a half-century of Catholic social engagement had laid the groundwork for lay reception of *Humanae Vitae* in 1968.¹⁰⁷

Biopolitics, 1918–1968: State Control and Individual Rights

The road to *Humanae Vitae* in 1968 had begun at least a half-century earlier. The post-Great War era saw an upsurge in anxieties over sexual reproduction that included elements both individual and social. Along with women’s suffrage, birth control was at the center of First Wave Feminism in the new century. In 1916, a year prior to America’s entry into the world war, Margaret Sanger opened the first US birth control clinic. In 1917, the state of New York granted women the right to vote. In 1918, British laws allowed women over 30 the right to vote and to stand as members of Parliament. That same year, Marie Stopes published her extraordinarily influential sex manual, *Married Love*, along with its “practical sequel,” *Wise Parenthood*.¹⁰⁸ In 1919, Nancy Astor became the first woman seated in the House of Commons. In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment was signed extending the vote to all American women. In 1923, Britain’s Matrimonial Causes Act gave women the right to petition for divorce.

This broad movement for individual rights paralleled and sometimes competed with various social anxieties about hygiene, race, and population.¹⁰⁹ These fears coalesced into an acutely postwar inflection of the science and practice of “eugenics” that had already been decades in the making. On the domestic front, prewar concerns about decline and degeneration (for example, increases in syphilis and tuberculosis) became

Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?, ed. David Schultenover (New York: Continuum, 2007), 92–152 at 127–28. As John Milbank notes, “it is vital to grasp that de Lubac and de Montcheuil’s Catholic Rightist opponents supporting the Vichy regime and collaborating with the occupying Germans were also their *theological* opponents—reporting their dubious theological opinions as well as their dubious secular involvements back up the chains of Jesuit and Dominican command to Rome itself.” Milbank, “Henri de Lubac,” in Ford and Muers, *Modern Theologians*, 76–91 at 78.

107. Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of Vatican II: Western European Progressive Catholicism in the Long Sixties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

108. Marie Carmichael Stopes, *Married Love: A New Contribution to the Solution of Sex Difficulties* (London: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1919); Stopes, *Wise Parenthood: A Practical Sequel to “Married Love”: A Book for Married People* (London: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1919). The twenty-first edition of *Married Love* appeared in 1933.

109. Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). For a general overview, see Dagmar Herzog, “State Interventions 1914–1945,” in *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 45–95.

even more acute in the wake of the sheer loss of life (1.3 million French soldiers alone). The immediate concern was to reproduce and replace the war's population loss—quantity, not quality. This aim of repopulation led to a surge in natalist discourse that imagined women's postwar duty as motherhood, the "blood tax" that corresponded to the one that had been paid by men at the war front.¹¹⁰ In July 1920, the French passed legislation against birth control. However, "sexual chemistry" continued to evolve throughout the coming decades.¹¹¹

Similar concerns were echoed in the colonies where anxieties surfaced about preserving a French race without mixture of colonial blood. Before the war, the French had pursued a policy of intermarriage with indigenous peoples in hopes of planting long-lasting roots. However, after the war, the French reversed course, encouraging French women to emigrate from the metropole to the colonies so that reproduction would be racially unmixed.¹¹² Concerns over sexual reproduction were collected under the overarching category of "negative" eugenics.

"Positive" eugenics, by contrast, was marked by a new emphasis on social hygiene and tended to be concerned not so much about race distinctions as about social class.¹¹³ At a 1922 conference entitled "The Eugenic Effects of the War," a speaker questioned "negative" measures in other countries and urged instead a positive eugenics approach: "National vices like alcoholism, lack of personal care which propagates contagion, and overindulgence of all kinds, must be unmercifully proscribed." Noting the rise in incidence of syphilis and tuberculosis during the war, another address on "Eugenics and National Health" concluded, "The population after the war is in such condition as to make more necessary than ever the health measures that had already been called for before the war."¹¹⁴ However, race inevitably overlapped with social class in concerns over 1920s immigration waves. In the United States, successive acts of legislation attempted to control immigration: the Immigration Act of 1918; the Emergency Quota Act of 1921; and the Immigration Act of 1924 (which also established the National Origins Formula).

