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CATHOLIC DEBATE OVER VERNACULAR REFORM,
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POPULAR RHETORICAL STRATEGY IN THE AMERICAN
CATHOLIC DEBATE OVER VERNACULAR REFORM, 1953-1968

by
William Edward Wiethoff

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
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CHAPTER I

POPULAR DEBATE DURING THE VERNACULAR CONTROVERSY

Purpose of the Study

American Catholics experienced a sweeping reform of their traditional ritual practices during the 1950's and 1960's. The reform movement was spearheaded by progressive efforts to introduce vernacular language in the performance of liturgical functions.¹ The goal of vernacular reformers (complete revision of the liturgical language from Latin to English) profoundly affected the worship of almost seventy percent of the world's English-speaking Catholics.² The noted American liturgist, the Reverend Frederick R. McManus, once commented that there was a "significance to the vernacular development which goes beyond its liturgical importance."³ Recognizing Father McManus's observation, this study reconstructs and analyzes the predictably vigorous public debate which surrounded the radical change in a sixteen hundred-year-old tradition of liturgical language. Although some dimensions of the public debate remain irretrievable, popular publications of the American Catholic press did capture significant elements of the debate. The Constitution of the Catholic Press Association, which identifies "the gathering and dissemination of correct information" and "the

spread of Catholic truth" as prominent concerns of the Catholic press,⁴ indicated that popular Catholic publications offered an exposition of sincere, partisan opinions on vernacular reform.

Analysis of the popular argument concerning vernacular reform seemed especially valuable because it appeared likely that rhetorical criticism of argumentative foundations would help to explain the continued vitality of the vernacular controversy. Although no existing research links the controversy's past with its present and future, contemporary developments indicate that the vernacular issue is unresolved. Newsweek has reported on recent traditionalist efforts to perpetuate the Latin liturgy⁵ and Brian Moore's teleplay, Catholics, suggests that the vernacular controversy will exert a lasting influence on Catholicism.⁶ Although no more secular headlines such as "Latin Seen Losing in Church Debate"⁷ stoke the fires of public debate and Catholic columnists no longer report that "my readers are more interested in English in the Mass than in any other subject I have ever written about,"⁸ the vernacular controversy continues to prompt religious ferment among an active minority in American Catholicism. Considering the observation from as unlikely a source as Sports Illustrated that "not since the Roman Catholic Church switched from Latin to English Masses has any break with tradition caused more vigorous argument in this country"⁹ and also considering that the vernacular debate has

not received substantial critical attention,¹⁰ analysis of the debate enlarges the scope of rhetorical criticism by highlighting the contemporary and uniquely American application of argumentative strategies. "Popular Rhetorical Strategy in the American Catholic Debate over Vernacular Reform, 1953-1968" chronicles significant developments in the rhetorical situation facing American Catholics and examines the nature of the popular argument which was evoked by that situation.

Scope and Method of the Study

The study involves what Phillip Tompkins has described as "The Rhetorical Criticism of Non-Oratorical Works."¹¹ Although substantial numbers of completely reprinted or selectively quoted decrees and addresses are included in the materials under study, argument specifically intended for oral presentation is not emphasized. Rather, discourse which advocates or opposes vernacular reform is stressed without regard for whether it was originally intended for oral or written transmission. Support for the critical method employed in the study can be found in a number of sources. Leland Griffin's "The Rhetoric of Historical Movements" specifically encourages the rhetorical analysis of a religious reform movement.¹² James Andrews summarizes a number of later statements on the theory and practice of analyzing reform movements which expand the principles expounded by Griffin.¹³ Classification of argument as a tool in rhetorically criti-

cizing public debate is exemplified in Davis's study of argument concerning mass media¹⁴ and to a lesser extent in Gronbeck's study of the British regency crisis.¹⁵

Closely related research includes the growing number of contemporary efforts to identify the rhetorical tactics involved in social and political controversies.¹⁶

The specific choice of articles, editorials, and letters-to-the-editor published in Catholic magazines and newspapers between 1953 and 1968 emphasizes popular reaction to vernacular reform across a representative range of sources. Published indications of a public debate first appeared during October, 1953, and an active, open exchange of opinions on the vernacular issue concluded by the end of July, 1968. Catholic magazines and national and diocesan Catholic newspapers publicized the progress of the vernacular movement and reported reaction to the reforms in printed material accessible to all American Catholics. Published articles, editorials, and correspondence from readers represented the three major channels in which popular argument flowed.

Ultimately, the scope of the analysis permitted the drawing of conclusions on the timing of arguments, the classes of rhetorical supports, and the nature of advocates and media in the debate. The conclusions indicate that all argumentative foundations were laid long before actual implementation of vernacular reforms, that four major classes of rhetorical supports were employed consistently, and

that a clerically approved series of reforms advanced without resolution of the lay opposition apparent in Catholic newspapers.

Materials

Sources were selected from the extensive body of publications maintained by the American Catholic press on both the national and local levels.¹⁷ Nationally circulated magazines and newspapers were selected for their broad range of readers and accompanying range of critical reactions to vernacular reform. Diocesan newspapers were selected for their supplementary exposition of local preferences in argument and territorial perspectives on vernacular reform. Bulletins and newsletters of local Catholic parishes were also considered initially, but these sources were found to offer no relevant material for analysis, probably due to their necessary preoccupation with the various time schedules and administrative details of parish functions.

Research employing Catholic periodicals and serials generally must be conducted without the aid of complete indices. The Index to Religious Periodical Literature, the Catholic Periodical Index, and the Guide to Catholic Literature provided partial indexing of national Catholic magazines and, in some cases, brief indications of publication details. Supplementary information on magazines and all basic information about both national and diocesan Catholic newspapers was provided by the Catholic Press

Directory of the Catholic Press Association. The Directory provided publication details, circulation figures, and other supplemental information for most products of the Catholic press.

Indexing weaknesses complicated the research. Partial indices for magazines and the lack of indices for national and local newspapers necessitated individual examination of every issue published during the fifteen year span of the vernacular debate. Determination of terminal dates for the vernacular debate necessitated the examination of additional issues. The periodical holdings and microfilm files of several libraries proved invaluable. The Memorial Library of the University of Notre Dame, the Mullen Memorial Library of the Catholic University of America, and the libraries of Duquesne University, the University of Detroit, and St. John's Provincial Seminary of Plymouth, Michigan provided a wide assortment of possible sources. The microfilm files of national and diocesan Catholic newspapers at the Notre Dame Memorial Library and the Mullen Memorial Library proved especially valuable in the research.

Selection of magazines

Catholic magazines were chosen on the bases of (1) the type and scope of their readership, (2) their circulation, and (3) their editorial policy. The sample of magazines was intended to represent an integration of the varying readerships, circulations, and editorial policies

evident in periodicals published by the Catholic press.

The Catholic Press Directory identified magazines as "general or consumer" and "technical or professional" during the 1950's and 1960's. These classifications were interpreted as identifying the type and scope of readerships and sources were examined under each classification. The Directory also indicated whether a particular magazine accepted advertising or not. For the purposes of this study, an individual magazine's responsiveness to the opinions of its readership was judged more likely if that source accepted advertising.

Sources had to circulate from within the United States to remain consistent with the scope of the research and this factor disqualified two widely read British magazines, Liturgy and Clergy Review. Circulation figures were interpreted as a significant indication of source-effect, although a sample based on varying levels of circulation was judged more reliable than one based on only the highest circulations. For example, several sources ranking high in circulation alone, such as Christopher News Notes (1,250,000 circ.) or Annals of the Holy Childhood (380,000 circ.), failed to provide appropriate emphases in the general topics they treated to qualify them for inclusion in the study. However, sampling based on varying levels of circulation did allow for the inclusion of magazines promoting special liturgical interests.

For the purposes of this study, editorial policy was

defined in terms of both range of topics treated and specific editorial philosophy toward prominent issues. The sources eventually selected tended to include treatment of vernacular reform through general concern for intellectual developments in the Church or particular concern for liturgical trends in the Church. Editorial philosophies evident in the sources constituted a full range of nominally liberal, neutral, and conservative attitudes toward reform in the Church. All sources included both progressive and traditionalist argumentation in varying proportions. Although both clerical and lay publication staffs were represented, clerical control of publishing facilities was evident.

Amen. The quarterly of the American Vernacular Society reached a peak in circulation of just over 5,000 in 1955. Published in Chicago from 1951 through 1961, Amen carried numerous articles, editorials, and polls advocating vernacular reform. A minimum of readers' correspondence was also included. Almost all issues surveyed in the study date from the final year of publication, the extent of the holdings of the Memorial Library, University of Notre Dame.

America. The Jesuit weekly experienced a substantial increase in circulation from 29,969 (1954) to 85,331 (1964) before levelling at 90,471 (1967). Firmly established as a leading Catholic forum, America appealed to a wide range of Catholic intellectuals from its publishing

base in New York City. Progressive articles and editorials appeared early in the vernacular movement, while the bulk of traditionalist opposition appeared later in the 1960's. A great deal of correspondence advocating both sides of the issue was published, especially from 1960 through 1964.

American Ecclesiastical Review. The monthly of the Catholic University of America increased its circulation from 5,322 (1954) to 6,745 (1964) before declining to 5,285 (1967). The Review published various official decrees while reporting newsworthy and scholarly developments in the Church. Historical surveys of the vernacular movement dominated the treatment of vernacular reform.

Ave Maria. The weekly of the Ave Maria Press, based at Notre Dame, Indiana, and operated by the Congregation of the Holy Cross, maintained a steady circulation of 50,983 (1954), 49,898 (1964), and 51,904 (1967). Ave Maria typified the "general or consumer" class of publication and appeared to adopt a growing progressivism. Substantial amounts of correspondence on both sides of the debate was published after 1960.

Catholic Digest. The popular monthly of the Catholic Publishing Center of the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, declined in circulation from 713,500 (1954) to 659,399 (1964) and 600,000 (1967). A number of progressive articles were published early in the vernacular movement but the magazine's editorial policy appeared to exclude more of these offerings as the debate took on greater

immediacy in the early 1960's.

Catholic Mind. The monthly of the America Press, New York, increased its circulation from 13,958 (1954) to 17,917 (1964) but then declined to 12,185 (1967). The Jesuit staff maintained a consistently liberal discussion of vernacular reform, including articles from leading vernacularists and documentation of official pronouncements favoring vernacular progress.

Catholic World. The monthly of the Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle, New York, experienced a modest rise in circulation from 16,744 (1954) to 19,923 (1964) and 19,473 (1967). The magazine served as a popular forum for both progressives and traditionalists in the late 1950's, while tending toward a more conservative philosophy as the vernacular debate continued.

Columbia. The monthly of the Knights of Columbus, New Haven, Connecticut, modestly proclaimed itself "The Largest Catholic Magazine in the World" and supported the claim with circulations of 783,834 (1954), 1,081,472 (1964), and 1,142,059 (1967). The official publication of the Knights since 1882, Columbia was pledged to the Knights' goal of disseminating Catholic information. However, only two articles on vernacular reform appeared during the debate and Columbia appeared to maintain a conservative stance toward publicizing vernacular progress.

Commonweal. The intellectual weekly published by liberal laymen in New York steadily increased its circula-

tion from 18,574 (1954) to 34,748 (1964) and 42,498 (1967). Progressive editorials and correspondence appeared early in the debate and, excepting a few cautious sentiments concerning the quality of English translations, Commonweal maintained a consistently favorable position on vernacular reform.

Homiletic and Pastoral Review. The monthly of Joseph Wagner, Incorporated, New York, showed a modest increase in circulation from 12,204 (1954) to 14,949 (1964) and 15,506 (1967). With a basically conservative outlook on reform of any kind, the magazine published several progressive letters early in the debate but offered many more articles and letters of traditionalist leanings throughout the controversy. The target audience was basically clerical in constitution.

Information. The monthly of the Paulist Fathers, New York, did not provide circulation figures in the Catholic Press Directory but was included in the study as one source supplying the views of a special interest group. Information published predominantly progressive materials but included articles by leading authors in all areas of Church affairs.

Jubilee. The monthly published by A. M. D. G. Publishing Company, New York, (a pseudonym for the American branch of Daverio of Milan, Italy,), maintained a fairly steady circulation of 40,000 (1954), 44,500 (1964), and 40,700 (1967). Jubilee published material of general

interest and eventually merged with its leading competitor, the U. S. Catholic, in 1968. Maintaining a neutral position early in the debate, Jubilee shifted toward a more conservative stance as time progressed. Letters from readers of both progressive and traditionalist leanings found ready publication in Jubilee, though.

Lamp. The monthly of the Graymoor Friars, Peerskill, New York, did not provide information on its circulation figures but was included in the study as another supplement to special interest group viewpoints. Lamp published both progressive and traditionalist arguments but exhibited more progressive leanings later in the vernacular movement. Along with Amen and Information, only partial files of Lamp were available for examination.

Priest. The monthly of the Our Sunday Visitor Press, Huntington, Indiana, indicated a circulation of 9,020 (1954), 14,856 (1964), and 14,480 (1967). Appealing to a decidedly clerical readership, Priest published extensive offerings by both progressive and traditionalist contributors. The magazine displayed the most consistent and durable balance of articles, editorials, and letters-to-the-editor of all periodicals included in the study.

Sign. The monthly of the Passionist Fathers, Monastery Place, Union City, New Jersey, increased its circulation from 272,084 (1954) to 323,843 (1964) before declining to 277,226 (1967). Offering material of general interest, Sign maintained a neutral editorial philosophy and published

arguments on both sides of the vernacular issue. No correspondence from readers was included.

Theology Digest. The quarterly published by a Jesuit staff at St. Mary's College, Kansas, and later at St. Louis, increased its circulation from 4,972 (1954) to 12,733 (1964) and 11,857 (1967). The digested articles included cautious observations on the future of vernacular reform early in the debate as well as more liberally outspoken support for the vernacular movement later. The magazine's own editorial policy was interpreted as scholarly and neutral.

Triumph. The conservative monthly published by Triumph Magazine, Incorporated, Washington, D. C., did not begin circulating until 1967 but was included in the study as a source of later conservative argument. Counterbalancing the early support for vernacular reform by Amen, Triumph harshly criticized the reform in articles, editorials, and readers' correspondence. The magazine achieved an immediate circulation of almost 20,000.

U. S. Catholic. The monthly of the Claretian Fathers, Chicago, originated in the late 1950's and reached circulations of 59,246 (1964) and 54,578 (1967). Generally liberal in philosophy, the magazine did not provide much input to the vernacular debate besides reporting on vernacular decisions reached by the Second Vatican Council. U. S. Catholic merged with Jubilee in 1968.

Worship. The monthly of the Liturgical Apostolate,

St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, steadily increased its circulation as liturgical reform progressed. Beginning with the readership achieved during its years as Orate Fratres, the magazine reached circulations of 7,968 (1954), 12,605 (1964), and 20,505 (1967). The Benedictine staff of the liturgically oriented magazine displayed a consistently liberal attitude toward Church reform through the 1950's and early 1960's, while commenting critically on the quality of English translations in the later 1960's.

Examination of the nineteen Catholic magazines described above provided the study with an accurate range of the vernacular argumentation published in Catholic periodicals during the vernacular debate. Inability to secure complete files of Amen, the specific voice of the American Vernacular Society, restricted coverage of particularly vigorous progressive argument, though a complete survey of Amen's input to the public debate might have skewed the analysis of argumentative frequencies in favor of vernacular reform. Inability to secure files of the St. Anthony Messenger, a magazine of general interest with a circulation in the hundreds of thousands, restricted coverage of this particular type of source but the lack of library holdings of this magazine suggested that the St. Anthony Messenger might have represented a less significant source than the other similar ones included in the study. Otherwise, the sample of Catholic periodicals included in the study seems to represent accurately the range of argumentative forums

accessible to American Catholics during the vernacular debate.

Selection of national Catholic newspapers

All four national Catholic newspapers published in the United States during the vernacular debate were included in the study. The decision to examine all four sources was based on their common acceptance of advertising, their supplementary contributions to the restricted readerships of local Catholic newspapers, and their range of editorial policies. Our Sunday Visitor and the Register, with very high national circulations, represented significant argumentative forums for areas of the western and southern United States where diocesan newspapers were either nonexistent or unavailable for examination. These two national newspaper chains also supplemented the news service provided by diocesan newspapers in many localities. On the other hand, the Catholic Reporter (reorganized as the National Catholic Reporter in 1964) and the Wanderer, with relatively low national circulations, represented the liberal and conservative extremes of editorial policy respectively.

Our Sunday Visitor. The weekly published by the Our Sunday Visitor Press of Huntington, Indiana, rose in circulation from 787,494 (1954) to 892,148 (1964) before declining to 760,414 (1967). The national newspaper chain supplied printing facilities for many dioceses in the mid-section of the country and represented the unofficial sup-

plement to the Sunday reading of many Catholics. The Our Sunday Visitor Press reached localities in the South not serviced by the Register chain, especially dioceses in Kentucky, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Maintaining a fairly neutral editorial philosophy, the newspaper conducted public opinion polls that merited widespread attention in 1963 and 1968.

Register. The weekly published by National Catholic Register, Incorporated, of Denver, declined in circulation from 794,566 (1954), to 778,196 (1964) and 605,000 (1967). The Register supplied printing facilities for various dioceses across the country and bolstered diocesan editions of local interest with a four-page supplement of international and national news. At its peak of circulation in 1964, the Register reached dioceses in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin, West Virginia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Colorado, Montana, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. Displaying a predominantly conservative stance toward Church reform, the Register did not publish readers' correspondence until 1961 but did report on vernacular progress in other countries.

National Catholic Reporter. The weekly published by liberal laymen in Kansas City, Missouri, began as the official diocesan newspaper of Kansas City, Kansas. Fostered by the liberal bishop, Edwin O'Hara, the Catholic Reporter attained a limited national circulation until

conservative successors of Bishop O'Hara ejected the newspaper's editorial staff from its diocesan offices in 1964. On October 28, 1964, the National Catholic Reporter began publication on the other side of the state line and quickly took the lead in liberal Catholic journalism. Circulation figures were not available for the early years of the Catholic Reporter, but the newspaper reached a circulation of 32,368 in the year of its transition. The National Catholic Reporter reached a circulation of 72,090 (1967) and began to publish many more letters-to-the-editor in 1964.

Wanderer. The weekly published by the Wanderer Press, St. Paul, Minnesota, increased its circulation from 8,403 (1954) to 23,420 (1964) and 28,416 (1967). Counterbalancing the influence of the National Catholic Reporter with a strongly conservative editorial viewpoint and a much lengthier span of service, the Wanderer was firmly guided by the conservative Matt family of St. Paul. Virtually ignoring many elements of Church reform and decisions reached by the Second Vatican Council, the Wanderer voiced strong criticism of religious progressivism. The newspaper's viewpoint was supplemented with a consistently large volume of readers' correspondence.

The combined representation of national circulation and a complete range of editorial policies in the four national Catholic newspapers was particularly satisfying in terms of providing an adequate argumentative sample.

The special interest in vernacular reform displayed by the National Catholic Reporter's advocacy and the Wanderer's opposition provided argument which clearly distinguished both sides in the debate.

Selection of diocesan Catholic newspapers

Local Catholic newspapers provided sources of argument which reflected regional perspectives on vernacular reform. The assertion that "Catholic diocesan weekly newspapers are major teaching arms for the Bishops of America"¹⁸ influenced the added interpretation of diocesan sources as indications of local hierarchial input to the vernacular debate. Diocesan newspapers were sampled according to a set of criteria which correlated geographical placement, circulation, immediate Catholic population, and regional Catholic population. All circulation and population figures were obtained by averaging totals published in the Catholic Press Directory and the Official Catholic Directory respectively.

Pilot. The diocesan weekly (130,124 circ.) of Boston (1,679,031 pop.) represented New England, which embraced fourteen percent of the American Catholic population. Over half the Catholics of New England were concentrated in the Boston metropolitan area. Publishing the initial letter-writing campaign which indicated the beginning of a public debate, the Pilot provided a consistently high level of argumentative items throughout the debate. Tending toward a basically liberal outlook, the

Pilot possessed a mixture of clery and laity in its editorial staff.

Tablet. The diocesan weekly (113,785 circ.) of Brooklyn (1,531,779 pop.) was one representative of the Middle and South Atlantic region, which contained thirty-seven percent of American Catholics. The Tablet exhibited a dominant concern for heated political controversies of the early 1950's and did not provide much input into the vernacular debate until the 1960's. The basically conservative editorial policy of the newspaper did not restrict its reporting of major vernacular events but the clerically dominated staff minimized controversial elements of vernacular progress. The Tablet was selected from the large urban area also serviced by the Catholic News of New York City and the Advocate of Newark, New Jersey. The Tablet compared favorably with the other two sources in circulation but was ultimately selected because of ready access to microfilm files of its issues.

Pittsburgh Catholic. The diocesan weekly (72,015 circ.) of Pittsburgh (853,658 pop.) was a representative of the Middle and South Atlantic region. The diocese of Pittsburgh was the home of the Reverend Hans A. Reinhold, a leading American theologian and liturgist, and Archbishop John F. Dearden, later the president of the American Liturgical Commission, and the Pittsburgh Catholic reflected liturgical progressivism in its editorial policy. The clerically dominated staff of the newspaper published

few letters-to-the-editor before the 1960's but devoted extensive coverage to significant developments in the vernacular movement.

Catholic Review. The diocesan weekly (45,752 circ.) of Baltimore (418,462 pop.) was one more representative of the Middle and South Atlantic region. The Catholic Review published many editorials dealing with vernacular reform during peak years of the debate and a smaller number of relevant letters-to-the-editor. The editorial policy of the newspaper appeared to be basically neutral, though Baltimore was noted for its conservatism. (Issues of the Catholic Review published before 1964 were not available for examination. The newspaper was included in the study, though, because it contributed to the argumentative survey at the peak of vernacular debating and added the perspective on vernacular reform of the South Atlantic area.)

Michigan Catholic. The diocesan weekly (126,293 circ.) of Detroit (1,357,681 pop.) was one representative of the Midwestern region, which contained twenty-one percent of American Catholics. The Michigan Catholic provided a consistently substantial input to the public debate and published a considerable volume of readers' correspondence as early as 1959. The newspaper's editorial policy was generally neutral, though its outlook on vernacular reform remained consistently liberal.

New World. The diocesan weekly (177,393 circ.) of Chicago (2,158,892 pop.) was a representative of the Mid-

western region. The New World provided steady coverage of developments in the vernacular movement while publishing an increased volume of readers' correspondence following initial meetings of the Second Vatican Council. The newspaper's editorial policy appeared to be neutral toward vernacular issues and the source seemed more concerned with publicizing hierarchial guidelines for the administration of a vast Catholic population.

Monitor. The diocesan weekly (51,085 circ.) of San Francisco (810,337 pop.) was one representative of the Pacific coastal region, which included ten percent of American Catholics. The Monitor published a large number of articles describing the progress of vernacular reform and added an increasing number of letters-to-the-editor after 1960. The newspaper also maintained a fairly neutral policy toward vernacular issues, reporting on vernacular developments rather than predicting or denying the need for additional reforms.

Tidings. The diocesan weekly (102,633 circ.) of Los Angeles (1,385,649 pop.) was a representative of the Pacific coastal region. The Tidings published substantial amounts of readers' correspondence throughout the vernacular debate, though in an irregular pattern. The newspaper was noteworthy for its conservative editorials, ranging from the international perspective of Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddhin to the distinctly American outlook of Bishop Robert Dwyer. The Tidings maintained a consistently cau-

tious perspective on Church affairs generally and on vernacular reform in particular.

Except for the issues of the Baltimore Catholic Review published before 1964, the examination of diocesan Catholic newspapers supplied representative vernacular arguments on a local level for the duration of vernacular debating. Examination of the Register and Our Sunday Visitor provided the study with supplemental argumentative items for those territorial divisions of the United States not covered by the diocesan newspapers. Examination of the diocesan newspapers was especially rewarding in terms of discovering the particular extent and emphasis in local coverage of vernacular progress.

Method of analysis

The two-part method of analysis included first, the extraction of arguments concerning vernacular reform from the sampling of sources and second, classification and quantification of argumentative items. Description of the relationship between progress in the vernacular movement and argumentative frequency and development supplemented the analysis. The terminal points of the public debate over vernacular reform were designated with reference to both external events in the vernacular movement and internal developments in argument. The appearance of a letter-writing campaign by readers of the Boston Pilot in the Fall of 1953 was interpreted as the beginning of the public debate. The definitive conclusion of the public debate

was determined by correlating two influences--the marked decrease in vernacular argumentation by the time a completely vernacularized Mass was implemented on October 22, 1967 and the rise of a new public debate over birth control following the promulgation of the papal encyclical, Humanae Vitae, on July 29, 1968. Published discussion of vernacular matters outside this period of time did not reflect the active exchange of opinions characteristic of authentic public debate.

Extraction of arguments

Arguments advocating or opposing vernacular reform were extracted from articles, editorials, and letters-to-the-editor published in a representative sample of national and local Catholic publications. Articles, editorials, and readers' correspondence were interpreted as the major channels through which American Catholic clergy and laity could express their opinions on vernacular reform. The religious affiliation of the sources was interpreted as a screening device which admitted to the study only argumentative reactions from those persons who could be obviously characterized as intimately involved with vernacular reform of the Catholic liturgy. Periodical and serial sources were valued as predominantly topical publications which would reflect argumentative development through the years of debate. The sampling of progressive, neutral, and traditionalist editorial policies in the sources insured the accurate depiction of reactions to vernacular

reform. The combined sampling of national and local publications provided the study with both an overall perspective on popular opinion and indications of any local peculiarities in vernacular argumentation.

Articles included quotations or paraphrases of vernacular arguments in the pronouncements of Church officials, press releases from international, national, and local Church agencies, as well as reports on the popular reception of vernacular reform both abroad and in the United States. For example: the San Francisco Monitor quoted Archbishop Hallinan of Atlanta and Cardinals McIntyre of Los Angeles and Ritter of St. Louis in a December 13, 1963, issue; the Chicago New World published the entire text of a decree from the Sacred Congregation of Rites in an August 20, 1954, issue; the Pittsburgh Catholic reported Bishop Fulton J. Sheen's plans for the celebration of an entirely English Mass in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, in a September 8, 1955, issue. A large proportion of the material reported in newspapers was provided by the news service of the National Catholic Welfare Council (replaced by the United States Catholic Conference in 1966). Arguments were extracted from a total of 723 articles.

Editorials provided especially clear statements of the vernacular positions of both clerical and lay journalists. Although the less frequently issued magazines provided the bulk of editorial commentary during the early phase of the vernacular debate, editorialists in the Catho-

lic newspapers eventually were compelled to respond to readers' reactions to vernacular reform. For example, the Reverend George Casey supported vernacular reform consistently in his column, "Driftwood," published by the Boston Pilot; Bishop Robert Dwyer of Denver opposed the vernacular reform just as consistently in editorials syndicated in a number of national and diocesan newspapers. Clerical writers predominated in the editorial pages that supported reform while lay editorialists opposed the vernacular movement in their less frequent commentaries. Arguments were extracted from a total of 182 editorials.

Letters-to-the-editor represented the clearest and most frequent expressions of vernacular opinions in the minds of Catholic laymen. Correspondence increased during the latter stages of vernacular reform as letter-writers seemed reluctant to comment on vernacular liturgies until they had personally experienced them. Letter-writers seemed far less inhibited in their commentary than official ecclesiastical spokesmen or Catholic journalists. Though laymen authored over seventy percent of all letters-to-the-editor in the sample, much greater parity between lay and clerical letter-writers was indicated specifically in the magazine sources. Arguments were extracted from a total of 450 letters-to-the-editor.

Analysis of the published vernacular argument was not conducted without recognition of the "gatekeeper effect." Explicit admissions by several of the sources' edi-

tors substantiated the assumption that not all letters reacting to vernacular reform and submitted to the sources were published. Editorial selectivity was also recognized in analyzing the articles and editorials published during the debate. As the sources utilized in the study represent a sample of American Catholic publications, the specific articles, editorials, and letters from which arguments were extracted were recognized as but a sample of the possible argumentative input to the public debate. However, the likelihood that one or more significant classes of argument were obscured by editorial gatekeepers seems remote. The sample of sources utilized in the study appeared adequately reliable in safeguarding the exposition of all relevant rhetorical strategy.

Classification and quantification of arguments

The study was intended to identify the classes of rhetorical support used by both progressives and traditionalists in debating vernacular reform. Keeping in mind Kenneth Pike's caution that a "sentence may carry an over-all meaning which is quite distinct from the separate meanings of the individual words in it,"¹⁹ classification of arguments depended on both the isolation of key words in lines of argument and the correlation of argumentative statements with their surrounding context. For example, the Reverend Charles O. Rice complained that vernacular languages "become progressively less intelligible"²⁰ over the years; editorialist Donald McDonald spoke of knowledge of the li-

turgical meanings and not of the meanings of individual words in supporting "popular intelligibility"²¹ a few years earlier. Similar distinctions were made throughout the classification process.

Further analysis of vernacular argumentation included the classification of (1) the forms of argument employed during the vernacular debate, (2) the "language intensity" with which vernacular arguments were expressed, and (3) the "consistency" with which the individual classes of argument were used during the debate. Identification of the forms of argument relied on the traditional categories of argument listed by Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca in the New Rhetoric. Analysis of linguistic intensity referred to the research on language intensity and attitude change conducted by John Waite Bowers. Finally, tables illustrating the consistency with which argumentative classes appeared in the debate described the three factors of originality, frequency, and duration of use. The three factors constituting "consistency" referred to how early, how often, and how long individual arguments were employed in the debate. Although the single factor of frequency was interpreted as an indication of the debaters' response to popular reception of a particular line of argument, frequency alone was considered an unreliable guide due to the possibly disproportionate stresses on particular arguments through editorial or geographical peculiarities. The additional factors of originality and durability seemed

ideal for subjecting the factor of argumentative frequency to the tests of primacy and suitability.

The classification of arguments yielded four major classes of rhetorical supports for both sides of the vernacular issue. These classes include:

- I. Formal religious efficacy;
- II. Liturgical efficacy;
- III. Linguistic efficacy;
- IV. Personal religious efficacy.

Detailed explanations of the four major classes of argument and their several subdivisions are provided in Chapter VI.

Plan of the report

The research seemed to be reported appropriately in seven chapters. The plan of the report was designed to provide readers with a clear idea of the progression from descriptive to analytical elements in the study. The report proceeds through an historical and descriptive treatment of the public debate over vernacular reform before presenting the reader with conclusions based on qualitative and quantitative analysis of the data.

Chapter I introduces the purpose of the study as well as the materials and methods employed in the analysis. The chapter concludes with this introduction to the format of the report.

Chapter II, "Historical Perspectives," provides a brief summary of both liturgical and vernacular developments throughout history. The chapter highlights the events and individuals which shaped the development of the

vernacular movement and the public debate over vernacular reform.

Chapter III, "Initial Phase of the Vernacular Debate," chronicles the events which prompted developments in the vernacular debate between October, 1953, and March, 1962, a period in which argumentative foundations appeared. The chapter provides an interpretative look at the volume of debate, the nature of advocates and media, the lines of argument, and the general tenor of debate during its initial phase. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of significant developments in the debate.

Chapters IV and V continue the combined descriptive and analytical treatment of the vernacular debate. Chapter IV, "The Rise of Reform," treats the debate's development from April, 1962, to mid-March, 1965, a period in which vernacular advocates were heartily encouraged by significant progress in the reform movement. Chapter V, "The Rise of Resistance," treats the debate's development from March, 1965, through July, 1968, a period in which traditionalists consolidated their resistance to the vernacular movement.

Chapter VI, "Classes of Argument," reports on the detailed classification and quantitative analysis of vernacular arguments. The chapter proceeds through analysis of the specific content, frequency of use, form, and linguistic intensity of the four major classes of argument and their subdivisions.

Chapter VII, "The Significance of Public Debate over Vernacular Reform," concludes the report by reviewing significant developments in the vernacular controversy. The chapter also reports on evaluation of the study's analytical methods and predictive value in the classes of argument identified.

ENDNOTES

¹Cassell's New Latin Dictionary (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968), p. 636, defines "vernacular" as "native or domestic," deriving the meaning from the Latin vernaculus referring to "a slave born in the house."

²Pittsburgh Catholic, Sept. 2, 1965, p. 4. Hereafter, all citations of newspaper articles will be identified simply with the title of the source, all citations of newspaper editorials will be identified by adding "Editorial" or the common name of the editorial column to the title of the source, and all citations of newspaper letters-to-the-editor will be identified by adding "Letter" or the common name of the published correspondence to the title of the source.

³Register, May 22, 1964, p. 8.

⁴Constitution of the Catholic Press Association (Providence, Rhode Island: Catholic Press Association, 1911), II. 200.

⁵See "Mass Movement," Newsweek, Feb. 4, 1974, p. 56.

⁶The dramatic adaptation of Moore's novel was presented by "CBS Playhouse 90" on Nov. 29, 1973. The teleplay projected continuing vernacular controversy in the 1980's.

⁷New York Times, Oct. 27, 1962, p. 12.

⁸Joseph Breig, "English in the Dialogue Mass," America, Dec. 15, 1962, p. 1246.

⁹William Leggett, "The Lights Go On Again," Sports Illustrated, Apr. 9, 1973, p. 26.

¹⁰Paul Bussard's The Vernacular Missal in Religious Education (St. Paul, Minnesota: Wanderer Printing Co., 1937), a doctoral dissertation on the effects of English Mass Book usage on American Catholics, provided only thinly developed suggestions for future vernacular revisions. Charles R. A. Cunliffe's English in the Liturgy: A Symposium (London: Burns and Oates, 1956), a synthesis of international liturgists' opinions on vernacular reform,

temporarily brought observations on the controversy up to date. Angelus A. DeMarco's The Church of Rome and the Problem of the Vernacular versus the Liturgical Language (Washington, D. C. : The Catholic University of America Press, 1960), another dissertation, offered a general history of liturgical development and summarized a portion of the prevailing views on vernacular reform.

¹¹See Phillip K. Tompkins, "The Rhetorical Criticism of Non-Oratorical Works," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 55 (Dec., 1969), 431-439; and for a basic statement of the expanded notion of rhetorical criticism see Donald C. Bryant, "Rhetoric: Its Functions and Its Scope," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 39 (Dec., 1953), 413.

¹²Leland Griffin, "The Rhetoric of Historical Movements," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 38 (Apr., 1952), 185.

¹³See James R. Andrews, "The Passionate Negation: The Chartist Movement in Rhetorical Perspective," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 59 (Apr., 1973), 196.

¹⁴Robert E. Davis, "Response to Innovation: A Study of Popular Argument About New Mass Media" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech and Dramatic Arts, University of Iowa, 1970).

¹⁵Bruce E. Gronbeck, "The British Parliamentary Debate on the Regency, 1788-89: A Rhetorical Analysis" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech and Dramatic Arts, University of Iowa, 1970).

¹⁶An informative survey of such research is provided by Philip Wander and Steven Jenkins in "Rhetoric, Society, and the Critical Response," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 58 (Dec., 1972), 444-445.

¹⁷Little synthetic research into the history and development of the American Catholic press is available. Two of the more complete sources of information include Apollinaris W. Baumgartner's Catholic Journalism: A Study of Its Development in the United States, 1789-1930 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), and Mary Lonan Reilly's A History of the Catholic Press Association 1911-1968 (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1971).

¹⁸Catholic Press Directory (New York: Catholic Press Association, 1955), p. 143.

¹⁹Kenneth C. Pike, "Language and Life," Bibliotheca Sacra, 114 (July, 1959), 260-261.

²⁰Pittsburgh Catholic, Jan. 30, 1964, p. 4.

²¹"Editorial," Pittsburgh Catholic, Sept. 3, 1959,
p. 4.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

The movement for vernacular reform of Catholic liturgy radically confronted a canonized linguistic tradition hallowed by age. The movement was aided by twentieth-century encouragement of lay participation in the official worship of the Church as well as by the consistent growth of vernacular reform outside the United States. The history of liturgical language and of noteworthy men and events which shaped vernacular reform provides a valuable perspective with which to view popular rhetorical strategy during the vernacular debate.

Origin and Canonization of Latin Usage

Liturgical historians agree that Latinization of the liturgy occurred by the end of the fourth century A.D.¹ The general period of transition from Greek to Latin usage is usually identified between the years 360 and 382, when quotations from identical liturgical passages revealed a shift from Greek to Latin texts.² Significantly, the original transition represented a vernacular reform itself³--a point which vernacular advocates were quick to emphasize in the 1950's. Unlike vernacular reform in the twentieth century, though, the original shift to a Latin rite was a

gradual process that took as long as a hundred years.⁴

Latin ceased to be a vernacular language sometime during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, but the tradition of its liturgical use continued unabated. The Protestant espousal of vernacular reform stimulated hierarchical adherence to the Latin tradition in later centuries. Church Fathers meeting at the Council of Trent (1545-1563) reacted strongly to the use of vernacular languages in liturgical functions. On September 17, 1562, the twenty-second session of the Council condemned the use of "vulgar" tongues.⁵ Following Pope Pius V's efforts in 1571, the Roman Ritual was finally printed in 1614⁶ and pronounced Latin as the official language of worship.

The Liturgical Movement in America

The Church in the United States recognized problems associated with the use of liturgical Latin early in its history.⁷ In 1810, an assembly of American bishops approved the use of English in worship.⁸ Based on liturgical developments stimulated by the French monks of Solesmes in the nineteenth century⁹ and by Pope Pius X's decrees in the early twentieth century,¹⁰ the American Church grew in liturgical consciousness. The first American periodical devoted solely to liturgical concerns was published in 1925,¹¹ and the first North American Liturgical Conference was convened in 1940. Specific development of the vernacular movement took place when obvious overtures toward linguistic reform of the liturgy were reflected in a series of

vernacular concessions granted to various countries throughout Europe, Africa, and Asia between 1906 and 1954.¹²

Leading American vernacularists informally organized their efforts in 1946 at the Denver meeting of the North American Liturgical Conference. The American Vernacular Society opened its official headquarters on July 28, 1948, at Highland Park, Illinois, with Monsignor Joseph P. Morrison as president.¹³ The Society published a small quarterly, Amen, from 1951 until 1961, and claimed forty-one bishops as members by 1954. The Society was supported by a number of vocal critics of the Latin liturgy, including Monsignors Morrison (Chicago), Hillenbrand (New York), Hellriegel (St. Louis), and Sherry (Cincinnati), and the occasional lecturer, Col. John K. Ross-Duggan. Vernacular goals of the Society were promoted in print early and eloquently by leading liturgists, including the Reverends Hans Anscar Reinhold and Gerald Ellard. More than an empty title but less than a fully mobilized unit, the American Vernacular Society represented a clearinghouse for vernacularist argument in the late 1940's and 1950's.

The combination of papal pronouncements (especially Pope Pius XII's Mediator Dei of 1947), international precedents of vernacular reform, and a certain degree of organized agitation in the United States resulted in definite progress toward vernacular revisions by 1951. In that year the synodal meeting of American bishops discussed three proposals concerning the implementation of English in three

sacramental rites. No further action was taken on the proposals until November, 1953, but the official discussion of vernacular proposals indicated that the idea of reform had been firmly implanted.

Initial Phase of the Vernacular Debate

The Third International Congress of Liturgical Studies, meeting in Lugano, Switzerland, from September 12-18, 1953, included vernacular reform among its major suggestions for the future development of the liturgy. The American hierarchy, led by Archbishop Edwin O'Hara of Kansas City, renewed their efforts at vernacular reform in November, 1953, by petitioning Rome for approval of the three vernacular proposals originally drafted in 1951. The approval by the Sacred Congregation of Rites on June 3, 1954, was not surprising. Official approval of partial vernacular reform followed naturally from international precedents, liturgists' recommendations, and especially from Pope Pius XII's emphasis on lay participation in liturgy during the Marian Year of 1954.

Further developments at the Lugano liturgical conference of August, 1955, were designated as "classified information" and the prospects of additional vernacular reform were somewhat obscured. Although Bishop Fulton J. Sheen's celebration of a completely English Mass in September aroused new interest in vernacular reform,¹⁴ Pope Pius XII's Musicae Sacrae Disciplina (December, 1955) amended Lenten rites with no mention of further vernacular changes. The

question of vernacular reform received considerable attention at the Assisi liturgical conference of September, 1956, with Archbishop O'Hara again leading the progressives and a leading Italian conservative, Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, speaking for the traditionalists. Pope Pius XII also attended the conference and maintained an ambivalent position on vernacular reform, offering cautious support for each side of the issue. Eventually the question of reform was tabled for later consideration. Archbishop O'Hara died soon after the conference, Pope Pius XII continued to leave the matter of vernacular reform open to debate, and no further action was taken until the Second Vatican Council was convened late in 1962.

While communists in government and fluorides in drinking water, Catholics in the presidency and sputniks in outer space received the major attention of the Catholic press, vernacular reform represented a secondary consideration. The liturgical movement during the later 1950's was characterized by support for a Dialogue Latin Mass. The era of the Dialogue Mass, a period in which lay participation in liturgical services was encouraged along with traditional reliance on Latin as the liturgical language, provided a transition from the initiation of vernacular debating in the early 1950's to more vigorous consideration of vernacular reform in the 1960's. The most active vernacular debate during the era of the Dialogue Mass was restricted to the annual meetings of the North American Litur-

gical Conference every August.

An Instruction of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, issued in September, 1958, encouraged the laity to respond to Latin prayers in the liturgy. A Motu Proprio on the liturgy contained contemporaneous papal approval of the plan. Pius XII died on October 9, 1958, and lay participation in a Latin liturgy appeared to be the ultimate development in liturgical reform. Though Pope John XXIII announced plans for a comprehensive self-examination by the Church on January 25, 1959, traditionalist elements of the Catholic press preferred not to speculate on the Second Vatican Council and considered the Dialogue Latin Mass to be "the end of the liturgical movement."¹⁵ Establishment of a full-time office by the North American Liturgical Conference indicated otherwise in January, 1960.