Initially, although opposed to negative measures, Catholics were able to find common ground with positive eugenicists. As late as April 1930, the French Jesuit René

110. Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes*, 5–7, 143–47.

111. Ilana Löwy, "'Sexual Chemistry' Before the Pill: Science, Industry and Chemical Contraceptives, 1920–1960," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 44 (2011): 245–74, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007087410000762>. For pre-1920, see for example: Andrea Tone, *Devices and Desires: A History of Contraceptives in America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001).

112. Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*, 168–72; Conklin, "Redefining 'Frenchness,'" 76–82. For bibliography on eugenics in the USA, see Schloesser, "Jesuit Hybrids," 140nn83–86. For a recent work, see James Q. Whitman, *Hitler's American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017).

113. William H. Schneider, "The Eugenics Movement in France, 1890–1940," in *The Wellborn Science. Eugenics in Germany, France, Brazil, and Russia*, ed. Mark B. Adams (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 69–109. See also Shannon Monaghan, *Protecting Democracy from Dissent: Population Engineering in Western Europe 1918–1926* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

114. Schneider, "Eugenics," 77.

Brouillard could write, “In principle, Catholic morality does not condemn all eugenic science.” A month later, the bishop of Marseille concluded, “If the goal of the new science is, as its name [eugenics] indicates, to assure good offspring, it can only inspire our sympathy and find in Christian morality an auxiliary, even a very precious guide, because we profess that if God commended man to multiply, He did not wish him to multiply poorly.”¹¹⁵ In the United States, former Jesuit E. Boyd Barrett lent his outspoken voice to defending contraception in the heated atmosphere of 1929–1930. He gave an address at the National Birth Control Conference in New York City in November 1929 and published two articles in the January and May issues of Margaret Sanger’s *Birth Control Review*. (The May issue, published in advance of the upcoming Lambeth Conference, was dedicated to “The Churches and Birth Control: A Symposium.”) That same year, Boyd Barrett countered a pamphlet entitled “Contraception and Psychology” published by the prominent English Jesuit Cyril C. Martindale.¹¹⁶

However, following the October 1929 stock market crash, 1930 marked an inflection point as economic realities set in and headed toward the Great Depression. In a reversal underscoring the passage from the postwar (1918–1929) to the interwar (1929–1939), negative eugenics measures like birth control, immigration restriction, and sterilization became less about “the quality of the products” and more about controlling the quantity of population growth.¹¹⁷ In the second week of July 1930, the Seventh Lambeth Conference of the Anglican Communion met at Fulham Palace, residence of the Bishop of London. Resolutions were presented to the whole conference from July 28 to August 9, including Resolution 15 which allowed the use of contraception in marriage.

Four months later, on that year’s New Year’s Eve, Pope Pius XI promulgated his encyclical *Casti Connubii* (*On Christian Marriage*).¹¹⁸ While the document was widely seen as a response to the Lambeth Conference resolution earlier that year, it was also the culmination of a decade’s worth of intersecting Catholic links between marriage, contraception, sterilization, and other issues.¹¹⁹ Seen from today’s perspective, while its prohibition against contraception appears “conservative,” its concerns over sterilization (in the wake of the 1927 *Buck v. Bell* ruling) and anti-miscegenation laws (anticipating the 1935 Nuremberg Laws) appear prophetic.¹²⁰ Five months later,

115. Schneider, “Eugenics,” 80.

116. Paula M. Kane, “Confessional and Couch: E. Boyd Barrett, Priest-Psychoanalyst,” in Roberts and Schloesser, *Crossings and Dwellings*, 409–53 at 427–28.

117. Schneider, “Eugenics,” 92.

118. Pius XI, *Casti Connubii* (December 31, 1930), https://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19301231_casti-connubii.html.

119. For context and bibliography, see Stephen Schloesser, “‘Dancing on the Edge of the Volcano’: Biopolitics and What Happened after Vatican II,” *From Vatican II to Pope Francis: Charting a Catholic Future*, ed. Paul G. Crowley (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2014), 3–26, esp. 14–16.