The succession of a new Pope and anticipation of the rare Church Council he announced distracted many Catholics' attention from thoughts of vernacular reform. The introduction of reforms in the clerical breviary and changes in the liturgical calendar further obscured prospects of vernacular reform when no mention of linguistic revisions was included in the September, 1960 reforms. Continued agitation for vernacular reform was reflected in occasional papal addresses and official decrees re-emphasizing the Church's respect for liturgical Latin. Vernacularist pressure was reflected in Pope John XXIII's letter to the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music on December 8, 1961, in which the

Pope stressed Latin's contributions to liturgical music. Unofficial feedback from the American hierarchy and publicized requests for vernacular liturgies supplemented the reformers' side of the debate.¹⁶

The first phase of the vernacular debate was concluded during the first three months of 1962. On February 22, 1962, Pope John XXIII issued an apostolic constitution, Veterum Sapientia, which banned efforts to supplant Latin usage and study in seminaries and monasteries around the world. Immediately following publication of the Pope's sentiments and throughout the month of March, the American Catholic press exhibited a large-scale debate over whether or not the Pope had meant to include all liturgical functions in his prohibition. Later developments put an end to the perceived hierarchical ambivalence toward vernacular reform.

The Rise of Reform

Advocates of vernacular reform were heartened visibly by the rise of their fortunes from April, 1962, to the middle of March, 1965. Anticipation of favorable vernacular discussion at the Second Vatican Council appeared as early as April, 1962, in the Catholic press. Popular uncertainty as to the Pope's position on vernacular reform was dispersed in June when the Pope expressed support for a fully vernacularized Baptismal rite. Expressions of hierarchical support combined with signs of a weakening traditionalist position¹⁷ bolstered reformers' debating. Overwhelming

support for vernacular reform at the Second Vatican Council assured the reformers of success.

Meeting in four sessions (Oct. 11--Dec. 8, 1962), (Sept. 29--Dec. 4, 1963), (Sept. 13--Nov. 22, 1964), (Sept. 14--Dec. 8, 1965), the Second Vatican Council totally revised the Roman Catholic Church's stance in the twentieth century. Liturgical reform represented an integral part of the revision, while specific conciliar support for vernacular reform symbolized several significant conceptual changes including the movement toward decentralized ecclesiastical authority.

The Council supported the principle of vernacular liturgical languages by a vote of 1,922 to 11 in December, 1962. The broad expression of confidence prompted headline news that "Latin Yields!"¹⁸ In early October, 1963, the Council passed thirteen amendments favoring the vernacular reform and approved the partial vernacular reform of all sacramental rites by a vote of 2,133 to 19. Between the two sessions, American Catholics voiced substantial support for an English Mass in several polls¹⁹ and liturgists recommended totally vernacularized liturgies in several conferences.²⁰ The death of Pope John XXIII on June 3, 1963, did not slacken the pace of reform. The second session of the Council promulgated a Decree on the Liturgy favoring vernacular languages and the American hierarchy immediately formed the United States Bishops' Commission on the Liturgical Apostolate. The Commission included Archbishops John F.

Dearden (Detroit) and Paul J. Hallinan (Atlanta), and Bishops James H. Griffiths (New York), Vincent S. Waters (Raleigh), and Victor J. Reed (Oklahoma City). Welcoming the liturgical revisions "wholeheartedly," the Commission promised to "make full use of the vernacular concessions."²¹

Vernacular reform accelerated throughout 1964. Rome authorized the implementation of partially vernacularized liturgies on February 16, 1964, and the Catholic press carried many reports of international anticipation or actual implementation of native languages in the Mass and sacraments. American bishops submitted their implementation plans to Rome in April and received prompt Vatican approval in May. Although an official English Mass text was not published until July, individual dioceses hurried to implement trial liturgies as early as May, 1964.²² The bishops of the United States set November 29, 1964, as the official date for implementing a vernacular Mass; an approved English Mass was celebrated at the St. Louis meeting of the North American Liturgical Conference in August. September 14, 1964, was set as the official implementation date for partially vernacularized sacramental rites. Millions of American Catholics first experienced an English liturgy on the last Sunday of November, and the use of English in the Mass was voted "Top Religious Story of 1964" in a survey of Catholic editors.²³

The movement toward complete vernacular reform continued to show progress in 1965. Vatican approval was ob-

tained in January for a vernacularized Mass Preface, and approval of an English High Mass was granted on March 7, 1965. Pope Paul VI publicly supported the reform in celebrating a vernacular Mass at Rome later in March. Catholic publications in the United States continued to report numerous international implementations of vernacular liturgies as well as the efforts of various prelates to obtain fuller vernacular concessions. Results of local polls favoring the English liturgy also continued to find prominent space in the Catholic press. Experience with a vernacular liturgy moved many more Catholics to send letters of approval to their favorite newspapers. Experience with comparing Latin and English liturgies also moved more Catholic traditionalists, previously silent in the face of vernacular progress, to express their displeasure in letters to various editors.²⁴ The voices of the opposition began to be heard.

The Rise of Resistance

The onrush of liturgical reform dictated that the organization of an opposition to vernacular reform would not be accomplished without difficulty. The official English text of the Mass Preface was approved in June, 1965, and several more Mass prayers were approved for vernacular recitation in October, 1965.²⁵ Opponents of vernacular reform were compelled to raise their voices in post facto criticism rather than prohibition.

In March, 1965, the Reverend Gommar DePauw founded

the Catholic Traditionalist Movement -- one of the more controversial organizations opposing reforms in the Church. An emigrant to the United States from Belgium, Father DePauw had been incardinated as a priest of the Archdiocese of Baltimore. Soon after his founding of a traditionalist movement Father DePauw was instructed to disassociate himself from such activities by his superiors in Baltimore. The colorful history of Father DePauw's efforts to perpetuate the Catholic Traditionalist Movement tended to distract public attention from the movement's serious goal of preserving Latin liturgy.²⁶ Father DePauw and his followers claimed a membership of "uncounted thousands"²⁷ in opposing vernacular reforms. Basing their claim on answers obtained from a somewhat questionably circulated questionnaire, the Catholic Traditionalists found 86% of respondents favoring the liturgical coexistence of Latin and English.²⁸ The Catholic Traditionalist Movement may not have advanced the cause of survey research but it did offer a rallying point for Catholics who were dissatisfied with the vernacular movement.²⁹ In addition, traditionalists supported general principles of religious orthodoxy and liturgical esthetics that appealed to American Catholics who might not have supported a one-dimensional opposition to vernacular reform.³⁰

The International Una Voce Federation represented specific opposition to vernacular reform alone. Organized in 1964 at Oslo, Norway with Dr. Eric de Saventem as permanent chairman, Una Voce absorbed the United States Latin

Mass Society in 1967. The Latin Mass Society had been established in September, 1966, and was patterned after a similar organization in Great Britain which had claimed 1,000 members in 1965. Paralleling the role taken by the seventy seven-year-old Sir Arnold Lunn in England, John A. McManemin led the United States Latin Mass Society until it joined the Una Voce Federation.³¹ Una Voce's agitation was directed primarily at petitioning national synods of bishops for the preservation of liturgical Latin. Una Voce's goal was especially attractive to Catholic intellectuals concerned about the esthetic quality of liturgical music. New English Mass texts could not be coordinated with conventional musical accompaniment, and Una Voce was quick to emphasize the need for edifying music in the new liturgies.

Resistance to vernacular reform gained added momentum in December, 1965, when Pope Paul VI promulgated Nativitate Domini and restricted the use of vernacular liturgies in seminaries and religious houses. Local Catholic newspapers reported the locations of hierarchially approved Latin Masses throughout the next two years. On November 24, 1966, the bishops of the United States submitted a formal petition for an English Mass Canon, the last major element of the Mass not included in previous reforms. However, steady vernacular progress made individual acts of reform less newsworthy,³² and declining opportunities to halt the rapid spread of vernacular reform did not discourage its opponents. Traditionalist critics of the vernacular movement chose to

point out liturgical abuses. Pope Paul VI repeatedly warned liturgists to avoid illicit experiments with the liturgy throughout the Fall of 1966 and issued a formal caution on the subject of liturgical innovations in January, 1967. Critics of vernacular reform attempted to draw sustenance from official warnings to liturgical experimenters but were hard pressed to find explicit criticisms of the vernacular movement itself. In addition, the reform had progressed far enough to discourage many American Catholics from considering vernacular matters as open to further debate. The general state of affairs resulted in a denouement of debate.

The implementation of a completely vernacularized Mass, approved by the Vatican in May, 1967, was met with far less anticipation and analysis in the Catholic press than events marking the rise of reform in 1962. By June, newspaper reports indicated widespread use of English Masses³³ and the leading liberal Catholic newspaper closed its era of vernacular reporting in August.³⁴ On October 22, 1967, the English Mass Canon was officially implemented, signalling complete vernacularization of the Mass. Though *Una Voce* pledged to continue its resistance as late as March, 1970,³⁵ the controversy over vernacular reform had declined far beyond its peak of significance. The 1967 meeting of the North American Liturgical Conference did not mention the vernacular issue, and a national survey conducted by Our Sunday Visitor indicated that ninety percent of

American Catholics were satisfied with English Masses in February, 1968.³⁶ The Pope had exhibited disapproval of unauthorized liturgical experimentation in August, 1967, but he cautioned against exaggerated praise for the efficacy of liturgical Latin in May, 1968. On June 14, 1968, three new English Canons and eight new English Prefaces were approved for implementation in August. The appearance on the ecclesiastical scene of the encyclical, Humanae Vitae, on July 29, 1968, signalled the absolute end of active debate over vernacular reform and the official beginning of intensified debate over birth control. American Catholics' desire to pursue more pressing subjects of debate found expression in the rapid decline of vernacular-oriented commentary in the Catholic press after 1966.

The rise of traditionalist resistance to vernacular reform faced the serious obstacle of a *fait accompli*. Traditionalists who supported the restoration of a Latin liturgy or the liturgical coexistence of Latin and English were forced into the unenviable position of being reformers themselves. Traditionalist elements in the Catholic press actively pursued opportunities for debate in the period 1965-1968 but faced the difficult task of associating their suggestions with constructive criticism instead of embittered hindsight. On the other hand, the reluctance of vernacular advocates to engage traditionalists in open debate after 1967 and 1968 frustrated opponents of vernacular reform and stimulated the continued controversy long after active

vernacular debate had ended.

The continued resistance to vernacular reform after 1968 took the form of restricted yet energetic efforts to keep the vernacular issue alive. Father Gommar DePauw has claimed that "as many as 1,000 Catholics" attend the Latin Mass he celebrates every Sunday at the Ave Maria Chapel in Westbury, New York, although he continues to be suspended and forbidden to perform his priestly functions.³⁷ Father Francis Fenton, head of the Orthodox Roman Catholic Movement, claims that "as many as 20,000 American Catholics are now attending Latin Masses at unauthorized Catholic parishes."³⁸ Traditionalists confront incredible odds in attempting to perpetuate the controversy and could well appreciate Father DePauw's position when, in September, 1967, he demanded papal approval for a Latin Rite in the United States³⁹ barely one month before official implementation of an entirely vernacularized liturgy.

ENDNOTES

¹General designation of the actual date is necessitated by a lack of sources from the third to sixth centuries. For an authoritative commentary on the issue see Josef A. Jungmann's The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1951), pp. 38-39.

²See Christine Mohrmann's Liturgical Latin: Its Origins and Character (Washington, D. C. : The Catholic University of America Press, 1957), p. 50.

³The significance of the liturgical language's relationship to linguistic norms in literature and business is emphasized in Josef A. Jungmann's Pastoral Liturgy (New York: Herder and Herder, 1962), p. 371.

⁴Mohrmann, pp. 50-51; and Jungmann, Pastoral Liturgy, p. 371.

⁵Heinrich J. Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum (Rome: Herder, 1957), p. 335.

⁶Quentin Quesnell, "The Ritual and the Vernacular," Thought, Winter, 1957, p. 560.

⁷A synthetic treatment of liturgical revival in the American Catholic Church can be found in Paul Marx's Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1957).

⁸William O'Shea, "Liturgy in the United States, 1889-1964," American Ecclesiastical Review, Mar., 1964, p. 180.

⁹See David A. Fleming's "Dom Gueranger and the Beginnings of the Liturgical Movement," American Ecclesiastical Review, Mar., 1964, pp. 197-203.

¹⁰O'Shea, p. 179.

¹¹The title, Orate Fratres, was later changed to Worship in December, 1951.

¹²A wide range of sources have commented on the progress of the vernacular movement outside the United States.

Some of the relevant periodical sources include: Samuel J. Gosling, "Current Comment," America, July 22, 1950, pp. 407-408; William J. Leonard, "Here One Speaks English," Action Now, Mar., 1955, pp. 24-27; and Quesnell, pp. 563-564.

¹³The American Vernacular Society followed the lead of the Vernacular Society of Great Britain, which changed its title from the English Liturgy Society in 1943. Clerical leaders in the British organization included Samuel J. Gosling (who died in 1950), Donald Attwater, Clifford Howell, and Ronald Pilkington.

¹⁴The vernacular Mass celebrated by Bishop Sheen highlighted a gathering of 120,000 Byzantine Rite Catholics in Uniontown, Pennsylvania. The Mass was offered for the conversion of Russia, a favorite Mass intention following the Marian Year of 1954, and was broadcast to Europe. Many Catholics in the United States, including a number of reporters, misunderstood the canonical technicality permitting Bishop Sheen to offer an English Mass in a different Rite. Extensive coverage of the event in Catholic newspapers caused a minor sensation across the country.

¹⁵Wanderer, Feb. 19, 1959, p. 1.

¹⁶Vernacular petitions from Canada and Great Britain were of particular interest to American Catholics. A summary and discussion of vernacular petitions appeared in the Catholic Reporter, Sept. 1, 1961, p. 1. Special emphasis was given to the Canadian petition in the San Francisco Monitor, Oct. 6, 1961. The petition from the Vernacular Society of Great Britain was highlighted in both the Catholic Reporter, Oct. 13, 1961, p. 1, and San Francisco Monitor, Oct. 13, 1961, p. 1.

¹⁷A leading symbol of the conservative mentality and the traditionalist stalwart of the Assisi liturgical conference in 1956, Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, died in February, 1962.

¹⁸Register, Dec. 21, 1962, p. 1.

¹⁹Strong lay support for a vernacularized liturgy was indicated particularly well in a poll conducted by Our Sunday Visitor in September, 1963, and publicized widely in both Catholic magazines and newspapers. Sixty percent of the respondents (21,246) approved an entirely English Mass and fifteen percent more (5,437) approved at least a partially vernacularized Mass. Only twenty-five percent (8,928) rejected the notion of an English liturgy.

²⁰For example, both the North American Liturgical Conference and the Southwest Liturgical Conference recommended wider use of English in the Mass and sacraments.

²¹The bishops' press releases were reported throughout the Catholic press during December, 1963. A full text of their official statement, "On the Use of Vernacular in Liturgy," was made available in the Chicago New World, Dec. 13, 1963, p. 2.

²²Conflicting accounts of the race to be first in implementing English liturgies make exact dating difficult. The Pittsburgh Catholic, June 4, 1964, p. 1, reported that the diocese of Superior, Wisconsin, won the competition on May 21, 1964, followed two days later by the diocese of Winona, Minnesota. This report was substantiated in Ave Maria, June 20, 1964, p. 24. On the other hand, Msgr. Vincent A. Yzermans, in "Setting Stage for the Vernacular," Columbia, Oct., 1964, p. 13, recognized the diocese of Kansas City-St. Joseph, Missouri, as the winner on May 17, 1964.

²³Register, Jan. 8, 1965, p. 1.

²⁴While only 192 letters-to-the-editor were found in Catholic periodicals for the entire period surveyed before 1962, 237 pieces of correspondence were found during the period 1962-1965. Of the 237 letters-to-the-editor, 103 approved vernacular reform and 134 opposed it.

²⁵The vernacular reform of October, 1965, applied to the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar, the Collect, the Secret, the Prayer for Peace, and the Postcommunion.

²⁶After receiving orders to disassociate himself from the Catholic Traditionalist Movement on April 7, 1965, Father DePauw continued a thinly veiled administration of the organization. He manipulated various canonical technicalities in attempts to incardinate himself in the titular see of Tivoli, Italy (ecclesiastical territory administered by a sympathetic prelate), during 1965 but he ultimately failed to release himself from Baltimore. After establishing a permanent office for the Catholic Traditionalist Movement in New York in January, 1966, (with Mrs. Gloria Cuneo as the nominal president of the organization) Father DePauw was suspended from his clerical duties. In May, 1966, Father DePauw moved to acquire a reinstatement. Bishop Blaise S. Kurz, exiled Prefect Apostolic of Yungchow, China, was enlisted as moderator of the Movement and Father DePauw became the Bishop's secretary. Father DePauw's colorful campaign to maintain his leadership of the Catholic Traditionalists while seeking canonical legality for his efforts reduced his later impact on the overall reaction to Church reform. The head of the

Catholic Traditionalist Movement earned more of a reputation as a curiosity than as a sincere traditionalist.

²⁷In addition, the Wanderer, Jan. 13, 1966, p. 1, reported Pope Paul VI's official approval of Father De-Pauw's efforts.

²⁸See the Brooklyn Tablet, Jan. 13, 1966, p. 9.

²⁹The Catholic Traditionalists supported general resistance to reform in the Church, and embraced a number of subsidiary organizations including: the Businessmen's Association for Morality in Society; the Union of Catholic Professionals; the Society of Catholic Workers; and the Women's Center of Our Lady of Fatima.

³⁰Traditionalist movements represented an international phenomenon of well organized backing and recognized leadership, such as that of Fr. Gregory de Nantes in France and Tito Casini in Italy.

³¹McManemin's stewardship was taken over by Dietrich von Hildebrand, a leading conservative and widely syndicated columnist.

³²Specific indication of the declining impact of vernacular reform can be seen in the American Catholic editors' rating of "Meat on Friday" as the top Catholic news story of 1966.

³³For example, the Pittsburgh Catholic, June 22, 1967, p. 1, reported that ninety-four percent of Masses in the Pittsburgh area were being celebrated in English.

³⁴In criticizing a continued emphasis on liturgical reform as a hindrance to needed reforms in other areas of the Church, the National Catholic Reporter, Aug. 9, 1967, p. 5, concluded its reporting on the vernacular controversy.

³⁵Brooklyn Tablet, Mar. 12, 1970, p. 8.

³⁶Our Sunday Visitor, Feb. 18, 1968, p. 1.

³⁷"Mass Movement," Newsweek, Feb. 4, 1974, p. 56.

³⁸Newsweek, Feb. 4, 1974, p. 56.

³⁹See the Pittsburgh Catholic, Sept. 7, 1967, p. 6.

CHAPTER III

INITIAL PHASE OF THE VERNACULAR DEBATE

Chapter III begins a combined descriptive and analytical treatment of the vernacular debate which covers three distinct periods in the argumentation. Chapter III focuses on the initial phase of the debate, a period in which vernacular advocates and their opponents developed their fundamental rhetorical strategies. After introducing the terminal dates of the period under consideration, the chapter (1) presents an overview of prompting events, (2) indicates the volume of debate, (3) traces significant developments in the nature of advocates and media, (4) summarizes the lines of argument employed in the debate, and (5) suggests the prevailing tenor of the debate. The chapter concludes with a review of significant developments in the initial phase of the vernacular debate.

The initiation of a popular debate over vernacular reform, an active and continuous exchange of views between progressive supporters of vernacular revisions and their traditionalist opponents, was indicated by a letter-writing campaign among readers of the Boston Pilot from October to December, 1953. The letters were submitted in reaction to a Boston Pilot article, published on October 24, 1953, which asked the question: "Does Liturgical Tradition Allow

Mass in English?"¹ The initiation of the debate was also stimulated by the liturgical suggestions made at the Lugano liturgical conference in September and by decisions reached at the November meeting of the bishops of the United States. Liturgists attending the liturgical conference in Lugano, Switzerland, strongly urged "active participation of all the faithful"² in liturgical ceremonies; the American bishops submitted a petition to the Sacred Congregation of Rites in Rome for permission to partially vernacularize the rites of Baptism, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction. Early contributions to the debate included emphases on liturgical participation and the existence of vernacular concessions in other parts of the world.

The initial phase of the vernacular debate was terminated by a dispute between progressives and traditionalists over the ramifications of Veterum Sapientia, an Apostolic Constitution promulgated by Pope John XXIII on February 22, 1962. Veterum Sapientia expressly prohibited any efforts to supplant the study and cultivation of Latin in seminaries and monasteries and expanded the Pope's support for traditional values expounded in a letter to the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music on December 8, 1961. Progressives denied the traditionalist assertions that Pope John XXIII's prohibitions applied to the liturgy. Most significantly, the extensive exchange of opinion between progressives and traditionalists during March, 1962, marked the last time that the debate displayed equal-

ly proportioned amounts of argument until after vernacular reforms had been implemented. The initial period in the vernacular debate, then, exhibited an argumentative give and take between vernacular advocates and opponents that prompted free development of each side's basic fund of arguments.

Prompting Events

Following the excitement generated by events in the Fall of 1953, progressives approached the prospects of vernacular reform optimistically. Vatican approval of the American bishops' request for vernacularization of Baptism, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction raised progressive hopes higher on June 3, 1954. The initial phase of the vernacular debate was characterized by an equality of argumentative stimulants, though, and Pope Pius XII's promulgation of Musicae Sacrae Disciplina supported the traditionalist point of view in December, 1955. The papal decree amended Lenten rites while maintaining the liturgical sovereignty of Latin. Results of the liturgical conference held at Assisi, Italy, during September, 1956, further emphasized the ambivalent future of vernacular reform. Several members of the Church's hierarchy, including Bishop John Wright of the United States, cited "cultural, religious, and even doctrinal"³ reasons for maintaining liturgical Latin. Archbishop Edwin O'Hara of Kansas City, progressive stalwart during the hierarchial deliberations which resulted in three partially vernacularized

sacramental rites, argued in favor of vernacular reform. Pope Pius XII voiced sentiments supporting the strengths of each side in the debate, while the conference as a whole perpetuated the ambivalent prospects of reform. Although Bishop Fulton J. Sheen had celebrated a completely English Mass in the United States in September, 1955, and the Catholic press had publicized the event extensively,⁴ the Lugano liturgical conference's decision to treat vernacular considerations as "classified information"⁵ indicated the vaguity surrounding reform late in 1955. Archbishop William O. Brady's remarks at the North American Liturgical Conference in August, 1957, summarized the prevailing mood among many American Catholics: "I have no wish to enter here into the sometimes noisy, intemperate and even disrespectful agitation for the vernacular. That is a special problem on which the Church has less than gently said 'Please do not try to take our Latin from us.'" ⁶

The debate over vernacular reform was stimulated once again in September, 1958, when an instruction from the Sacred Congregation of Rites announced the era of the Latin Dialogue Mass. The Dialogue Mass represented the Church's attempt to foster lay response to Mass prayers while still retaining the use of liturgical Latin. Publicity concerning the Dialogue Mass was restricted due to the press coverage of Pope Pius XII's death on October 9, 1958, and his successor's announcement of plans to convene a rare Church-wide Council. Pope John XXIII made his

plans for the Second Vatican Council public on January 25, 1959, and subsequently let it be known that liturgical reform would occupy a prominent position in the Council's agenda. The revitalized prospects of liturgical reform, combined with the North American Liturgical Conference's establishment of a full time office in January, 1960, sustained a marked increase in the volume of debate. The debate was prompted further by American Catholics' experience with liturgical participation in the Dialogue Mass. Increased opportunities for liturgical participation merely whetted the appetites of vernacular advocates while convincing vernacular opponents that liturgical Latin provided a satisfactory medium in worship.

Pope John XXIII's letter to the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music in December, 1961, and the added emphasis on preservation of Latin contained in Veterum Sapientia, prompted a final burst of argumentation in the initial phase of the vernacular debate. Newspaper headlines proclaimed: "Liturgists Probe Impact of Pope's Ruling on Latin"⁷ and traditionalists vigorously disputed the progressive contention that the Pope's decision affected only "the clergy and not the laity."⁸ Although the traditionalists seemed to garner the most encouragement from the debate over Veterum Sapientia, the rise of vernacular reform was imminent. After the specialized debate over Pope John XXIII's ruling had subsided, traditionalists did not partake of the vernacular debate in the proportion

they had approached debating since 1953. In effect, the initial phase of the vernacular debate marked the last time traditionalists were not stigmatized as a disgruntled minority in American Catholicism.

Volume of Debate

The debate over vernacular reform exhibited a wavering volume during its initial phase, ranging from a low of seventeen items in 1953 to a peak of 129 items in 1961.⁹ The period 1958-1959, the early years of the Dialogue Mass era, represented the lowest point in debating volume with only nine percent of the total volume in almost twenty-five percent of the chronological capacity. The overall volume of 436 items will be seen to compare favorably with the volumes of debate in subsequent periods. General trends in the rise and fall of volume indicate that the 176 items produced during the period 1953-1957 represented an early peak in the debate which gave way to a subsequent period of decline during the period 1958-1959. Controversy surrounding papal approval of partially vernacularized sacramental rites in 1954 and results of the Assisi liturgical conference in 1956 appeared to give way to relative detachment from vernacular concerns until a new peak of controversy was reached with anticipation of liturgical discussions at the Second Vatican Council. The rise of controversy during the period 1960-1962 was reflected in that period's volume of 218 items.

The initial phase of the vernacular debate was also

characterized by a progressive lead in total volume of argument. Almost sixty percent of the published argument favored the principle of vernacular reform, with progressives finding support for their cause in sixty-two percent of magazine items and over fifty-eight percent of newspaper items. The progressive margin in argumentative volume was not amassed steadily, however. Traditionalists found support for their cause in fifty-nine percent of items dealing with vernacular reform in 1953, sixty-four percent in the period 1958-1959, and over sixty-five percent in the first three months of 1962. Rather than indicating an overall support for vernacular reform in the Catholic press, the progressives' cumulative margin of sixty percent of the published argument reflected the normal volume of argument expected from an incipient movement. Progressive efforts to publicize their cause might well have generated a greater margin of support in published argument had it not been for the discouraging influences of the Assisi liturgical conference and Veterum Sapientia.

The progressive edge in volume of debate was most clearly reflected in the over fifty-nine percent of articles and news reports favoring the principle of vernacular reform. Progressive margins in other items varied considerably. While drawing support from sixty-two percent of published letters-to-the-editor, progressives were encouraged in their cause by only fifty-one percent of

editorials commenting on the reform. Again, the progressive margins in articles, editorials, and letters were not consistent. For example, traditionalists found support for their cause in over fifty-six percent of the articles treating the vernacular question from 1956 to 1959, while fifty-seven percent of letters-to-the-editor supported reform before 1960. The degree of the progressive margin in volume of published argument and the inconsistency with which Catholic magazines and newspapers supported reform during the period indicated that the initial phase of the vernacular debate encompassed a relatively unpredictable, unresolved discussion of liturgical language.

Advocates and Media

The initial phase of the debate was characterized by a uniform support for the progressive cause among both clergy and laity. Sixty percent of lay editorials and letters-to-the-editor supported the vernacular movement and over fifty-nine percent of clerical editorials and correspondence favored reform. In addition, the clergy favored reform in almost seventy-five percent of all the articles they contributed to Catholic magazines. Considering that local bishops usually administered the publication of diocesan newspapers and that three-quarters of clerically authored magazine articles favored vernacular reform, progressive debaters appeared to find substantial support for their cause among the clergy. Laymen seemed to echo the clerical support for vernacular reform, es-

pecially during the general rise of controversy after 1959. From 1960 through the first three months of 1962, a substantial sixty-six percent of lay editorials and correspondence favored vernacular reform. Significantly, laymen authored almost seventy percent of the editorial comment and correspondence that discussed vernacular reform during those twenty-seven months. Lay progressivism late in the initial phase of the vernacular debate supplemented the clerical support of vernacular reform in over sixty-three percent of the vernacular-oriented editorials and letters they wrote before 1960.

Catholic magazines generated a disproportionate share of the vernacular debate during its initial phase. Magazines contributed forty-four percent of the published argument during the period and an especially substantial forty-nine percent of the argument during the years 1960 to 1962. Considering the relative infrequency with which magazines were issued and the restricted space available in their issues for vernacular commentary as compared with national and diocesan newspapers, the role in the debate played by magazines was significant. The role of magazines never reached similar dimensions again. The relative argumentative inputs of clerical and lay debaters suggests an explanation of Catholic magazines' status early in the debate. Clerical debaters generated over eighty-two percent of the argument published in magazines through 1956. During the rise of vernacular controversy

in the early 1960's, the clergy reasserted its role in the debate and generated over fifty-five percent of the argument published in magazines. Considering that these two periods also represented peaks of argumentative input by the magazines, the roles of the clergy and the magazines appeared to be interrelated. Early editorial reluctance to pursue the vernacular question on the part of Catholic newspapers seemed to dissipate as laymen, inspired by their liturgical experience during the era of the Dialogue Mass, took a more commanding role in the debate, especially after 1960. Whether magazines hesitated to publish the opinions of anyone but clerical authorities or whether laymen simply found newspapers more accessible, early indications of an association between clerical argument and magazine involvement signalled a decline in the role of Catholic magazines after 1962.

The significant role of Catholic magazines in laying the foundations of argument represented an outstanding factor in the initiation of the vernacular debate. The relative "distance" between Catholics and the infrequently, nationally circulated magazines suggested the general approach to vernacular questions before 1962. Magazines normally treated vernacular reform speculatively and with far less of the factual reporting accomplished by the newspapers. The role of magazines in the debate reflected the distant, speculative nature of vernacular reform in the public mentality. The status of vernacular considerations

was indicated by the Catholic World's publication of an opinion survey in 1957.¹⁰ Sampling the vernacular preferences of famous American Catholics, from actress Jane Wyatt to diplomat Clare Booth Luce and from CBS president Arthur H. Hayes to publisher Martin J. Quigley, Catholic World presented a relatively detached survey of personal speculation on vernacular prospects. The considerations were entertaining but hardly suggested any immediate significance in the vernacular question. The generally speculative nature of vernacular debating persisted until the increased factual reports of vernacular progress in Catholic newspapers replaced detached interest with immediate concern.

Lines of Argument

Progressives and traditionalists introduced the basic lines of argument for the vernacular debate during its initial phase. Later developments in the lines of argument would represent mere variations on the fundamental themes expounded between 1953 and 1962. The initial phase of the debate included emphases on seven general lines of argument: (1) understanding of the liturgy, (2) lay participation in the liturgy, (3) liturgical traditions, (4) concerns for religious orthodoxy and liturgical sacredness, (5) language and Catholic unity, (6) spiritual and pastoral benefits, and (7) liturgical propriety and beauty. The debaters' development of each line of argument represented one of the most engaging aspects of analyzing the ongoing

debate over vernacular reform.

Understanding of the liturgy

The debate over liturgical understanding pitted the progressive emphasis on "popular intelligibility"¹¹ against a number of traditionalist arguments stressing that liturgical Latin was "not without meaning or reason."¹² Progressives contended the liturgical use of English would promote "a better understanding of the Mass"¹³ because English represented a "more intelligible"¹⁴ language, "a living, functioning language,"¹⁵ and "the normal language of thought"¹⁶ for American Catholics. In contrast, progressives maintained that the vast majority of American Catholics could not "understand or appreciate Latin"¹⁷ because it was "a foreign language"¹⁸ as well as an "obscure language."¹⁹ Latin was criticized as a "dead language"²⁰ which "conceals"²¹ the meaning of the Mass and restricts "communication with God."²² The progressives' favorite image pictured Latin as "the greatest stumbling block"²³ to liturgical comprehension. Progressives confidently predicted that the use of "our own language,"²⁴ "modern languages,"²⁵ "the language of the people,"²⁶ "the mother tongue,"²⁷ and "the native tongue"²⁸ would insure "a more meaningful Mass"²⁹ and a general improvement in the laity's "understanding and appreciation"³⁰ of liturgy.

Traditionalists employed a number of arguments in defending liturgical Latin, including the description of Latin as "an artificer of clear understanding."³¹ Some

traditionalists insisted that "human language cannot possibly bear the burden of fully expressing the Mass"³² and others contended that liturgical "actions and words are simple enough that they express the idea"³³ without needing vernacular reform. Some traditionalists even stressed that "thousands have difficulty in understanding English."³⁴ Most traditionalists, though, praised Latin for being "logical,"³⁵ a good liturgical "medium,"³⁶ and "simple to learn."³⁷ In effect, traditionalists argued that Latin represented "anything but a dead language"³⁸ and offered "no great block"³⁹ to liturgical comprehension. In addition, Latinists contended that "we are not ready for much vernacular in the Mass."⁴⁰

Lay participation in the liturgy

In debating vernacular influence on lay participation in the liturgy, progressives contended that the use of English would make Catholics "participants instead of onlookers"⁴¹ while traditionalists suggested that vernacular reform "would not guarantee"⁴² improved liturgical participation. Progressives maintained that liturgical Latin restricted "wider popular participation"⁴³ and that liturgical English would promote the "widest and fullest participation"⁴⁴ possible. English was promoted as the best possible medium for a "return of Catholics to truly public worship."⁴⁵ Latin supporters denied the progressive line of reasoning and insisted: "There is a difficulty in equating participation by the laity with the use of

the language of the people."⁴⁶ Denying the progressive assertion that only liturgical English could inspire "active and intelligent participation,"⁴⁷ traditionalists contended that American Catholics simply needed an "opportunity to use it [Latin] actively in the liturgy"⁴⁸ to discover Latin's true utility. Traditionalists emphasized that continued use of Latin "will not constitute a barrier to direct liturgical participation."⁴⁹ In spite of traditionalist assurances to the contrary, though, progressives maintained that "living and effective participation,"⁵⁰ "more intimate participation,"⁵¹ and "fruitful participation"⁵² were heavily dependent on vernacular reform. Along with the progressive emphases on liturgical understanding, vernacular advocates' use of argument on liturgical participation represented a substantial portion of their total volume of argument.

Liturgical traditions

The debate over traditional liturgical practices generated particularly pointed exchanges between the two sides. Traditionalists quite obviously supported "the venerable traditions"⁵³ behind continued use of Latin. Emphasizing the "age-old practice"⁵⁴ of using Latin and its "uninterrupted and legitimate use"⁵⁵ through "two thousand years of Church history,"⁵⁶ traditionalists contended that Latin represented the "official language of divine worship."⁵⁷ Progressives directed almost all of their argument toward refuting this one aspect of the tra-

ditionalist position. Progressives observed that "Jesus didn't speak Latin"⁵⁸ and "simply gave us the elements of the Holy Sacrifice,"⁵⁹ not a judgment on what liturgical language should be used. Contending that "Latin has never been and is not likely to be the only language in use in the Roman Rite,"⁶⁰ progressives pointed out that historically both Latin and Greek "were themselves the vernacular."⁶¹ Refuting the traditionalist citation of merely "a few exceptions"⁶² of vernacular liturgies in the Church, progressives asserted that the "vernacular has been used for centuries"⁶³ in liturgy and that "some Catholic priests never say Mass in Latin."⁶⁴ Progressives also quoted Pope Pius XII's comment that "liturgy returns to the past, while not slavishly imitating it . . . in using the vernacular."⁶⁵

Progressives offered much less reaction to the traditionalist contention that liturgical Latin preserved "a precious cultural heritage."⁶⁶ Charging that vernacular reformers were "people culturally cold and intellectually lazy,"⁶⁷ traditionalists considered vernacular reform to be a "weakening of the appreciation of our intellectual heritage."⁶⁸ Latinists cited "grave motives"⁶⁹ in their efforts to preserve Latin "treasures of the Church"⁷⁰ as well as "a sacred content which transcends time."⁷¹ Besides citing "the lack of adaptability of the vernacular to the Latin Rite"⁷² and a possible "total loss of traditional identity,"⁷³ then, traditionalists also confronted

progressives with the argument that Latin held the "historic role as a promoter and protector of civilization."⁷⁴

Traditionalists also charged vernacular reformers with running certain undefined "risks of innovation."⁷⁵ Progressives did respond to this line of argument, contending that vernacular reform involved "no drastic departures from present practice"⁷⁶ and "no startling innovations."⁷⁷ Progressives refuted the charge that they were prey to an "inordinate desire for novelty"⁷⁸ by promising to observe "strict safeguards"⁷⁹ in implementing "a gradual and controlled concession"⁸⁰ to vernacular liturgy. Progressives also promised "to harmonize"⁸¹ the past with the present, while generally failing to convince traditionalists that continued use of Latin did not represent "a matter of obedience"⁸² to official liturgical norms.

Concerns for religious orthodoxy
and liturgical sacredness

The argumentative confrontation over doctrinal purity and ritualistic solemnity was characterized by traditionalist concern over the "frightening"⁸³ religious effects of vernacular reform. Traditionalists insisted that the "faithful expression of Christian dogma and doctrine"⁸⁴ required Latin usage because Latin preserved "the exact meaning of the words"⁸⁵ with "admirable succinctness and precision."⁸⁶ Emphasizing Latin's role in "safeguarding the purity of the Faith,"⁸⁷ traditionalists contended that a change in the liturgical language threatened "doctrinal

clarity and certainty"⁸⁸ and provided fertile ground for "heresy."⁸⁹ Latinists observed that "all schismatical and heretical movements against Rome have all resulted in a vernacular liturgy,"⁹⁰ indicating that an English liturgy would represent "a natural tool of heresy."⁹¹ Basically, traditionalists charged that the "inevitable changes"⁹² in a vernacular language would undermine "the immutable Catholic Church"⁹³ and result in a more "Protestant"⁹⁴ religion. In rebuttal, progressives denigrated the "Latin mentality"⁹⁵ which considered the "use of Latin in the Mass as almost a matter of faith."⁹⁶ Some progressives contended simply that vernacular reform was "not dealing with doctrine"⁹⁷ but most progressives praised English as the best medium "for expressing most fully the whole of Christian doctrine"⁹⁸ as well as "a potent weapon"⁹⁹ against heresy. Latin was discounted as neither "more orthodox"¹⁰⁰ nor "unchanging"¹⁰¹ in attacking the language as "no longer adequate for modern theology"¹⁰² or "our sacramental system."¹⁰³

In the specific dispute over liturgical sacredness, progressives stressed the consideration that "few things bring about a sharper division between one's religion and one's life than difference between the language of one and the other."¹⁰⁴ Progressives argued for a liturgy which was "more easily accessible"¹⁰⁵ to the common man and "less formidable and mysterious."¹⁰⁶ Contending that the "real mystery lies in the Mass itself, not in the lan-

guage,"¹⁰⁷ progressives insisted that the liturgical language had "never been employed as a discipline of secrecy."¹⁰⁸ Traditionalists retorted that "having a hieratic language for the Sacred Mysteries"¹⁰⁹ promoted "an atmosphere of reverence"¹¹⁰ that set the "Mass apart."¹¹¹ Complaining that liturgical English was "lacking in solemnity"¹¹² and was "more easily liable to vulgarity,"¹¹³ traditionalists asserted that Latin had been "made sacred"¹¹⁴ by the Church because it promoted liturgical "solemnity."¹¹⁵ The debate was left totally unresolved when progressives simply responded that the "dignified language"¹¹⁶ of English also promoted "dignity of worship,"¹¹⁷ "devotion and reverence."¹¹⁸

Language and Catholic unity

In promoting a "unity of faith" and not a "unity of culture,"¹¹⁹ progressives contradicted the traditionalists who asserted that the "use of Latin unites Catholics of the world"¹²⁰ because Latin represented "a ready-made common tongue."¹²¹ Traditionalists considered "liturgical uniformity"¹²² to symbolize "the wonderful prerogative of unity in the Roman Rite"¹²³ and a "precious bond of communion among peoples."¹²⁴ Specifically, traditionalists considered the "no-nation tongue"¹²⁵ of Latin to represent "the universal language"¹²⁶ and "a strong bond of unity"¹²⁷ in the Church. English usage in the liturgy was criticized as threatening "the character of the universality of the Church"¹²⁸ and as the surest way to "create and foster

currents of nationalism"¹²⁹ and "national strife"¹³⁰ in the Church.

A few progressives refuted traditionalist charges by asserting that the "spiritual unity of the Church"¹³¹ had nothing to do with language. However, most progressives preferred to promote English as a "more effective means of unity"¹³² and minimize Latin's role as "a sign, not a cause of unity."¹³³ Progressives considered that Latin no longer "promotes and maintains unity"¹³⁴ while pointing out that Latin was certainly not "a universal tongue."¹³⁵ In asking: "Did Latin really unify?", progressives cited Latin as a "common language only in theory, only for the linguists."¹³⁶ Vernacular advocates contended further that the Church "never has had a universal language"¹³⁷ and that authentic "Church unity"¹³⁸ had nothing to do with the "conformity of ignorance"¹³⁹ and "similarity in ignorance"¹⁴⁰ found in Latin usage. Other progressives attempted to prove that "English is fast becoming the universal language"¹⁴¹ in the modern world.

The debate over Catholic unity was also characterized by specific progressive efforts to show that "Latin separates the people from the clergy"¹⁴² while liturgical English promoted "an atmosphere of greater communion"¹⁴³ and a "strong sense of community"¹⁴⁴ among worshippers. In describing the liturgy as "corporate worship"¹⁴⁵ and "social worship,"¹⁴⁶ progressives claimed that English inspired "oneness of the congregation."¹⁴⁷ Progressive em-

phasis on the "social function"¹⁴⁸ of the liturgy represented an intriguing element in their argument concerning Catholic unity that was to be developed much more extensively later in the debate.