120. Schloesser, “Jesuit Hybrids,” 128–29; cf. John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 151–54, 157–63. For a recent

on May 15, 1931, Pius issued *Quadragesimo Anno* (*Forty Years*), celebrating the fortieth anniversary of Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* (*Of New Things*, May 15, 1891). These two 1931 encyclicals offer a useful case study in magisterial development during the tumultuous postwar decade following 1918.¹²¹

The tapestry becomes even more complex when adding a third document from that same year: Pius XI's encyclical *Non Abbiamo Bisogno* (*We Do Not Need to Acquaint You*, June 29, 1931). Here the Pope returned again to his beloved "Catholic Action" first laid out in 1922. But now, nearly a decade later, he also had to address the problem of Mussolini's Fascists with whom he had an especially complicated relationship following the Lateran Treaty (February 1929) establishing the independent Vatican City state.¹²² The good news for the papacy: the "Roman Question" had finally been settled. The bad news: the Vatican City state owed its existence to a fascist government. Pius XI's death on February 10, 1939 would eventually spare him the ordeal of navigating a Second World War. When the conflict broke out later that year (on September 1), the burden of papal leadership fell to his successor, Pope Pius XII (r. 1939–1958).

A dozen years later, following total war, genocide, nuclear weaponry, and Europe's liberation by the new superpowers, Pope Pius XII gave an address to participants in the Conference of the Italian Catholic Union of Obstetricians on Monday, October 29, 1951—more commonly referred to as the "Allocution to Midwives."¹²³ In retrospect, this speech might be thought of within the context of "Sex after Fascism."¹²⁴ After the defeat of Italian Fascism, Pius XII had been forced to walk a tightrope in the binary struggle between the liberal democratic USA-led "West" and a Soviet communist "East." The year 1948 had presented a decisive challenge. In February, Czechoslovakia's communist coup had heightened Cold War tensions. On April 3, President Harry S. Truman signed into law the Marshall Plan, a massive financial plan to prevent the

account of *Buck v. Bell*, see Adam Cohen, *Imbeciles: The Supreme Court, American Eugenics, and the Sterilization of Carrie Buck* (New York: Penguin, 2016).

121. See "Futural Past 2: 1930–1931—A Tale of Two Encyclicals," in Schloesser, "Jesuit Hybrids," 128–30.
122. Schloesser, "Reproach vs. *Rapprochement*," xliii–xliv; Lucia Ceci, *The Vatican and Mussolini's Italy*, trans. Peter Spring (Boston: Brill, 2017); orig. *L'interesse superiore: il Vaticano e l'Italia di Mussolini* (Roma: Laterza, 2013).
123. Note that the first title is the one used on the official Vatican website. There the address is only available in Italian and Spanish and is listed under "Speeches 1951." Set apart from "Apostolic Constitutions," "Apostolic Exhortations," "Apostolic Letters," "Bulls," "Encyclicals," "Letters," "Motu Proprio," and other categories, the category "Speeches" gives the appearance of being lowly ranked on the magisterium ladder. See Pius XII, address to participants in the Conference of the Italian Catholic Union of Obstetricians (Rome, Monday, October 29, 1951), http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/it/speeches/1951/documents/hf_p-xii_spe_19511029_ostetriche.html, trans. as "Allocution to Midwives," <https://www.ewtn.com/library/PAPALDOC/P511029.HTM>.
124. Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

spread of communism throughout Western Europe.¹²⁵ Fifteen days later, with US assistance, Italy's April 1948 elections brought the Christian Democrats to power.¹²⁶ Three months later, *L'Osservatore Romano* published a decree excommunicating those propagating Communism. In July 1949, membership in Communist parties was condemned. Pius XII and Roman Catholicism had arrived very late in their embrace of democracy. But as the alternative was now no longer monarchy but communism, the stakes had been utterly changed.¹²⁷

Pius XII delivered his 1951 address to the Italian Catholic Union of Obstetricians within this overall post-Fascist and Cold War context. Marshall Plan assistance would catalyze an "economic miracle" in Italy and raise standards of living to levels approaching those in other Western European nations.¹²⁸ Whatever might have been his personal reservations, Pius XII seemed to intuit that the Church could not stand between Italians and their new economic possibilities. His allowance for the voluntarily limitation of the number of offspring redefined, wittingly or unwittingly, the definition of marriage.¹²⁹ Sex after fascism had been irrevocably changed in Italy—and by extension, in the Roman Catholic Church.

July 25, 1968: An Unpropitious Moment

Although thoroughly arbitrary and accidental, the date of July 25 nevertheless embodies a fascinating coincidence. On that date in 450, Theodosius' horse stumbled, threw

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125. Benn Steil, *The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018).
126. Linda Riso, "18 April 1948: Italy between Continuity and Rupture," *Modern Italy* 16 (2011): 101–4, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13532944.2011.557207>; Kaeten Mistry, "Re-thinking American Intervention in the 1948 Italian Election: Beyond a Success–Failure Dichotomy," *Modern Italy* 16 (2011): 179–94, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13532944.2011.557224>; D. W. Ellwood, "The 1948 Elections in Italy: A Cold War Propaganda Battle," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 13 (2006): 19–33, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01439689300260441>; Robert Ventresca, *From Fascism to Democracy: Culture and Politics in the Italian Election of 1948* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).
127. Schloesser, "Reproach vs. *Rapprochement*," xlvii–xlvi.
128. Stephanie Zeier Pilat, *Reconstructing Italy: The Ina-Casa Neighborhoods of the Postwar Era* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2016).
129. "Serious motives, such as those which not rarely arise from medical, eugenic, economic and social so-called 'indications,' may exempt husband and wife from the obligatory, positive debt for a long period *or even for the entire period of matrimonial life*. From this it follows that the observance of the natural sterile periods may be lawful, from the moral viewpoint: and it is lawful in the conditions mentioned." Pope Pius XII, "Allocation to Midwives," English translation at <https://www.ewtn.com/library/PAPALDOC/P511029.HTM>, emphasis added. Contrast a German Catholic commentator writing that same October 1951: couples were obligated to conceive "*the highest number of physically and psychologically valuable offspring*" (*die Höchstzahl physisch und psychisch wertvoller Nachkommen*) that they possibly could. Ernst Karl Winter, "Das grosse Geheimnis: Ehe und Familie in der christlichen Zivilisation," *Frankfurter Hefte* 6/10 (October 1951): 710–723 at 716 (emphasis original); cf. Herzog, *Sex after Fascism*, 80.

the emperor to his eventual death three days later, and altered the future trajectory of Christology. On the same date in 1968, Paul VI promulgated *Humanae Vitae*. Whether a stumble or providential, the encyclical altered the future trajectory of Roman Catholicism for nearly the next half-century. In both 450 and 1968, historical contingency upended seemingly predictable paths.

Although in simple chronological terms a mere ten years separated 1951 and 1961, an unbridgeable cultural chasm had opened and separated the two. In 1960, on May 9, the world's first commercially produced birth-control pill, Enovid-10, was approved by the USA's Food and Drug Administration (FDA).¹³⁰ This material production was soon followed by a milestone in *mentalités*: Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), following the path opened by Simone de Beauvoir's landmark *The Second Sex* (1949). The two works are seen today as foundational moments of Second Wave feminism.¹³¹ Friedan published her book at the very beginning (February 19) of 1963, a momentous year that included John XXIII's establishment of the papal birth control commission shortly before his death (June 3); the elevation of his successor Paul VI (June 21); the March on Washington and Martin Luther King's "Dream Speech" (August 28); the opening of the Vatican Council's second year (September 29); the assassination of President John F. Kennedy (November 22); and, two weeks later, the promulgation of the Council's first document, *Sacrosanctum Concilium (Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, December 7)*. Fifty years of liturgical reforms aimed at lay internalization and interior appropriation of the liturgy—from Guardini's *Spirit of the Liturgy* (1918) to the English translation of Bernardo de Vasconcelos' *Your Mass* (1960)—were coming to fruition.¹³² Priests would now face the people and dialogue with them in the vernacular.