Spiritual and pastoral benefits

Progressive predictions about the combined spiritual and pastoral benefits to be derived from liturgical English seemed to obscure corresponding traditionalist claims through sheer bulk of vernacularist argument. Progressives refuted traditionalist claims that Latin was "inspiring"¹⁴⁹ by criticizing Latin as a "barrier to piety"¹⁵⁰ and an inducement to "formalism."¹⁵¹ Progressives contended that liturgical prayers "lose some of their intended effect by recitation in Latin"¹⁵² and that the "extremely cold"¹⁵³ and "boring"¹⁵⁴ Latin could not possibly induce a "spiritual deepening."¹⁵⁵ On the positive side, progressives generated a litany of compliments for the "spiritual utility"¹⁵⁶ of liturgical English. Enthused vernacularists predicted that liturgical English would effect "a new and comforting aspect"¹⁵⁷ of religion, "a blessing to the faithful,"¹⁵⁸ a "spiritual delight,"¹⁵⁹ "inspiration,"¹⁶⁰ "personal sanctity,"¹⁶¹ a "genuine spirit of worship,"¹⁶² a "quickening of devotion,"¹⁶³ "exhilarating spiritual and psychological satisfactions,"¹⁶⁴ as well as "a wealth of divine grace."¹⁶⁵ Generally, progressives insisted that the use of English would "revitalize the services"¹⁶⁶ and promote "more fruitful worship."¹⁶⁷

Traditionalists simply retorted that the "long stride forward"¹⁶⁸ in spirituality predicted by progressives would not actually help Catholics "to save their souls."¹⁶⁹ In reality, the "piety" and "joy"¹⁷⁰ promised by progressives were disruptive spiritual influences; Latin should be maintained "to keep the emotional side of religion under control."¹⁷¹

Traditionalists also disagreed completely with the progressive view of English's pastoral benefits. Confident vernacularists predicted that liturgical English would "bring hundreds of millions back to regular Mass attendance, stem defections, stimulate religious vocations, help the ecumenical movement, and quicken"¹⁷² Catholic spirituality. Progressives insisted that Latin represented a "formidable roadblock to conversions"¹⁷³ specifically and "a major obstacle to the pastoral efficacy of the liturgy"¹⁷⁴ generally. English was repeatedly promoted as a stimulant of "more rapid conversion to the Church."¹⁷⁵ Doubtful traditionalists observed that "all the tricks in the world, such as saying Mass in the vernacular"¹⁷⁶ would not affect the Church's pastoral mission substantially. In contrast, traditionalists asserted that "any change would radically reduce the missionary effectiveness of the Church."¹⁷⁷

Liturgical propriety and beauty

Much of the debate over liturgical esthetics concerned traditionalist assertions that Latin was the "only tongue worthy to be used in the worship of God"¹⁷⁸ and

progressive assertions that English was no "less efficacious."¹⁷⁹ Traditionalists generated the greatest volume of argument on esthetic considerations, promoting Latin liturgies as "beautiful"¹⁸⁰ and denying that "vernacular liturgy would be no less beautiful."¹⁸¹ Traditionalists claimed that the "attractiveness and power,"¹⁸² esthetic "consistency,"¹⁸³ "terseness and dignity,"¹⁸⁴ "enormous strength and vitality"¹⁸⁵ of Latin produced "a more glorious service."¹⁸⁶ Considering the "pandering to mediocrity,"¹⁸⁷ "sabotage of America's humanistic scholarship,"¹⁸⁸ as well as the "pathetic" and "artificial"¹⁸⁹ worship effected by vernacular reform, traditionalists asked: "Why should we sell our inheritance for a mongrel language like the Anglo-Saxon?"¹⁹⁰ While progressives ridiculed Latin as "Congolese,"¹⁹¹ traditionalists attacked the "extremely bland"¹⁹² English as "a Donald Duck language."¹⁹³ Traditionalists could not be persuaded that the "intrinsic usefulness of the Latin language"¹⁹⁴ had come to an end.

Specialized debate over the quality of possible English translations included lines of argument that would be greatly expanded in later phases of the controversy. Progressives generally discounted "difficulties as to the amount and quality of translations"¹⁹⁵ by observing that "scholars"¹⁹⁶ were working on good translations and that even "a poor translation" would be better "than no translation at all."¹⁹⁷ Traditionalists cited the "bathos of modern translations"¹⁹⁸ and the "repetitious little

prayers"¹⁹⁹ produced by most English versions. Traditionalists summarized their position by claiming that the need for "talented"²⁰⁰ translators and for "careful supervision of all translations"²⁰¹ represented a "neglected aspect of the Vernacular Movement."²⁰²

Summary

The initial phase of the vernacular debate produced all the basic lines of argument that progressives and traditionalists would develop throughout the controversy. Progressives extracted whatever support they could find in official decrees and accounts of international precedents for vernacular reform, while traditionalists countered with equally numerous pronouncements from hierarchical sources favoring the retention of liturgical Latin. Progressives began to develop arguments based on vernacular improvement of liturgical understanding and participation but usually relied on the quantity of such arguments and not their quality in supporting vernacular reform. Progressives attempted to substantiate the traditional legitimacy of vernacular liturgies but traditionalists seemed to place more emphasis on Latin's longstanding tradition as a liturgical language and a protective blanket of linguistic uniformity throughout the Church. Progressives eventually developed arguments of their own showing the positive side effects of English in safeguarding truth and doctrinal orthodoxy. Traditionalists preferred to stress the inherent sacredness of the Latin language. Progress-

sives developed supplemental lines of argument which emphasized religious "community," as opposed to traditionalist stress on formal religious "unity," and accumulated a number of predictions supporting the vernacular stimulus to religious conversions and clerical vocations.

Debate over the relative religious fervor and liturgical esthetics produced by English and Latin represented the most tightly contested area in the controversy. Progressives produced a flood of compliments for the effect of vernacular liturgy on personal spirituality while traditionalists attacked the lack of propriety and beauty in vernacular liturgies. The traditionalists' specific focus on problems associated with translating Latin liturgical texts was countered only by rather bland progressive assurances that English translations would be of high quality.

The most obvious feature of vernacular debating in its initial phase was the relative confidence both sides exhibited in arguing the vernacular question. Traditionalists insisted that progressive reasoning proved that there should be "no agitation for the extension of the vernacular in divine worship."²⁰³ Progressives, in turn, asserted that the bulk of traditionalist argument was "valueless when applied to reality."²⁰⁴ Argumentative absolutism in both sides tended to discourage vernacular debaters from suggesting that the two liturgical languages might "work together in peace and harmony."²⁰⁵

Tenor of the Debate

The popular debate over vernacular reform represented little more than an abstract discussion of general liturgical trends for most American Catholics during the 1950's and early 1960's. Occasionally, traditionalist predictions of dire consequences in tampering with the sacredness and formal orthodoxy of Latin liturgy would enliven the debate. For the most part, though, the early speculation about vernacular reform exhibited none of the topicality and sense of immediacy which characterized later debating. The more vigorous exchange of charges and rebuttals, and even personal insults, which occurred in the early 1960's indicated that the vernacular issue was coming to a head. Increasingly vivid descriptions of vernacular consequences and the use of pure invective by both sides began to transform the debate from a rather cerebral discussion of liturgical generalities to a lively dispute over the specific goals of vernacularists. Both sides abandoned the cool, rational style of argument which had typified debate in the 1950's and bared substantially emotional reactions to the relationship between a change in liturgical language and the fulfillment of both spiritual and psychological needs. Progressives launched biting critiques of Latin restrictions on devotional efficacy and personal inspiration. Traditionalists generated particularly strong attacks against the lack of good taste in liturgical English.

The overall tenor of the debate was shaped by the clash between increasingly strong convictions about liturgical English and the relatively ambivalent prospects of vernacular reform. One critic of reform expressed the most optimistic view held by any of the traditionalists concerning vernacular prospects immediately after the promulgation of Pope John XXIII's Veterum Sapientia in 1962: "In plain language, it now has brought to a close the public debate which has been taking place about promoting the use of the vernacular in the liturgy of the Church."²⁰⁶ Progressive confidence in the liturgical merits of vernacular reform contrasted sharply with the traditionalist perception of end to the debate. The tenor of the debate reflected the friction between the two points of view.

The Character of the Debate: 1953-1962

Initiation of the popular debate over vernacular reform followed an unsteady course between 1953 and 1962. Early progressive enthusiasm was sustained by Vatican approval of partially vernacularized sacramental rites in 1954. Vernacular prospects declined after a series of hierarchical pronouncements clouded the future of reform in 1955 and 1956. After events in Assisi in 1956, the progress of reform was eminently debatable. Overall support for the reform in sixty percent of the published argument radically confronted the traditionalist opinion that vernacular prospects were crushed by the promulgation

of Veterum Sapientia at the beginning of 1962. Vernacular reform was supported by a great majority of the clerical opinion published in Catholic magazines and to a lesser extent in the lay sentiments which began to appear more frequently in national and diocesan Catholic newspapers. The initial phase of the debate witnessed the laying of argumentative foundations by both progressives and traditionalists and an increase in the emotional adherence to both vernacular advocacy and opposition by the early 1960's. Ultimately, the initiation of the vernacular debate was characterized by each side's confidence in their respective vernacular judgments in the face of unsteady progress in the vernacular movement.

ENDNOTES

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- ²See anticipation of the conference's results in the Register, Aug. 28, 1953, p. 2.
- ³San Francisco Monitor, Oct. 5, 1956, p. 9.
- ⁴San Francisco Monitor, Aug. 19, 1955, p. 3.
- ⁵"Correspondence," America, July 30, 1955, p. 440.
- ⁶"Correspondence," Priest, Aug., 1957, p. 636.
- ⁷Michigan Catholic, Mar. 8, 1962, p. 1.
- ⁸"Opinion," Catholic Reporter, Mar. 2, 1962, p. 4.
- ⁹Although the Pittsburgh Catholic contributed the disproportionate total of thirty-four items to the popular debate during 1961, the volume of debate for that year would still have substantially surpassed those of previous years.
- ¹⁰See "Mass in English?" Catholic World, May, 1957, pp. 88-92.
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- ¹²"You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, Aug. 17, 1961, p. 4; "Home and Fireside," Wanderer, Feb. 8, 1962, p. 3; and "Correspondence," Priest, Mar., 1962, p. 268.
- ¹³"Letter," Boston Pilot, Oct. 31, 1953, p. 5, and Nov. 7, 1953, p. 5, and Boston Pilot, Jan. 15, 1955, p. 1 and p. 13, and Jan. 29, 1955, p. 15; James Lynch, "Missing the Point," Priest, Jan., 1956, p. 39; "Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, May 25, 1957, p. 6; Michigan Catholic, Mar. 6, 1958, p. 1 and p. 5, and Mar. 8, 1962, p. 8; John Cogley, "Here and There," Commonweal, May 2, 1958, p. 127; "Communication," Homiletic and Pastoral Review, June, 1961,

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CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF REFORM

The combination of descriptive and analytical approaches to the American Catholic debate over vernacular reform is continued in Chapter IV with a particular focus on the period of rising progressive fortunes. Besides specifying the terminal dates of the period, the plan of this chapter also includes: (1) an overview of prompting events, (2) description of the volume of debate, (3) developments in the nature of advocates and media, (4) summary of the lines of argument evident during the period, and (5) commentary on the tenor of debating. Chapter IV concludes with a survey of interpretative highlights.

The character of the vernacular debate changed visibly with the rise of reform prospects after the controversy over Veterum Sapientia had declined. Beginning in April, 1962, progressives looked to the near future with excited anticipation.¹ The Second Vatican Council, a rare Church-wide synod of bishops announced by Pope John XXIII on January 25, 1959, and scheduled to convene on October 11, 1962, was expected to consider vernacular reforms in the liturgy seriously. In addition, progressives felt that the reforms were granted preliminary approval when the Sacred Congregation of Rites approved more extensive

use of English in the readings and lay responses of the Baptismal rite in June, 1962. The rise of reform was reflected in the dramatic increase of progressive argumentation and the decline of traditionalist contributions to the debate.

The remarkable climb of vernacular prospects was climaxed during March, 1965. Partially reformed Masses were officially implemented in America on November 29, 1964, and exposed the majority of American Catholics to liturgical English for the first time. Significantly, the English Mass was voted "Top Religious Story" of 1964 in a survey of Catholic journalists.² The lasting impact of vernacular reform was assured when the approved use of liturgical English was extended to the more solemn High Mass on March 7, 1965,³ and Pope Paul VI publicly encouraged use of the new liturgical format later in March.⁴ In only three years progressive argumentation developed from hopeful predictions to glowing evaluations of an English liturgy. At the same time, traditionalist participation in the vernacular debate dwindled and reached a point at which progressives displayed over three times as much willingness to discuss vernacular issues.

Prompting Events

The approach of the Second Vatican Council prompted substantial argumentative activity among progressives, indicating the degree to which vernacular advocates based much of their hope on conciliar approval of the reform.

Progressive hopes were realized in December, 1962, when 2,199 of the Council's delegates voted in favor of the reform and only eleven bishops voted against the measure. Vatican II's vote on the principle of vernacular reform marked the end of 1962 as a watershed in popular argumentation as the immediate future seemed to justify the progressive claim that vernacular revisions were inevitable. Encouraged by the overwhelming hierarchical support for reform, progressives only momentarily interrupted their increased level of debating at the death of John XXIII on June 3, 1963, and at the succession of the new Pope, Paul VI. Statements issued by both the Southwest Liturgical Conference and the North American Liturgical Conference provided vernacularists with support in August, 1963.⁵ An Our Sunday Visitor public opinion poll, published in September, indicated that 26,683 respondents favored at least partial use of English in the liturgy while only 8,928 opposed the idea.⁶ By a vote of 2133 to 19, the second session of the Second Vatican Council approved proposals for more extensive use of vernacular languages in sacramental rites and, on October 31, 1963, the Council officially approved a Constitution on the Liturgy while encouraging the use of vernacular languages in those parts of the Mass said aloud before the Offertory.⁷ American vernacularists found further cause for rejoicing in December, 1963, when American bishops addressed themselves to imminent vernacular reform, decreeing that they would

"welcome it wholeheartedly" and promising "to make full use of the vernacular concessions."⁸

The Vatican had designated February 16, 1964, as the approved date for implementation of vernacular prayers and readings in the first half of the Mass ritual, but different countries progressed at their own paces. American Catholics waited until November 29, 1964, for their first official taste of English in the liturgy because the American hierarchy approached the preparation of English Mass texts cautiously. Progressive argumentation during the first four months of 1964 was stimulated by knowledge of the February date for approved implementation of the reform,⁹ by various reports of international progress,¹⁰ and by the American bishops' submission of their plan for vernacular implementation to Rome during April.¹¹ The Sacred Congregation of Rites approved the American bishops' plan in May,¹² and the Catholic press frequently reported the early experiments with English Masses in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, and a number of international locales throughout the Summer.¹³ The bishops' unveiling of the official American translation of the Mass in July received wide coverage by the Catholic press and prompted wider debate on the quality of English translations.¹⁴ The excitement over more extensive use of English in sacraments and sacramentals, which began in September, 1964, clearly indicated the speed with which the reform evoked popular reaction in the United States.¹⁵

Progressive argument reflected great confidence during the weeks between implementation of English in sacraments and sacramentals in September and the long awaited implementation of English in the first part of the Mass on November 29, 1964. Progressive reactions to their experience with English sacramental rites and specific preparations for English Masses fostered popular excitement,¹⁶ while a decree of the American bishops issuing guidelines on the implementation of vernacular Masses focused public attention on November 3, 1964. Both progressives and traditionalists offered critical reactions to the actual implementation of English Masses on the last Sunday of November, but progressives maintained a lead of over two to one in comments favoring the reform. The twin influences of English High Masses and papal approval of vernacular reforms in March, 1965, marked the zenith of progressive dominance in the popular argumentation. Progressive confidence in the absolute value of vernacular reform was summed up especially well in one editorialist's remark: "Why didn't somebody think of this before?"¹⁷ Significantly, progressives approached the matter of reform much more matter-of-factly after mid-March, 1965--a development which appeared to be particularly upsetting for the traditionalists.

Volume of Debate

The debate over English in the liturgy increased from a total of fifty items during the last nine months of

1962, to 103 items during 1963, and finally to a total of 301 items during the slightly more than fourteenth months before mid-March, 1965. The total volume of 454 items which appeared during the relatively brief period between April, 1962, and March, 1965, represented a greater volume of debate than had occurred during the previous nine years of the controversy. The rise of reform during those three years was clearly reflected in the frequency with which progressives argued their cause.

The rise of reform was characterized by a progressive margin of seventy-six percent in total volume of argument. While contributing three times the amount of argument offered by their opponents, progressives enjoyed a margin of ninety percent in articles and over seventy-eight percent in editorials. Progressive debaters quickly increased their margin from sixty-eight percent of published argument in 1962 to over eighty-two percent in 1963. Progressives also held margins of seventy-seven percent and seventy-one percent of the published argument during 1964 and the first three months of 1965 respectively. The progressive advantage in number of favorable articles and editorials was most clearly indicated during the two years between initial approval of vernacular reform by the Second Vatican Council and actual implementation of English liturgies at the end of 1964. During 1963-1964, all but fourteen of 187 articles favored vernacular reform and only eight of fifty-seven editorials opposed the use of

liturgical English. Progressive margins of ninety-two percent of published articles and eighty-six percent of published editorials reflected the official and legitimizing supports vernacular advocates could rely on in their efforts. Specifically, the overwhelming support for vernacular reform found in published articles reflected the topical prominence gained by the steadily building series of events which favored vernacular revisions in the liturgy.

The relatively substantial support for the traditionalist cause found in letters-to-the-editor contrasted sharply with progressive margins in other items. Slightly more than half of all published correspondence, sixty-five of 129 letters-to-the-editor, favored the traditionalists. The traditionalist leanings of letter-writers were reflected most clearly in the opposition to vernacular reform expressed in fifty-two percent of the correspondence published in 1964, the year of the highest overall volume of debate. The overall traditionalist emphasis in letters published during the rise of reform indicated that overwhelming official support for vernacular reform did not necessarily resolve the question of vernacular reform.

Advocates and Media

Clerical support for vernacular reform became more evident during the period 1962-1965. Considering (1) the episcopal control of many Catholic publishing facilities, (2) the fact that ninety percent of articles and seventy-eight percent of editorials favored vernacular revisions,

and (3) that clerics authored eighty-five percent of all editorials discussing vernacular issues during the period, vernacularists appeared to find their staunchest allies among the clergy. Specifically, the clergy supported reform in seventy-one percent of the editorials and letters they contributed to the public debate. At the same time, the progress of the vernacular movement seemed to arouse unusually strong opposition from the laity. Considering (1) the substantial traditionalist support in letters-to-the-editor and (2) the fact that laymen wrote seventy-four percent of all letters contributed to the debate, vernacularists appeared to face their most vigorous opposition among the laity. Specifically, the laity opposed reform in forty-nine percent of the editorials and letters they contributed to the debate and supported the traditionalist cause in a very significant seventy-eight percent of all correspondence. The rise of reform, then, was characterized by a significant increase in lay traditionalism over its previous peak at the end of 1961 and beginning of 1962. In spite of the tremendous tactical advantage enjoyed by progressives as a result of vernacular progress, lay traditionalists still sustained a beleaguered resistance to the reform.

Debate during the rise of reform was influenced increasingly by expanded newspaper coverage of the vernacular controversy. Whether the development of reform was too swift for magazines to cover properly or whether maga-

zines simply relinquished their role of argumentative innovators, Catholic newspapers assumed a commanding position in the debate and contributed three times as many items as magazines. Magazines had provided a disproportionately high forty-nine percent of published argument before 1962, including an even higher fifty-one percent during the final fifteen months before the rise of reform. During the rise of reform, newspapers contributed over seventy-six percent of the published argument, including eighty-three percent of all items favoring vernacular reform. Significant changes in the roles of media seemed to reflect the stress laid on topicality and immediacy in the vernacular movement as well as the journalist's need to employ the most responsive media available in reporting the rapid growth of vernacular reform. Considering that laymen authored over fifty-nine percent of the editorials and letters published by newspapers in reporting vernacular reactions, the expanded role of newspapers held special significance for lay traditionalists. Ultimately, parallel increases in the roles of newspapers and Catholic laymen indicated that a clerically approved series of reforms advanced without definite resolution of the vernacular debate in the media which were most accessible to laymen's opinions.

Lines of Argument

The rise of reform was characterized by contrasts between traditionalist specialization and progressive diversification in argument and also by the argumentative con-

frontation of traditionalist reliance on generalities and progressive use of specifics in pleading their respective cases. Vernacular debaters discussed eight general areas including: (1) concern for official liturgical status, (2) liturgical traditions, (3) religious orthodoxy and liturgical sacredness, (4) esthetic standards in liturgy, (5) the quality of English translations, (6) liturgical understanding and participation, (7) language and Catholic unity, and (8) language and personal spirituality. Progressives encountered only weak traditionalist argumentation in the areas of official liturgical status, liturgical understanding and participation, and language and personal spirituality, while traditionalists met with only minor progressive opposition in criticizing the quality of English translations.

Concern for official liturgical status

Progressives simply dismissed the traditionalist contentions that Latin was "the official Church tongue"¹⁸ and rightly deserved "a sovereign place"¹⁹ in liturgy by demeaning the use of Latin as a mere "liturgical discipline."²⁰ The traditionalist claim that liturgical Latin dictated "the proper and appropriate method of public prayer"²¹ was countered by progressive assertions that liturgical English represented an equally "official medium."²² The use of English in the liturgy was proclaimed as "a true and certain necessity of the Church"²³ even though traditionalists contended that Latin represented not only

"an ecclesiastical and liturgical language" but also "a cultural and educational instrument."²⁴ Progressives considered that "nothing could be more natural"²⁵ than an "immediate"²⁶ use of liturgical English and a host of externally legitimizing influences tended to support the progressive claim.

Progressives bulwarked their argument during the rise of reform with numerous citations of favorable liturgical precedents and hierarchical pronouncements. Existing vernacular liturgies were pointed out in major European countries, including Germany, France, Spain, Austria, Poland, Italy, and others,²⁷ and authoritative statements supporting "the language of the people"²⁸ and efforts to "close the vernacular gap"²⁹ were cited. The Catholic Reporter highlighted indications of imminent vernacular progress at the Second Vatican Council³⁰ and vernacular reform was distinguished from other topics for conciliar deliberation as "the issue which has received the greatest publicity."³¹ Progressives also made strategic use of the American bishops' unanimous support for vernacular reform in 1962³² and favorable hierarchical pronouncements during 1964.³³ In addition, progressive attempts to underscore the official liturgical status of English were aided by the favorable vernacular commentaries offered by leading columnists.³⁴ Traditionalists, on the other hand, could not rely on external legitimizing influences to the degree that progressives did. Although both sides argued for the

official liturgical status of their respective languages, the debate over vernacular legitimacy was substantially influenced by the additional progressive use of precedents and expert testimony.

Liturgical traditions

The specialized debate over Catholic traditions saw progressives comparing "the centuries old barrier"³⁵ of Latin's "dead words"³⁶ and "dead symbolism"³⁷ with traditionalist assertions that Latin represented a "rich, Catholic cultural heritage"³⁸ which embodied "so many of our finest traditions."³⁹ Traditionalists proclaimed the continuing vitality of Latin⁴⁰ and contended that its "splendor and historicity"⁴¹ offered the liturgy "something solid and unchanging"⁴² which cemented "a great and beautiful link with the past."⁴³ Progressives provided the debate with a specified rebuttal of the traditionalist claims. Rejoicing that "the all-Latin 'icecap' "⁴⁴ was dissolving, progressives charged their opponents with "flying in the face of history."⁴⁵ Progressives pointed out that liturgical Latin was not institutionalized "until well into the fourth century A.D."⁴⁶ and that liturgical canons did not "remain set and unchanged"⁴⁷ in any case. Traditionalists retorted that Latin was "providentially set aside for the worship of God"⁴⁸ and that replacing it would be tantamount to "creating a hiatus in the unbroken descent of the Popes from St. Peter,"⁴⁹ but progressives maintained that "continuity with the past is found in many languages other

than Latin."⁵⁰ Progressives looked to the future of the liturgy and emphasized the need to "revive its meaning and impact"⁵¹ and the desirability of a "reformed and revitalized Catholic liturgy."⁵² Ultimately, progressives attempted to sooth traditionalist fears by promising "to harmonize the past with the present."⁵³ Observing that the original apostles were given the "charismata to announce the good news in the vernacular,"⁵⁴ progressives urged a return to the early traditions of the Church.

Religious orthodoxy and liturgical sacredness

In treating the subject of religious orthodoxy, traditionalists supported the principle that "the words language and faith are synonymous."⁵⁵ Progressives subscribed to the idea that the "language of everyday life" and "the language of worship"⁵⁶ should not be distinct. Traditionalists contended that English was "hardly fitting for divine worship"⁵⁷ and that Latin must be retained for any "part of the Mass that is a profession of our Faith."⁵⁸ Claiming that vernacular reform tended to vulgarize the Mass⁵⁹ and force Catholics "more and more close to the Protestants,"⁶⁰ traditionalists saw "the greatest possibility of scandal"⁶¹ in using liturgical English. Progressives answered "confused"⁶² Latinists by asserting that "the heart and core"⁶³ of the liturgy would remain untouched in vernacular reform because it represented "changes in costume"⁶⁴ only and "not radical" revisions.⁶⁵ Progressives insisted that "nothing essential or integral in the sublime

mystery will be in any way altered or diminished."⁶⁶ In addition, progressives rebuked traditionalists for not being "more interested in preserving the faith than the sonorities of language."⁶⁷

The debaters' focus on liturgical sacredness clearly pointed out the ideological gulf between progressives and traditionalists. Latinists praised their "more sublime and befitting language"⁶⁸ for preserving the "mystic element"⁶⁹ and "uniqueness"⁷⁰ in liturgy. Progressives contended simply that there was "nothing sacred in the Latin language itself"⁷¹ and that it produced no "magical"⁷² effects on liturgy. Traditionalists criticized English as "less solemn and mystical"⁷³ than Latin and not "sufficiently different and other"⁷⁴ in promoting liturgical sacredness. Opponents of vernacular reform contrasted the "transcendence of the Latin language"⁷⁵ with the possibility that liturgical English would "bring God down to the common level."⁷⁶ Progressives opposed the traditionalist view of liturgy completely and emphasized their desire to "make liturgical rites accessible to the community."⁷⁷ One editorialist stated the progressive position on accessibility particularly well in observing: "The new Mass will not lose its sense of mystery but this will be less a matter of language than of fact: the remoteness will disappear."⁷⁸ Regardless of the distinctions drawn by debaters, though, progressive "community" and traditionalist "transcendence" remained irreconcilable.

Esthetic standards in liturgy

In debating liturgical esthetics, traditionalists asked whether English would be "worthy of the liturgical prayers as they are found in the Latin tongue"⁷⁹ and progressives described "the pleasure of using English"⁸⁰ in the liturgy. Traditionalists declared openly that they were "especially taken"⁸¹ with liturgical Latin's "dignity,"⁸² "grandeur,"⁸³ "beauty and solemnity."⁸⁴ Commenting on the stylistic "elaboration that is possible in Latin,"⁸⁵ traditionalists considered that "many of the Latin texts are masterpieces of style and composition."⁸⁶ Traditionalists criticized the "slightly unbelievable"⁸⁷ English as "a peril to sacred music"⁸⁸ and a certain tool in the destruction of the "nobility and lyrical beauty of the Liturgy."⁸⁹ Some progressives considered that "literary elegance"⁹⁰ was "never a goal"⁹¹ worth valuing in itself but the majority of vernacular advocates preferred to defend the "different, arresting . . . exciting"⁹² esthetic values in liturgical English. Progressives felt that the "spiritual beauty, power, and logic"⁹³ in liturgical English prompted a "purer liturgical form"⁹⁴ while the "dignity,"⁹⁵ "balance and beauty"⁹⁶ of the vernacular prompted progressive assertions that "English is fine."⁹⁷ As one progressive columnist put it: "The words in Latin do not speak to me . . . the words in English stir me to the depths."⁹⁸ Progressives supplemented their esthetic argumentation by calling on the Church to "recognize the art of peoples"⁹⁹

as it was expressed in their "native tongues"¹⁰⁰ and their "modern languages."¹⁰¹

Quality of English translations

The specialized debate over English translations included a substantial amount of esthetic considerations but represented so distinctive a body of argument that it demanded separate treatment. Traditionalists dominated the debate over translations with extensive criticism of the English texts. Considering that "no translation is truly and precisely literal"¹⁰² and that vernacular reformers only produced "bowdlerized translations"¹⁰³ at best, traditionalists attacked English translations as "inadequate versions that will clog rather than intensify devotion."¹⁰⁴ Traditionalists demanded that English translations be "beautiful, dignified,"¹⁰⁵ "suitable,"¹⁰⁶ and able to meet both "the needs of public worship and high standards of musical and literary taste."¹⁰⁷ After comparing the "matchless beauty" and "theological meat and majesty" of Latin texts with the "moronic patois" and "compromise of beauty in word"¹⁰⁸ they perceived in English translations, traditionalists concluded that the translators' efforts were "not resting on sound scholarship."¹⁰⁹ Critics of the English translations saw a "dolorous lack of the least poetic sensitivity"¹¹⁰ in the translated "banalities"¹¹¹ and dismissed them as a "disgrace."¹¹² Reproaching vernacular reformers for daring to "tamper with God's Own Words,"¹¹³ critics scored the English translations as "distracting, distaste-

ful,"¹¹⁴ "ambiguous as well as ugly,"¹¹⁵ "barbarous,"¹¹⁶ "harsh, unpleasant,"¹¹⁷ "semi-slang,"¹¹⁸ and "ridiculous."¹¹⁹ Ridiculing the notion of substituting "Hil Mary" for "Ave Maria,"¹²⁰ traditionalists also rejected the idea that "Thou, Thine, Thee and their corresponding second-person verbal forms"¹²¹ represented mere "sanctimonious verbosity."¹²² Citing "the poverty of most English versions,"¹²³ traditionalists charged that acceptance of English translations would sanction "the lowest common denominator of intelligibility"¹²⁴ as well as institute "prolonged mediocrity in the language of our public worship."¹²⁵

The progressive defense of vernacular translations seemed particularly ineffectual considering the vigor with which traditionalists pressed their attack. Progressives claimed that the translations represented "vigorous and expressive,"¹²⁶ "intelligible, literate English"¹²⁷ which was "consistent throughout"¹²⁸ all the English texts. In addition, progressives asserted that vernacular translations permitted "no mumbo jumbo"¹²⁹ in liturgical texts. Progressives refrained entirely from ridiculing the traditionalist stance on translations and the scant progressive defense of vernacular texts appeared compromising in light of the traditionalist criticisms.

Liturgical understanding and participation

Lines of argument dealing with understanding the liturgy and participating in its ceremonies represented commonplace items in progressive commentary and were used to

such an extent that their appearance became predictable. Progressives repeatedly emphasized that "good understanding"¹³⁰ of the liturgy had "little in common with Latin modes of expression"¹³¹ and that English usage was absolutely essential to "understand"¹³² the Mass. The "intelligible"¹³³ English was frequently contrasted with the "unintelligible"¹³⁴ Latin, stressing that liturgical rites "are completely lost on our people if they are in Latin."¹³⁵ Progressives claimed that "the laity can never acquire a mastery of Latin sufficient for understanding"¹³⁶ and that the "use of an unknown language obstructs the purpose of liturgy considered as a sign, a means of communication."¹³⁷ In stressing that liturgy should "mean something to the people,"¹³⁸ progressives scored Latin as "a foreign language."¹³⁹ One vernacular advocate expressed her utter frustration with liturgical Latin in a sweeping indictment: "I do not know Latin. My friends do not know Latin. The Lord on earth did not employ Latin."¹⁴⁰ Progressives considered that "direct mind-to-mind, mouth-to-mouth communication with God"¹⁴¹ would never occur unless Catholics were allowed to pray in English, the "language in which they can best express themselves."¹⁴²

Progressives insisted that the use of English would promote "the liturgical instruction of the faithful"¹⁴³ because "the use of the vernacular will make the liturgy a much more flexible tool in the pedagogy of Christian worship."¹⁴⁴ Perceiving the "duty to teach the common man in

the language he speaks,"¹⁴⁵ progressives claimed that liturgical English was necessary in "bringing the Word of God to men."¹⁴⁶ Liturgical English was promised as a boon to the "love and appreciation"¹⁴⁷ of liturgy as well as a stimulant to "new attention"¹⁴⁸ and "a feeling of rapport and awareness"¹⁴⁹ on the part of laymen. An editorialist in Commonweal summarized the progressive position by writing: "There is no use in insisting on the people's part in the communal offering if the words by which the people can become fully aware of their part are not shared."¹⁵⁰

Traditionalists contended that vernacular languages "become progressively less intelligible"¹⁵¹ with the passage of time, while discounting the progressive complaint that Latin usage permitted "little actual attention to the individual words"¹⁵² by observing that the "Mass is not self-explanatory."¹⁵³ Ultimately, traditionalists claimed that liturgical English offered "no automatic guarantee"¹⁵⁴ of liturgical understanding because vernacular texts "might have the same effect on the ordinary Catholic layman as a treatise on relativity."¹⁵⁵

The progressive emphasis on liturgical awareness prompted a treatment of liturgical participation that complemented progressive argument on understanding. Blending the values of "piety"¹⁵⁶ and "activity"¹⁵⁷ into one line of argument, progressives promoted the principle of "full, conscious, and active participation"¹⁵⁸ in liturgy. Pro-

gressives further considered that liturgical Latin "deprives the people of their right to participate in the Mass"¹⁵⁹ and "to share in it joyfully."¹⁶⁰ Latin was criticized as an "unsurmountable barrier"¹⁶¹ which excluded "the layman from the role he has to play in the liturgy."¹⁶² Although traditionalists insisted that liturgical English did not "automatically bring about that full, conscious, and active participation in liturgical ceremonies,"¹⁶³ progressives promised "responsible involvement"¹⁶⁴ and a "depth of personal participation"¹⁶⁵ in vernacular liturgies. Considering the extensive use of such progressive promises, the traditionalist warnings appeared to have little impact.

Language and Catholic unity

Debate over Catholic unity revealed the traditionalist emphasis on broad, external cohesion among Catholics and the progressive emphasis on tightly knit local congregations. Traditionalists promoted Latin as "the universal language"¹⁶⁶ which revealed the corresponding "universality of Christendom."¹⁶⁷ In addition, traditionalists considered the use of vernacular languages as "a divisive force"¹⁶⁸ which "would encourage nationalism in the Church"¹⁶⁹ and "a babel of tongues"¹⁷⁰ in the Church's liturgy. The continuation of Latin liturgy was perceived as a perpetuation of "a bond of unity,"¹⁷¹ "a great tie,"¹⁷² and "a connecting link"¹⁷³ in Catholicism.

The progressive response to traditionalist argument

included both an attack on the traditionalist premises and a defense of liturgical English's unifying features. Progressives criticized liturgical Latin for maintaining "nationalistic ghettos"¹⁷⁴ and representing "not a symbol of unity but of disunity."¹⁷⁵ Progressives claimed that traditionalists indulged in an erroneous "identification of diversity with confusion"¹⁷⁶ in praising Latin's contributions to "unity of expression"¹⁷⁷ and "unity of belief."¹⁷⁸ In answering the traditionalist charge that "the Church will not be universal"¹⁷⁹ with the use of liturgical English, progressives asserted that Latin was "by no means the universal liturgical language."¹⁸⁰ Progressives promoted the principle that Catholics should be "one in faith but not in language"¹⁸¹ and that English was "rapidly becoming the language of the entire world"¹⁸² anyway. In promoting liturgical English as the true means "of uniting people in thought and action,"¹⁸³ progressives launched an extensive campaign to support "togetherness"¹⁸⁴ in worship. Vernacular advocates denied that "common Christian community demands some common instrument of communication"¹⁸⁵ and asserted that the use of local vernacular languages in liturgy provided Catholics with a better sense of the "community nature of Christian worship."¹⁸⁶ In supporting a "spirit of teamwork"¹⁸⁷ and the "collective act"¹⁸⁸ of worship, progressives insisted that priests would "feel closer to the people"¹⁸⁹ with a vernacular liturgy. In supporting the "communal offering"¹⁹⁰ and "social action,"¹⁹¹

in "corporate worship,"¹⁹² progressives promised a "more meaningful encounter with Christ"¹⁹³ for American Catholics.

The progressive introduction of themes based on "collegiality"¹⁹⁴ of bishops and "decentralization"¹⁹⁵ of ecclesiastical authority added a new and intriguing aspect to their argument on Catholic unity. Promoting the growing distaste for "uniformity"¹⁹⁶ expressed by ecclesiastical authorities, progressives emphasized that "regional or national conferences of bishops will play a major role in the future direction of the Church."¹⁹⁷ In a short time, the popular debate over vernacular reform familiarized American Catholics with the novel idea of "competent, territorial ecclesiastical authority."¹⁹⁸ In effect, progressives supplemented their communitarian arguments with emphasis on greater decision-making power at local levels of the Church. As conservative a source as the Wanderer noted the power of "regional Bishops,"¹⁹⁹ indicating how completely the idea of administrative reforms affected the entire membership of the Church.

Language and personal spirituality

In debating personal spirituality, progressives argued that liturgical Latin restricted the "fullest devotion"²⁰⁰ and left worshippers "empty, unfulfilled."²⁰¹ Various vernacular supporters considered liturgical Latin to be "uninspiring"²⁰² and contended it "arouses no pious thoughts"²⁰³ and "does not come from my heart."²⁰⁴ Tra-

ditionalists responded that liturgical Latin provided them with "awe, tranquility, and devotion,"²⁰⁵ "inner peace,"²⁰⁶ and generally "a tremendous experience."²⁰⁷ In addition, traditionalists criticized the "less rewarding, more distracting"²⁰⁸ English as no sure protection against religious "formalism."²⁰⁹ Traditionalists considered that the use of liturgical English would "destroy all personal devotion between the individual and God."²¹⁰ Undaunted progressives continued to promise that a liturgy in "the language of the people,"²¹¹ the "mother tongue,"²¹² and "one's own native tongue"²¹³ would promote "devotion,"²¹⁴ "piety,"²¹⁵ "faith,"²¹⁶ and "the good of souls."²¹⁷ Progressives promised that liturgical English would insure "more sincere prayer,"²¹⁸ "more peace and contemplation,"²¹⁹ and "a new spiritual sweetness."²²⁰

Progressives pointed out especially clearly what the "spiritual fruits"²²¹ offered by liturgical English might mean for the Church. Claiming that "converts above all need English in the Mass,"²²² progressives insisted that liturgical English would attract even "more converts"²²³ to the Church. Progressives also considered that liturgical English would offer the additional benefit of attracting "more vocations"²²⁴ to the religious life. The general lack of traditionalist rebuttal to progressive claims enhanced the progressive argument on personal spirituality, as progressives supplemented their general position with the citation of specific spiritual benefits.

Summary

Argumentative development during the rise of reform accentuated the difference between progressive diversification and traditionalist specialization in lines of argument. Vernacular advocates greatly increased their emphasis on arguments associated with liturgical understanding and participation, but the saturation of debate with these arguments rendered them less effective in drawing favorable attention to the progressive cause. Pressing their strategic advantage during the period of official support for vernacular reform at the Second Vatican Council, progressives expanded their argumentation in the areas of spiritual benefits and personal satisfactions derived from liturgical English. The use of liturgical English was promoted as especially satisfying because it represented official recognition of inherent values in the language common to American Catholics. Liturgical use of English was also guaranteed to make liturgical celebrations more interesting and absorbing for American Catholics. Progressives amplified the personally satisfying aspects of English usage by pointing out the benefits of basic intelligibility and liturgical accessibility. The use of English was acclaimed for introducing easily understood words in prayer and consequently for making the entire act of worship more indicative of the layman's role in the God-man relationship. In emphasizing the clarifying effect of liturgical English, progressives attempted to assuage tra-

ditionalist fears about radical innovations in the Mass.

The rise of progressive argumentation associated with the basic identity and character of the Church presented the clearest indications of progressive diversification. Latin supporters had "traditionally" found a strong base of argumentative power in asserting the official status of liturgical Latin and its contributions to Catholic unity and ecclesiastical universality. Progressives now criticized the traditionalist interpretation of universality as meaning a prohibitive uniformity in the Church, while redefining the meaning of Catholic unity as a communal cohesion between man and God, laity and clergy, and worshipper and worshipper. In addition, vernacular reformers could refer to an impressive array of official sanctions and popular approvals of vernacular reform. Progressives quoted favorable declarations from two Popes, a large number of bishops, and several leading theologians and liturgists. Besides quoting Popes John XXIII and Paul VI, foreign and American bishops attending the Second Vatican Council, and distinguished authors such as the Reverends Hans Reinhold, Gerald Ellard, and Frederick McManus, progressives could also refer to editorial support from John Cogley and Joseph Breig, to vernacular resolutions passed by various liturgical conferences, and to the popular support derived from favorable public opinion polls. The progressive edge in favorable ecclesiastical pronouncements and journalistic commentary could not be matched by the

traditionalists. Relying on the occasional cautions issued by the Church and conservative editorialists such as Bishop Robert Dwyer, traditionalists failed to produce official stamps of approval from recognized "legitimizers."