In 1965—the same year that Outler published "Theodosius' Horse"—the Second Vatican Council had closed on December 8, the ultramontanist feast of the Immaculate Conception. The closure had followed the preceding day's publication of the last of the conciliar documents, the pastoral constitution *Gaudium et Spes (The Church in the Modern World)*.¹³³ The constitution embodied the radically new style that the council

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130. For this and following see Schloesser, "Dancing on the Volcano," 7–10. See also Jonathan Eig, *The Birth of the Pill: How Four Crusaders Reinvented Sex and Launched a Revolution* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2014); Elaine Tyler May, *America and the Pill: A History of Promise, Peril, and Liberation* (New York: Basic, 2010); Lara Marks, *Sexual Chemistry: A History of the Contraceptive Pill* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Elizabeth Siegel Watkins, *On the Pill: A Social History of Oral Contraceptives, 1950–1970* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).
131. Stephanie Coontz, *A Strange Stirring: The Feminine Mystique and American Women at the Dawn of the 1960s* (New York: Basic, 2011). For the French, see Sarah Fishman, *From Vichy to the Sexual Revolution: Gender and Family Life in Postwar France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017). For linkages between the "sexual revolution" of the 1960s and 1970s and wars of decolonization, see Todd Shepard, *Sex, France, and Arab Men, 1962–1979* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).
132. Guardini; Bernardo de Vasconcelos, *Your Mass* (Chicago: Scepter, 1960); orig. *A missa e a vida interior* (Braga: Edicao de "Opus Dei," 1936).
133. *Gaudium et Spes* (December 7, 1965), http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html.

had injected into Roman Catholicism, an “epideictic” rhetoric evoking the greatest possible horizons toward which the collective People of God might aspire.¹³⁴ Pope Paul VI had just returned from a triumphant visit to the United States and address to the United Nations, the first pope to have crossed the Atlantic and visited the new world. The future looked bright in those heady days.

However, war clouds were gathering. President Lyndon B. Johnson’s 1965 escalation of America’s involvement in Vietnam had catalyzed the synergy of racial and generational turmoil that would become known as “the sixties.” This geopolitical turn was paralleled by the religious crisis of the “long sixties” (1958–1975), characterized by one scholar as “the final crisis of Christendom.”¹³⁵ On October 22, 1965, in the wake of Harvey Cox’s *The Secular City*, *Time* magazine had featured an article exploring “The ‘God is Dead’ Movement.”¹³⁶ The following April 8, 1966, *Time* published a cover without an image that has since become iconic. Against a solid black backdrop a simple question was posed in large red letters: “Is God Dead?”

Exactly one year later, in its April 7, 1967 issue, *Time*’s cover featured a photograph of the biological symbol for females—a circle with a cross at one end—filled in with and composed of multicolored birth-control pills. The image bore an uncanny resemblance to a finger rosary. Eight days later, after having been leaked to the press, the papal birth control commission documents were published in the *National Catholic Reporter* (April 15) and then, in installments, in the London *Tablet* (beginning April 22). The effect of these leaked documents is that many Catholics on both sides of the Atlantic expected the majority opinion—that is, a change in Church teaching—to be imminent. The year 1967 also saw a number of decisions legislating sexual and reproductive activity, including liberalized abortion laws in Colorado and California, the US Supreme Court decision *Loving v. Virginia* outlawing anti-miscegenation laws, and the British Parliament’s “Sexual Offenses Acts” (July 27) and “Abortion Act” (October 27).¹³⁷ In late 1967, it had only been two years since the council’s seemingly triumphant December 1965 closure. However, the Vietnam War’s incremental escalation had turned history’s tide.

134. John W. O’Malley, “‘The Hermeneutic of Reform’: A Historical Analysis,” *Theological Studies* 73 (2012): 517–46, <https://doi.org/10.1177/004056391207300302>; repr. in Schultenover, *50 Years On*, 3–34. See also Schloesser, “Reproach vs. *Rapprochement*,” xii–xv; and Schloesser, “Against Forgetting” (2007), 94–96.

135. Hugh McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Callum G. Brown, “What Was the Religious Crisis of the 1960s?,” *Journal of Religious History* 34 (2010): 468–79, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9809.2010.00909.x>. See also Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, eds., *The Sixties and Beyond: Dechristianization in North America and Western Europe, 1945–2000* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

136. Harvey Cox, *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective* (New York: Macmillan, 1965).

137. Stephen Schloesser, “Biopolitics and the Construction of Postconciliar Catholicism,” in *A Realist’s Church: Essays in Honor of Joseph Komonchak*, ed. Christopher Denny, Patrick Hayes, and Nicholas Rademacher (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2015), 147–66 at 149–50.

In 1968, “The Year that Rocked the World,” *Humanae Vitae*’s promulgation, whether wittingly or not, coincided with a global crisis of trust in authority.¹³⁸ The Prague Spring inaugurated 1968 with the election of Alexander Dubček (January 5). On February 27, surveying the results of the Tet Offensive’s first month, news anchor Walter Cronkite delivered his stunning judgment on television that the war in Vietnam was unwinnable. A month later, now a casualty of the war, President Johnson announced very late in the election year cycle that he would not seek reelection (March 31). Several days later, Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated (April 4) and American cities exploded in race riots. Meanwhile, partly in reaction to Vietnam as well as local and national concerns, riots erupted in London, Paris, Berlin, and Rome. On June 6, Senator Robert F. Kennedy died following an assassin’s attack.

These were the events—a global cultural crisis in authority—immediately preceding the promulgation of *Humanae Vitae* on July 25, 1968.

The world kept turning. A month after the encyclical’s release came the brutal Warsaw Pact suppression of the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia (August 21) and riots marring Chicago’s Democratic National Convention (August 26–29). Largely in reaction to a widespread perception of national societal collapse, Richard Nixon was elected on a law and order platform (November 5). The year concluded with Chairman Mao Zedong’s launch of his “Down to the Countryside Movement,” the forced relocation of “young intellectuals” from urban areas to remote rural ones.

In sum: it is difficult to imagine a less propitious day on which to attempt a reassertion of papal authority over lay Catholic sexual practices than July 25, 1968.¹³⁹ In the

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138. Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* (New York: Ballantine, 2004); Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956–1976* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). See also: Tamara Chaplin and Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney, eds., *The Global 1960s: Convention, Contest, and Counterculture* (New York: Routledge, 2018); Aldo Marchesi, *Latin America’s Radical Left: Rebellion and Cold War in the Global 1960s*, trans. Laura Pérez Carrara (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Elaine Carey, ed., *Protests in the Streets: 1968 Across the Globe* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2016); Samantha Christiansen and Zachary A. Scarlett, eds., *The Third World in the Global 1960s* (New York: Berghahn, 2013); Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, eds., *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Jeremi Suri, ed., *The Global Revolutions of 1968: A Norton Casebook in History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007); Kristin Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert, and Detlef Junker, eds., *1968, The World Transformed* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
139. Martine Sevegrand, *L’affaire Humanae vitae: l’Église catholique et la contraception* (Paris: Karthala, 2008); Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Catholics and Contraception: An American History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004); Robert McClory, *Turning Point: The Inside Story of the Papal Birth Control Commission, and How Humanae Vitae Changed the Life of Patty Crowley and the Future of the Church* (New York: Crossroad, 1995); Fernando Vittorino Joannes, *The Bitter Pill: Worldwide Reaction to the Encyclical Humanae vitae*, trans. International Documentation and Communication Centre (Philadelphia: Pilgrim, 1970); cf. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, chap. “Life (I),” 216–49.

year 450, the “unwitting agency” of Theodosius’ horse had removed the emperor from the scene. In a certain sense, the promulgation of *Humanae Vitae* also removed Paul VI from the scene. Although he had feverishly produced seven encyclicals in the first four years of his pontificate (1964–1967), Paul VI would not publish any more following his eighth (*Humanae Vitae*, July 1968); he would die ten years later (August 1978).¹⁴⁰ Paul’s successors would not be so reticent, however, and the use of biopolitics in the construction of postconciliar Catholicism would gain even more momentum during the papacies to follow.¹⁴¹

October 14, 2018: Reconciliation of Polarities?