Traditionalist argument began to depend more extensively on specialized thrusts against the progressive defenses. The narrow focus of traditionalist attacks entailed concentrated pressure on the issues of religious orthodoxy, liturgical sacredness, and the propriety of English translations. Vernacular reform was criticized for its "protestantization" of the Catholic Church and its reduction of exclusivity in Catholic worship. While progressives stressed personal satisfactions, traditionalists played on personal fears--fears that the bastion of traditional Catholic belief was being engulfed and fears that the "otherness" of Catholic ritual was being vulgarized. Consolidating an attack based on both these fears, traditionalists began to channel much of their energy toward denigrating both the mechanics and esthetics of English translations. Vernacular opponents claimed that the Catholic faith and the beauty of the Catholic liturgy were being destroyed in translators' hasty efforts to provide vernacular texts for a reformed liturgy. The specialized focus of traditionalist argument restricted its impact but provided a clearly defined rallying point for opponents of vernacular reform.

The rise of reform was also characterized by the

contrast between progressive use of specific praise and blame and traditionalist dependence on generalities. Progressives could indicate specific documents, decrees, and polls supporting their cause and usually offered specific refutations of traditionalist charges. On the other hand, traditionalists appeared to emphasize lofty value systems and vaguely defined principles in supporting their own position as well as in attacking the stance of progressives. Traditionalists claimed that the Church had been using Latin in her liturgy for "two millennia"; progressives specifically pointed out that Christ Himself had never been acquainted with Latin and that Latin had not been given official liturgical status until the fourth century. Traditionalists promoted a broad notion of Catholic unity; progressives specified a threefold division of the cohesion necessary for everyday Christian community. Traditionalists criticized English translations in cosmic terms; progressives defended the translations on grounds of literacy and intelligibility. Traditionalists raised an anguished outcry during the rise of reform while progressives addressed themselves meticulously to each step in the vernacular progress. Ultimately, traditionalists faced their uphill struggle with determination and founded a substantial portion of their resistance on preservation of the Latin liturgy "alongside of the vernacular."²²⁵

Tenor of the Debate

The rise of reform was characterized by excited

progressive appreciation of the official support which the vernacular movement received and by a beleaguered desperation on the part of traditionalists. Progressives began to spend more of their energy in confidently attacking the traditionalist posture, while vernacular opponents responded with more emotionally charged rebuttals. Vernacularists sometimes mocked the affection shown Latin by the traditionalists but generally maintained a purely rational approach to minimizing traditionalist arguments. Traditionalist treatment of the quality of English translations provided a striking contrast. Attacks on the translations became so intense following actual implementation of English liturgies that a substantial portion of them bordered on the irrational. Traditionalist critics offered little specific criticism beyond charging that "God's Own Words" were being distorted, preferring to ridicule the possibility that vernacular reformers might change phrases such as "Ave Maria" to "Hi! Mary." Generally, progressives emphasized their pleasure at the progress of vernacular and only chided their opponents forcefully when traditionalist attacks became especially desperate. Traditionalists found little pleasure in the progress of events and signalled their feelings in concentrated criticisms of the vernacularist program.

The Character of the Debate: 1962-1965

The rise of vernacular reform was characterized by the dramatic progress of the vernacular movement following

official approval by the Second Vatican Council at the end of 1962. Progressive anticipation of the Council's approval and a corresponding increase in the volume of progressive argument stimulated vernacular debating during 1962 and 1963, while actual implementation of vernacular liturgies during 1964 and 1965 marked the zenith of vernacularist excitement. The rise of reform was supported by extensive newspaper reporting of vernacular progress although a growing majority of published correspondence tended to oppose the movement. Clerics rejoiced generally at the success of their reform efforts while increasing numbers of laymen began to question the value of vernacular revisions in the liturgy. The rise of reform was further characterized by the contrast between an expanded progressive approach to argument and the contraction of traditionalist rhetorical invention. The ultimate impact of a sudden rise of reform within the context of an unresolved vernacular debate produced the final period in the debate and the consolidation of traditionalist resistance.

ENDNOTES

¹For example, see the anticipation of conciliar action on vernacular reform reported in the Michigan Catholic, Apr. 5, 1962, p. 1.

²The vote by American Catholic editors was reported in the Register, Jan. 8, 1965, p. 8.

³See reports in the Michigan Catholic, Feb. 25, 1965, p. 1, Mar. 4, 1965, p. 1, and Mar. 11, 1965, p. 1; Our Sunday Visitor, Feb. 28, 1965, p. 1; Pittsburgh Catholic, Mar. 4, 1965, p. 1; Brooklyn Tablet, Mar. 4, 1965, p. 16; and Register, Mar. 5, 1965, p. 5.

⁴See papal statements supporting vernacular reform as reported in the Pittsburgh Catholic, Mar. 11, 1965, p. 1; Los Angeles Tidings, Mar. 12, 1965, p. 1; Boston Pilot, Mar. 13, 1965, p. 1; Our Sunday Visitor, Mar. 14, 1965, p. 1; and Chicago New World, Mar. 19, 1965, p. 15.

⁵See reports in the San Francisco Monitor, Aug. 9, 1963, p. 1; Catholic Reporter, Aug. 30, 1963, p. 1; Register, Aug. 30, 1963, p. 7; and Boston Pilot, Aug. 31, 1963, p. 1.

⁶See poll results in Our Sunday Visitor, Sept. 13, 1963, p. 1; Ave Maria, Sept. 21, 1963, p. 16; and Worship, Oct., 1963, p. 629.

⁷See reporting on conciliar approvals in the Brooklyn Tablet, Oct. 10, 1963, p. 1; Catholic Reporter, Oct. 11, 1963, p. 1, Oct. 18, 1963, p. 1, and Oct. 25, 1963, p. 1; Los Angeles Tidings, Oct. 11, 1963, p. 1, and Oct. 25, 1963, p. 4; Boston Pilot, Oct. 12, 1963, p. 1; and San Francisco Monitor, Oct. 18, 1963, p. 1. See reports on the American bishops' plans for an English Mass text in the Los Angeles Tidings, Oct. 25, 1963, p. 4; Catholic Reporter, Oct. 25, 1963, p. 1; Chicago New World, Oct. 25, 1963, p. 3. Also see reports on the ramifications of conciliar approved changes in the Brooklyn Tablet, Nov. 14, 1963, p. 4; Register, Nov. 29, 1963, p. 1; and Chicago New World, Nov. 29, 1963, p. 3.

⁸See the Brooklyn Tablet, Dec. 5, 1963, p. 1, and Dec. 12, 1963, p. 1; Michigan Catholic, Dec. 5, 1963, p. 1; San Francisco Monitor, Dec. 6, 1963, p. 1, and Dec. 13,

1963, p. 1; Boston Pilot, Dec. 7, 1963, p. 1; Los Angeles Tidings, Dec. 8, 1963, p. 3; and Chicago New World, Dec. 13, 1963, p. 2.

⁹Brooklyn Tablet, Jan. 30, 1964, p. 1.

¹⁰Initial vernacular reforms in Scotland, France, England, Canada, Austria, and Switzerland were reported in the Pittsburgh Catholic, Jan. 2, 1964, p. 5, Feb. 13, 1964, p. 1, Feb. 20, 1964, p. 1, Feb. 27, 1964, p. 1, and Apr. 9, 1964, p. 1; Boston Pilot, Feb. 15, 1964, p. 1; and Ave Maria, Mar. 7, 1964, p. 4.

¹¹Pittsburgh Catholic, Apr. 9, 1964, p. 1; Register, Apr. 10, 1964, p. 1; Boston Pilot, Apr. 11, 1964, p. 3; and "Documentation," Catholic Mind, May, 1964, pp. 51-54.

¹²Michigan Catholic, May 21, 1964, p. 1; Register, May 22, 1964, p. 1 and p. 8; Catholic Reporter, May 22, 1964, p. 1; Chicago New World, May 22, 1964, p. 1 and p. 2; San Francisco Monitor, May 22, 1964, p. 1; and Pittsburgh Catholic, June 18, 1964, p. 3.

¹³See reports in the Pittsburgh Catholic, June 4, 1964, p. 1, June 11, 1964, p. 1, July 2, 1964, p. 1, July 16, 1964, p. 3, July 30, 1964, p. 1 and p. 2, and Aug. 13, 1964, p. 2; Ave Maria, June 20, 1964, p. 24; and Boston Pilot, Aug. 8, 1964, p. 2. The English Mass celebrated at the North American Liturgical Conference in St. Louis during August, 1964, (erroneously reported as the first English Mass ever said in the United States) received extensive coverage in the Pittsburgh Catholic, Aug. 13, 1964, p. 1, and Aug. 27, 1964, p. 3; San Francisco Monitor, Aug. 21, 1964, p. 1; Brooklyn Tablet, Aug. 27, 1964, p. 1; Catholic Reporter, Aug. 28, 1964, p. 1; and Baltimore Catholic Review, Sept. 4, 1964, p. 6.

¹⁴Pittsburgh Catholic, July 23, 1964, p. 1; Michigan Catholic, July 23, 1964, p. 1; Catholic Reporter, July 24, 1964, p. 1; Register, July 24, 1964, p. 1; San Francisco Monitor, July 24, 1964, p. 1; Los Angeles Tidings, July 24, 1964, p. 1; and Boston Pilot, July 25, 1964, p. 1.

¹⁵Michigan Catholic, Aug. 20, 1964, p. 1; Pittsburgh Catholic, Aug. 27, 1964, p. 1, and Sept. 3, 1964, p. 2; Register, Aug. 28, 1964, p. 1 and p. 6; Catholic Reporter, Aug. 28, 1964, p. 7; and Los Angeles Tidings, Aug. 28, 1964, p. 1.

¹⁶Pittsburgh Catholic, Oct. 22, 1964, p. 1 and p. 5, and Oct. 29, 1964, p. 1; Los Angeles Tidings, Nov. 13, 1964, p. 3, and Nov. 27, 1964, p. 3; Baltimore Catholic Review, Nov. 20, 1964, p. 1; and Chicago New World, Nov. 20, 1964, p. 9.

- 17"Editorial," Brooklyn Tablet, Mar. 4, 1965, p. 16.
- 18"Correspondence," America, Jan. 19, 1963, p. 61; "Letter," Ave Maria, Nov. 30, 1963, p. 3; and "You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, Nov. 12, 1964, p. 4.
- 19"Correspondence," America, Jan. 19, 1963, p. 61.
- 20John B. Mannion, "First, The Liturgy," Commonweal, June 29, 1962, p. 347.
- 21"Communications," Homiletic and Pastoral Review, Nov., 1963, p. 104 and p. 108.
- 22"Living Language," Worship, Sept., 1963, p. 525; "Editorial," San Francisco Monitor, Oct. 12, 1963, p. 16; Michigan Catholic, Jan. 2, 1964, p. 1, and "You're Telling Us," Nov. 26, 1964, p. 4; Pittsburgh Catholic, Jan. 2, 1964, p. 7; Brooklyn Tablet, Jan. 2, 1964, p. 9, and Jan. 30, 1964, p. 12; Catholic Reporter, Jan. 10, 1964, p. 7; and Chicago New World, Jan. 24, 1964, p. 12.
- 23See reports in the Michigan Catholic, May 21, 1964, p. 1; and Register, May 22, 1964, p. 1.
- 24Patrick T. Brannan, "Veterum Sapientiae: A Twentieth-Century Renaissance," American Ecclesiastical Review, Aug., 1962, p. 89.
- 25Michigan Catholic, Nov. 5, 1964, p. 4.
- 26Brooklyn Tablet, Nov. 28, 1963, p. 1.
- 27"Letter," Ave Maria, July 28, 1962, p. 3 and p. 27; San Francisco Monitor, Apr. 12, 1963, p. 4; and "Correspondence," Commonweal, June 7, 1963, p. 306.
- 28Register, May 10, 1963, p. 6.
- 29Chicago New World, May 10, 1963, p. 1.
- 30Catholic Reporter, Oct. 12, 1962, p. 1, and Oct. 26, 1962, p. 3.
- 31Catholic Reporter, Nov. 9, 1962, p. 3.
- 32The scope of publicity can be seen in the Boston Pilot, Dec. 15, 1962, p. 1; Brooklyn Tablet, Dec. 15, 1962, p. 1; San Francisco Monitor, Dec. 21, 1962, p. 1; Register, Dec. 21, 1962, p. 1; and Chicago New World, Dec. 21, 1962, p. 1.
- 33See reports in the Catholic Reporter, May 22, 1964,

p. 1; San Francisco Monitor, May 22, 1964, p. 1, and Nov. 5, 1964, p. 1; Boston Pilot, May 23, 1964, p. 1; Michigan Catholic, July 23, 1964, p. 1; Brooklyn Tablet, Sept. 10, 1964, p. 1; Chicago New World, Sept. 11, 1964, p. 1, and Nov. 6, 1964, p. 10; Register, Nov. 6, 1964, p. 1; and Pittsburgh Catholic, Nov. 12, 1964, p. 5.

³⁴The widely syndicated columns of the Reverend Frederick R. McManus, a noted liturgist, and Joseph Breig, a popular contributor to America and Ave Maria, were especially helpful in supplementing progressive argument.

³⁵"Letters," Boston Pilot, Nov. 23, 1963, p. 5; Los Angeles Tidings, Mar. 8, 1964, p. 1; and "Letter," Jubilee, Sept., 1964, p. 4.

³⁶Maximos IV, Melkite Patriarch, as quoted the Catholic Reporter, Nov. 23, 1962, p. 3. The entire text of Maximos IV's address was reprinted in Catholic Mind, Apr., 1963, pp. 53-55. The sentiment was also expressed in "Letter," Ave Maria, May 2, 1964, p. 3.

³⁷Chicago New World, Mar. 12, 1965, p. 2.

³⁸"Correspondence," Commonweal, June 8, 1962, p. 283; "Comment," Jubilee, Sept., 1964, p. 4; and "Editorial," Brooklyn Tablet, Nov. 12, 1964, p. 4.

³⁹"Comment," Jubilee, July, 1964, p. 23; "Letter," Boston Pilot, Dec. 19, 1964, p. 5, and Mar. 13, 1965, p. 1; and Our Sunday Visitor, Mar. 14, 1965, p. 2.

⁴⁰Michigan Catholic, Oct. 11, 1962, p. 2.

⁴¹Chicago New World, Nov. 16, 1962, p. 2; Boston Pilot, Nov. 17, 1962, p. 3; "Letters," San Francisco Monitor, Jan. 4, 1963, p. 2.

⁴²"Letter," Ave Maria, July 18, 1964, p. 3.

⁴³"Comment," Jubilee, July, 1964, p. 22; and "Forum," Wanderer, Dec. 17, 1964, p. 8.

⁴⁴Brooklyn Tablet, July 28, 1962, p. 3.

⁴⁵Michigan Catholic, Feb. 21, 1963, p. 4.

⁴⁶Francis Syrianey, "Things New and Old," Ave Maria, Jan. 2, 1965, p. 8.

⁴⁷Brooklyn Tablet, Mar. 4, 1965, p. 15.

⁴⁸"After Ours," Chicago New World, Nov. 6, 1964, p. 8.

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CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF RESISTANCE

Chapter V continues the combined descriptive and analytical treatment of the vernacular debate by focusing on the period of increased traditionalist opposition to the vernacular movement. After introducing the encompassing dates of the period under focus, the chapter (1) provides an overview of prompting events, (2) describes the volume of debate, (3) indicates significant developments in the nature of advocates and media, (4) offers an interpretive summary of the lines of argument employed by debaters, and (5) comments briefly on the tenor of the debate. The chapter concludes with a review of significant findings.

Organized resistance to vernacular reform did not arise until after the extensive vernacular changes in the Mass of November 29, 1964, and March 7, 1965, had been implemented. Traditionalists began to exert more influence on the popular debate after reaction to Pope Paul VI's approval of the vernacular revisions had subsided. The organization of resistance was stimulated in March, 1965, by the Reverend Gommar DePauw's founding of the Catholic Traditionalist Movement and by subsequent publicity about Father DePauw's illicit efforts to perpetuate the Movement. Although the pace of vernacular reform did not slow during

1965, as evidenced by papal approval of plans to vernacularize the Mass Preface in June and the American bishops' plans to vernacularize the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar, Collect, Secret, Prayer for Peace, and Postcommunion in October,¹ traditionalists began to voice much more extensive support for the coexistence of Latin and English liturgies.²

Traditionalist resistance continued after official implementation of a completely vernacular Mass in the United States on October 22, 1967, but took the form of a substantially reduced and, in some notable cases, underground movement. On February 18, 1968, Our Sunday Visitor reported on a national poll that indicated only thirteen percent of American Catholics disapproved of the vernacular reforms³ and on June 14, 1968, papal approval was given for the implementation of three new English Mass Canons and eight new English Mass Prefaces.⁴ The promulgation of the papal encyclical, Humanae Vitae, on July 29, 1968, marked a definitive restructuring of popular concerns.⁵ Following Pope Paul VI's pronouncement on birth control, the few remaining progressives who actively defended vernacular reform shifted their energies toward debating contraception and left traditionalists with no one to debate on the matter of Latin versus English. Although traditionalist resistance to the vernacular reforms continued at reduced levels after 1968, a full and open exchange of views on the vernacular question ceased altogether.

Prompting Events

The organization of traditionalist resistance to vernacular reform, from the founding of the Catholic Traditionalist Movement in March, 1965, to Pope Paul VI's formal cautions against abuses in the liturgical movement at the beginning of 1967, was characterized by an expanded traditionalist citation of "official" support for Latin. Although traditionalists were rebuffed by official Vatican approval for vernacular revision of six more significant elements of the Mass in June and October, 1965, they were heartened by events of the following year. Pope Paul VI promulgated Nativitate Domini in January, 1966, outlining his fondness for liturgical Latin, and several well-known intellectuals petitioned the Pope in February, 1966, requesting papal permission for alternative Latin liturgies. Disregarding progressives' pleasure at the March 27, 1966, implementation of those vernacular reforms approved during the previous year, traditionalists attacked liturgical English for "sabotaging" the Faith and "destroying" personal meditation at Mass.

The publicizing of officially scheduled Latin Masses in Baltimore and Detroit during the latter half of 1966 and John A. McManemin's founding of the United States Latin Mass Society in September, 1966, encouraged traditionalists to press their claims concerning vernacular impairment of the devotions and pastoral goals of the Church. Although progressives cited the American bishops' November, 1966,

petition to Rome for permission to use English in the Mass Canon, the most sacred portion of the ritual, traditionalists attacked liturgical English for vulgarizing the Mass. Opponents of vernacular reform tended to feel that September, 1966, papal restrictions on clerics' use of vernacular liturgies and October, 1966, papal cautions against "anything unworthy of divine worship" in liturgical reforms substantiated their attacks on vernacularists. The organization of resistance to vernacular reform concluded on a high note during the first week of January, 1967, when the Pope assailed "profane and worldly" abuses in the liturgical experiments conducted by reformers. Throughout the organization of traditionalist resistance progressives relied on the rhetorical supports they had developed during the earlier rise of reform. Progressives appeared to take the fruits of reform more for granted after 1965 and, in fact, "Meat on Fridays" was voted Top Catholic News Story of 1966 by the association of Catholic editors.⁶ But, while the progressives were withdrawing from the public argument, traditionalists were developing new lines of argument and reinforcing arguments that had become conventional. Unfortunately, the ongoing success of vernacular reform and not the tactical gains of traditionalists prompted progressives to disengage from the popular debate. During the eighteen months following Pope Paul VI's cautions of January, 1967, traditionalists were left in the unenviable position of continuing an attack on premises which more progressive

elements in the American Catholic Church were no longer interested in defending.

The denouement of the debate over vernacular reform was characterized by a significant shift in popular concerns as well as by the publication of two liturgical decrees in February and March, 1967, that considerably lessened the popular focus on vernacular reform. By the beginning of 1967 most Catholic magazines and several Catholic newspapers had little left to say on the topic of vernacular reform as progressive American Catholics had transferred the bulk of their interest to the questions of war, race, clerical celibacy, and especially birth control. A decree of the Liturgical Commission of Vatican II in February made no mention of any continuing vernacular problems⁷ and a Vatican decree in March was publicized optimistically as the end of the "liturgical cold war."⁸ The latter decree pronounced the official status of the Latin language while asserting that "competent territorial ecclesiastical authority" could determine local vernacular use. On one hand, traditionalists celebrated the services of the Wanderer in locating regularly scheduled Latin Masses in New York, Boston, Baltimore, and elsewhere.⁹ On the other hand, progressives rejoiced in widespread anticipation of a completely vernacularized liturgy.¹⁰ While traditionalists furthered their support for coexistence between Latin and English, progressives cited polls in Pittsburgh favoring vernacular reform by ninety-four percent¹¹ and in a

national survey favoring the reform by eighty-seven percent.¹²

The denouement of debate was characterized generally by traditionalists' growing inability to engage the complacent progressives in lively debate. Papal approval of complete vernacularization of the Mass in May, 1967, and American implementation of that concession on October 22, 1967, simply substantiated the confidence with which progressives referred to "the now accepted vernacular"¹³ and predicted that the total demise of liturgical Latin was inevitable. An August 9, 1967, issue of the National Catholic Reporter actually attacked continued emphasis on liturgical reform as "a way of avoiding real problems"¹⁴ in the Church. The Reporter supplemented its position in November by indicating that liturgy would not even be discussed during the North American Liturgical Conference.¹⁵ Although traditionalists continued to open new fronts in the debate, asserting that "Liturgy is never going to be more than what we ourselves bring to it,"¹⁶ they were confronted with only fourteen progressive editorials and letters between the beginning of January and the end of October, 1967, and faced only sixteen throughout the remaining months before promulgation of Humanae Vitae on July 29, 1968. Progressive disengagement from the debate finally prompted a reduction in traditionalist debating as vernacular opponents found little stimulation to continue the contest. Although Father DePauw led the Catholic Tradition-

alists in demanding a Latin Rite for the United States in September, 1967,¹⁷ the implementation of a completely English Mass in October indicated that traditionalist appeals were falling on deaf ears.