Although laying out the short-term triggers and context of 1968 makes for a fascinating story, it should not blind us to the long-term development of *mentalités*. From the late 1940s into the 1960s, John Ford, the American Jesuit theologian intimately involved with Paul VI’s eventual decision on *Humanae Vitae*, had been an unbending defender of individual “conscience” when it came to conscientious objection in World War II, the Korean conflict, and the war in Vietnam. However, when it came to applying that same principle of the laity’s conscientious objection in cases of contraception, Ford reversed his defense. Individual conscience had its limits in the face of communal magisterium.¹⁴² However, Ford was too late. The conscience of the laity had already long been informed by his thought as well as that of others.

More profoundly, by 1968, the conscience of the laity had been informed by a half-century of internalizing authority and agency, values inculcated by lay appropriation of “mysticism” and Catholic Action. In that hot year of 1968, this internalization was applied especially to the issue of sexual reproduction, a reality unsteadily located at the intersection of individual autonomy and collective control. This long-duration development of “mysticism,” Catholic Action, and reproduction extends the story of *Humanae Vitae* back at least as far as the Armistice of November 1918, the dawn of a new era. In retrospect, 1918 unwittingly ignited what has now become a century-old contest in Catholicism between two polarities, individual and collective. This provides one lens through which to read disagreements over Pope Francis’ apostolic exhortation *Amoris Laetitia* (March 19, 2016).¹⁴³

As of this writing (April 2018), in the fortieth year since his death, Blessed Pope Paul VI is scheduled to be canonized this coming October 14. After a first miracle was attributed to him, Paul VI had been beatified in 2014, one year after Pope

140. Paul VI marked the eightieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum* with *Octogesima Adveniens* (May 14, 1971), not an encyclical but rather an apostolic letter.

141. Schloesser, “Biopolitics and the Construction of Postconciliar Catholicism.”

142. Pete Cajka, “‘Each Individual Catholic Can and Does Form His Own Conscience on This and Every Other Subject’: John Ford, SJ, and the Theology of Conscience, 1941–69,” in Roberts and Schloesser, *Crossings and Dwellings*, 567–602.

143. Francis, *Amoris Laetitia* (March 19, 2016), https://w2.vatican.va/content/dam/francesco/pdf/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20160319_amoris-laetitia_en.pdf.

Francis' accession to the throne. On February 6, 2018, the Vatican's Congregation for the Causes of Saints approved the second miracle needed for canonization. The ceremony will be held during the 2018 Synod of Bishops, an institution launched by Paul in 1965.

It remains unclear what meaning Pope Francis, the Peronist populist, intends to bestow on his nearly forgotten predecessor and the encyclical ill-received by the populace. Perhaps Francis means to follow the method of his mentor, Romano Guardini, the post-Great War popular theologian of the 1920s. Paul VI might serve as a test case of Guardini's theology of the dialectical reconciliation of polar opposites or "contrasts." For, as Massimo Borghesi's recent intellectual biography of Jorge Mario Bergoglio argues, Francis—both dialectician and mystic—is fundamentally about reconciling polarities like individual and collective.¹⁴⁴

Whatever the pope's intent, to those with a sense of history, the event will be poignant and poetic. In December 1968, the cover of *Look* magazine posed the most shocking and absurd question possible at that time: "SHOULD THE POPE RETIRE?" In late 2018, Francis, who assumed the papal throne following his immediate predecessor's retirement, will canonize yet another predecessor for whom retirement, even under the most agonizing pressure possible, was unthinkable. Theodosius' horse rides on. Historical existence—even the history of seemingly unthinkable and unchangeable existents—is indeed "a tissue of laws and choices and chance."¹⁴⁵

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144. See Austen Ivereigh, "New Book Looks at Intellectual History of Francis, and Why He is 'Pope of Polarity'," review of *Jorge Mario Bergoglio: Una Biografia Intellettuale: Dialettica e Mistica*, by Massimo Borghesi, *Crux*, Nov 18, 2017, <https://cruxnow.com/book-review/2017/11/18/new-book-looks-intellectual-history-francis-pope-polarity/>.

145. Outler, "Theodosius' Horse," 11.