Volume of Debate

The debate over vernacular reform declined from a volume of 165 items during 1965 and ninety-seven items during 1966 to a total volume of only 161 items during the next two years. Although the volume of debate dropped sharply after January, 1967, the overall volume of 423 items published during the rise of resistance compared favorably with the volumes of debate generated during the two earlier periods of the vernacular debate. In terms of sheer argumentative bulk, then, the rise of resistance represented a major portion of the debate even though the argumentation took place quite late in the progress of the vernacular movement.

The disproportionate volume of argument generated by the traditionalist minority belied the advanced state of vernacular reform. Contradicting the progressive charge that traditionalists represented a mere "handful of malcontents,"¹⁸ opponents of vernacular reform built up a margin of fifty-one percent in total volume of argument published during the period. Traditionalists achieved a numerical parity of contributions to the vernacular debate during 1965 and attained a lead of fifty-one percent in published argument during 1966. During the denouement of

debate, traditionalists slipped to a margin of forty-nine percent in 1967 and eventually acquired a margin of sixty-six percent of the published argument during 1968. The radical turnabout in frequency of argument by traditionalists during the rise of resistance indicated that a vociferous portion of American Catholicism questioned the pace, if not the principle, of vernacular reform.

Traditionalist ascendancy in volume of debate during the rise of resistance was reflected most clearly in the frequency with which letters-to-the-editor opposed the onrush of vernacular reform. Of 217 pieces of correspondence published during the period, more than sixty-two percent disapproved of at least some elements in the vernacularist program. Traditionalists drew additional support from fifty-five percent of the forty-two editorials published during the period. In contrast, the progressive point of view depended heavily on articles and news reporting for support. Sixty-four percent of the articles published in Catholic newspapers and magazines favored progressives. Significantly, progressives lost over twenty-five percent of the support they had previously garnered from articles and saw their editorial support decline by almost thirty-three percent. The uninterrupted progress of the vernacular movement chronicled in newspaper and magazine articles seemed to foster a lack of progressive response to the upsurge in traditionalist argument. Rather than gaining a tactical superiority in the debate, traditionalists seemed

to gather an increased share of published support simply because the progressives confidently assumed there was no need for further argument.

Advocates and Media

The argumentative input of Catholic laymen continued to increase during the rise of resistance while the clergy's participation in the debate declined considerably. The clergy, at one time innovators in argument concerning the vernacular controversy, contributed but forty-nine editorials and letters to the debate while laymen offered 212. Laymen increased their support for the traditionalist cause by opposing vernacular reform in 135 of their 212 editorials and letters. Considering that laymen penned eighty-one percent of all letters and editorials discussing vernacular reform during the rise of resistance, including eighty-seven percent of all letters and fifty-two percent of all editorials, the gradual trend toward predominantly lay opposition to vernacular reform seemed to mature during the period 1965-1968. Specifically, laymen authored eighty-nine percent of all letters opposing reform and over ninety-six percent of all traditionalist editorials.

The clergy retained their general affection for vernacular reform by supporting the progressive cause in twenty-six of their forty-nine editorials and letters. Considering that local hierarchies maintained control over diocesan newspapers' reporting on vernacular progress and that fifty-three percent of clerical editorials and letters

still supported vernacular reform, vernacular debating in the period 1965-1968 substantiated previous indications that a clerically approved series of reforms were culminated without final resolution of lay opposition to the changes. As the clerical input to the debate declined, the combined forces of aroused traditionalist laymen and of newspapers which were willing to publish the traditionalist viewpoint sustained traditionalist resistance. Predominantly lay organizations such as the Catholic Traditionalists and the Latin Mass Society made the most of the publicity afforded vernacular opposition by the Catholic press.

Popular debate during the rise of resistance continued to rely on Catholic newspapers for publicity, with national and diocesan papers contributing 396 of the 423 items published during the period. Catholic magazines contributed a minimal seven percent of argumentative items as the previously substantial lead of Catholic newspapers in published argument increased to virtual monopoly. Catholic magazines seemed to revive their role as innovators of debate and directed their attention to the rapidly escalating issues of Vietnam, civil rights, and the Church's authority over human life. The relatively trite question of vernacular reform was consigned to secondary importance. Most significantly, traditionalists increased their share of argumentation to fifty-one percent of newspaper items as well as fifty-five percent of magazine items. The gain of thirty-four percent in newspaper support achieved by the

traditionalists indicated that vernacular opponents had received vital publicity for their cause in the medium most responsive to the debate.

Lines of Argument

The rise of resistance was marked by repetitious consistency in the lines of argument employed by progressives and by small but intriguing revisions in the traditionalist lines of argument. The debate focused on eight general issues: (1) the possible coexistence of Latin and English, (2) liturgical traditions, (3) concern for doctrinal purity, (4) liturgical beauty and propriety, (5) liturgical understanding and participation, (6) language and Catholic unity, (7) religious fervor and liturgical language, and (8) the quality of English translations. Each side attempted to derive strategic gains from every line of argument, though both sides favored certain arguments for specific purposes of advocacy or attack.

Possible coexistence of Latin and English

Traditionalists emphasized that the vernacular reforms were merely "permissible" not "mandatory"¹⁹ and urged that the "traditional quiet Latin Mass should at least be allowed to coexist with the new vernacular form."²⁰ Considering that there was "no good reason why a Latin Mass cannot be restored,"²¹ Latinists asked: "Could not Latin and English alternate?"²² Traditionalist reactions were summarized in one complaint against reformers which

declared: "Stop trying to change the world overnight and don't force your views on others."²³ Traditionalists also attacked reformers for claiming unrealistic goals: "The Catholic Traditionalists are certainly not opposed to the use of English, but to the pressures from some fuzzy-minded quarters (not the Council!) for the universal use of the vernacular as if it were some sort of utopian ideal."²⁴ Progressives questioned whether the relationship between Latin and English would be "practical"²⁵ and claimed that the "essentials of the Holy Sacrifice have not changed"²⁶ as a result of vernacular reform. Citing the new powers granted to "competent territorial authority"²⁷ and the fact that "use of the vernacular" was no longer an unusual "privilege,"²⁸ vernacularists pronounced that "everything that has remained in Latin . . . has remained because it will either be dropped eventually or revised."²⁹

Other comments on the official status of their respective languages by Latinists and vernacularists cited decrees, polls, and liturgical events which shaped major trends in the debate. For example, progressives delighted in the publicity surrounding Vatican approval of vernacular changes in the Preface of the Mass in June, 1965,³⁰ in five additional Mass prayers in October, 1965,³¹ and in the Mass Canon in May, 1967,³² while the traditionalists drew encouragement from papal cautions on liturgical "innovations"³³ in 1966 and 1967. While traditionalists promoted the support for Latin voiced by intellectuals such

as W. H. Auden, Ingmar Bergman, Pablo Casals, Evelyn Waugh, and others in February, 1966,³⁴ progressives pointed out surveys in Chicago which indicated only nine percent of the area's Catholics preferred Latin liturgies in March, 1966,³⁵ and 443 of 446 local parishes were using vernacular liturgies in April, 1966.³⁶ Generally, traditionalists were able to cite many more legitimizing influences during the rise of resistance than had been available for use in the previous period.

Liturgical traditions

Basing much of their commentary on "a strong feeling for the Church in history,"³⁷ traditionalists praised the "language of the Latin rite"³⁸ for being "hallowed by almost 1,800 years of use."³⁹ Although vernacularists cited as eminent an authority as St. Paul,⁴⁰ traditionalists continued to wish for "some vestige of our former liturgy"⁴¹ and the opportunity to "pray to God in our own way in church as we always have."⁴² Loudly proclaiming that "traditionalists still have some standing in the Church,"⁴³ Latinists praised Latin for its "never changing stability"⁴⁴ and treasured Latin's "part of our history, our heritage."⁴⁵ Progressives met the argument with the claim that "the vernacular tradition is far older than the other"⁴⁶ and observed that God "spoke to us as Jesus Christ in the vernacular."⁴⁷ In effect, progressives claimed that they were "restoring the Church's worship."⁴⁸

Concern for doctrinal purity

Traditionalists considered that liturgical English "conceals or dilutes the divine truths,"⁴⁹ introduced "misinterpretations"⁵⁰ and "modern distortions"⁵¹ of "life-long beliefs,"⁵² produced a "shocking mutilation and omission" of "infallibly defined truths,"⁵³ and lacked "emphasis on words of consecration"⁵⁴ and other "profoundly theological"⁵⁵ points. Traditionalists felt that the English liturgy failed to "accurately convey the sense of the original"⁵⁶ and actually distorted "deified doctrines of Faith"⁵⁷ and the "orthodox view of Sacrifice."⁵⁸ Reacting to vernacular revision of the Mass Canon in 1967, traditionalists charged that "the purity of Catholic doctrine"⁵⁹ was "soon to be destroyed."⁶⁰ Reacting earlier to revisions in Easter texts,⁶¹ traditionalists claimed that the vernacular change from "has risen" to "was raised" denoted a denial of Christ's divinity. Vernacular opponents told how they were "appalled by the degeneration of the Mass"⁶² and the "protestantization"⁶³ of worship. In their estimation, Catholicism was being "sabotaged, ransacked, torn apart,"⁶⁴ contemporary Catholics were witnessing "the beginning of a great apostasy,"⁶⁵ and vernacular reformers intended "a conspiracy to cheat unsuspecting Catholics out of their religious heritage."⁶⁶ In observing: "Could the Devil himself have devised a more cunning way to divide the Faithful all over the world,"⁶⁷ traditionalists branded vernacular reform as the surest path to "linguistic--and

dogmatic chaos."⁶⁸ On the positive side, traditionalists suggested Latin's value in preserving "doctrines and dogmas from heresy."⁶⁹

Progressives considered it "absurd" to perceive "sinister theological implications"⁷⁰ in vernacular revisions. While questioning whether the traditionalists' faith was so weak "that it is founded in the beauty of an ancient language,"⁷¹ progressives asserted that "liturgy is eternal and unchanging"⁷² and that "the changes strengthen essentials."⁷³ Vernacular advocates explained that "the Mass has not changed"⁷⁴ and that vernacular reform both promoted "logic and reason"⁷⁵ in the liturgy and insured a "return to the primitive simplicity of the early Church."⁷⁶ Vernacularists attempted to ridicule charges that they were "Communists" and "Protestantizers,"⁷⁷ but traditionalists stoutly maintained that "changes always lead to more changes, sometimes even in doctrinal territory."⁷⁸

Liturgical beauty and propriety

Traditionalist attacks on the "confusion and noise"⁷⁹ generated by English liturgies represented a new development in the resistance to vernacular reform. Latinists considered "esthetic values in worship"⁸⁰ worthy of more emphasis. A number of traditionalists, preferring "the Latin and the time for contemplation,"⁸¹ "the quietness of the church and the solemn beauty,"⁸² lamented the loss of "all that was beautiful and serene,"⁸³ "an oasis of peace, meditation, and worshipful silence,"⁸⁴ and "quiet holiness."⁸⁵

Vernacular opponents stressed Latin as "a precious gem of language"⁸⁶ in promoting personal meditation during the liturgy and praised the Latin Mass as "a thing of beauty"⁸⁷ in promoting "dignity of expression"⁸⁸ and "the Unity, Beauty, Solemnity, and Classical Dignity of the Traditional Latin Rite."⁸⁹ In response, progressives complained that "exponents of the beauty of the Latin language"⁹⁰ and silent meditation were never liturgical participants. In addition, vernacular advocates claimed that the new English liturgy was "most beautiful and most simple and most advantageous."⁹¹

Dissident traditionalists continued to promote Latin as the only proper language for "public worship"⁹² and for "the Church"⁹³ as a whole. Refuting the progressive criticism that Latin provided "no increased reverence,"⁹⁴ traditionalists intensified their focus on Latin's inherent sacredness. English was rejected for not allowing "adequate expression"⁹⁵ of sacred concepts and traditionalists claimed Latin as "stately, priestly, classical . . . traditionally respected and hallowed."⁹⁶ Traditionalists feared for "the sacred character of the liturgy"⁹⁷ because the "profane and worldly"⁹⁸ English replaced "holy intimacy with Christ by an unbecoming familiarity"⁹⁹ as well as degrading "to the level of the human something which is by nature sacred and which protects a mystery."¹⁰⁰ Advocates of vernacular reform responded with biting criticism of liturgical Latin's "mystification" and glowing praise

for vernacular "maturity."¹⁰¹ Progressives refuted traditionalist arguments that Latin usage "in the most sacred part of the Mass"¹⁰² would represent a "return to sanity"¹⁰³ by claiming that the "truly revitalized liturgy"¹⁰⁴ effected by English usage would help "the priest say Mass more attentively and devoutly"¹⁰⁵ as well as "bring people closer to God."¹⁰⁶ Praising the use of liturgical English as "a major step toward the revitalization of Christian teaching"¹⁰⁷ and as a vehicle for bringing "the Word closer to all men,"¹⁰⁸ vernacular advocates concluded that Catholics did not "need fancy trappings or certain rituals"¹⁰⁹ in their worship. Vernacular opponents loudly disagreed by attacking the "sterile services"¹¹⁰ concocted by vernacular reformers as the "lowest common denominator of art and culture."¹¹¹ Vernacular reforms "foisted" on American Catholics were not considered "more beautiful"¹¹² than Latin precedents and traditionalists pledged themselves to support Latin liturgy, "to preserve it against innovation, to defend its integrity, to maintain its solemnity."¹¹³

Liturgical understanding and participation

The debate over questions of understanding the liturgy and participating in liturgical services was particularly repetitious during the rise of resistance. Traditionalists tended to avoid rebutting the conventional vernacularist arguments and progressives themselves made no effort to refine their favorite supports for liturgical English. Traditionalists baldly claimed that the "Latin Mass" was

"most meaningful"¹¹⁴ and posed no "problem of understanding"¹¹⁵ for worshippers. On the other hand, reformers insisted on the use of "a language we speak and understand"¹¹⁶ to attain a liturgy that was "understandable,"¹¹⁷ "intelligible,"¹¹⁸ "appropriate and logical."¹¹⁹ Progressives attacked the "unintelligible Latin"¹²⁰ as "ritual mumbo-jumbo"¹²¹ and emphasized that using "the language of the people"¹²² promoted "the true meaning of the Mass."¹²³ Explaining the new liturgy's role in arousing "meaning, eloquence, and humility"¹²⁴ through "more meaningful expression,"¹²⁵ progressives claimed that liturgical English allowed worshippers to employ "a comprehensible language"¹²⁶ and "concentrate more on the prayer itself."¹²⁷ Vernacularists considered Latin grossly inadequate for the liturgy and remarked that "this artificial language cannot and does not express what we today are thinking and feeling."¹²⁸ English was praised for its "noble simplicity"¹²⁹ and "for expressing great thoughts"¹³⁰ because vernacularists felt that only a "simple and eloquent," "clear and contemporary"¹³¹ language like English permitted "warm and truly understood and intended utterance."¹³² The traditionalist response to progressive arguments concerning understanding was capsulized by one traditionalist's complaint that: "If clarity is the purpose of the liturgical reform--the reason for going into English, the reason for going into the vernacular--then the reforms of the liturgy are simply incomplete."¹³³

Claiming Latin as "a special means of communicating with God,"¹³⁴ traditionalists denied that English liturgies would be "clearly understood"¹³⁵ and that "Catholic worship of the past had lost its vitality as an adequate expression of the Church."¹³⁶ At least one disgruntled critic said that Latin had "never confused"¹³⁷ her.

The debate over lay participation in the liturgy also displayed a tiresome conventionality. Describing "good"¹³⁸ and "intelligent"¹³⁹ worship in terms of "full, conscious, and active participation,"¹⁴⁰ progressives claimed that the English liturgy transformed worshippers into a "congregation not an audience"¹⁴¹ while "relating the role of the faithful more clearly to the sacred action of the Mass."¹⁴² Vernacular opponents doubted openly whether "real participation is lessened"¹⁴³ by the use of Latin and contradicted reformers' fears about "losing the participation of the faithful"¹⁴⁴ by charging that Catholics were "not participating"¹⁴⁵ anyway in the English liturgy. Traditionalists observed that "the majority of Catholics are intelligent"¹⁴⁶ and that "the Mass could always be followed intelligently by using a Missal."¹⁴⁷

Language and Catholic unity

The debate over religious unity and universality, a discussion of the sense of group cohesion felt by American Catholics, did not exhibit any significant development beyond the appearance of evenly matched volumes of argument contributed by each side. Progressives stressed that wor-

shippers should feel "a sense of Christian community"¹⁴⁸ between themselves and other worshippers, their priests, and God Himself. Traditionalists sought "unity of Faith through the unity of a sacred language"¹⁴⁹ and acclaimed Latin's role as "the universal language"¹⁵⁰ in attempts to "keep the Catholic Church catholic."¹⁵¹ In seesawing debate progressives criticized the "feeling of unity"¹⁵² sought by traditionalists as merely a "blind unity"¹⁵³ and a "fetish of uniformity"¹⁵⁴ while contending that the "unity of the Church does not hinge on unity of liturgy or liturgical language."¹⁵⁵ The traditionalist complaint that the Church was "losing its identity"¹⁵⁶ was answered by progressive assertions that the "feeling of unity"¹⁵⁷ generated by vernacular liturgies supplemented the "universality of the Church."¹⁵⁸ Contending that Latin was "one of the Church's greatest external bonds and signs of unity,"¹⁵⁹ traditionalists pointed out "the usefulness of Latin"¹⁶⁰ in promoting a "feeling of membership in a universal Church."¹⁶¹ Besides claiming that English harmed "the universality of Catholic worship,"¹⁶² traditionalists favored the use of liturgical Latin "in the large cities or places of tourist travel"¹⁶³ because "many tourists would have difficulty in sharing meaningfully in the English liturgy."¹⁶⁴ Progressives promoted the satisfactions derived from using "our own language,"¹⁶⁵ "the mother tongue,"¹⁶⁶ and the "native tongue"¹⁶⁷ of English but traditionalists were not swayed. Decrying the possibility of "national Churches,"¹⁶⁸ tra-

ditionalists asserted that "diversity must not lead to disintegration"¹⁶⁹ and promoted Latin's contribution to an "opportune uniformity"¹⁷⁰ and a "unity, easily recognizable by all."¹⁷¹

Religious fervor and liturgical language

The debate over the liturgical language's role in fostering religious zeal evoked a corresponding fervor in the argument employed. Advocates of vernacular reform claimed that an "inward feeling in the familiar words"¹⁷² of English made American Catholics consider that they were "really going to Mass"¹⁷³ for the first time. The English liturgy was acclaimed as "more moving"¹⁷⁴ and as a force which brought worshippers "closer to God."¹⁷⁵ Traditionalists responded that continuation of the Latin liturgy was crucial to the "spiritual needs"¹⁷⁶ and "consolation"¹⁷⁷ of "those souls who are now in real spiritual jeopardy."¹⁷⁸ Vernacular opponents observed that the "Liturgy needs more than a new language"¹⁷⁹ because the vernacular reforms only produced a "terrible, distorted asceticism"¹⁸⁰ and a break in the "continuity in forms"¹⁸¹ of worship. Because Catholics "don't feel closer to God,"¹⁸² traditionalists criticized the English liturgies for offering "no inspiring and wonderful words"¹⁸³ and they denied the English liturgies' potential for "forming the faithful spiritually."¹⁸⁴ Latinists contended that worshippers should use only "the purest flame of all,"¹⁸⁵ "noble, universal, and admirable for its spiritual vigor,"¹⁸⁶ in seeking a Mass that provided "soul-

stirring and heart-warming joy."¹⁸⁷ Specialized debate over pastoral goals found vernacularists appealing to Catholics' pride in their "own ways of speaking"¹⁸⁸ and "their own tongue"¹⁸⁹ for pursuing the Church's mission. Vernacular advocates predicted that reform would aid "blind persons,"¹⁹⁰ suggested that it would "bring more converts to the Church,"¹⁹¹ and guaranteed that reform would "stimulate growth"¹⁹² as well as "the individual's learning to know, love, and serve God."¹⁹³ Traditionalists responded with incredulity. Proclaiming the English liturgy's "novelty wearing off,"¹⁹⁴ traditionalists contended that vernacular reform was "not bringing more people to church"¹⁹⁵ and praised Latin as "the first thing to attract eventual converts."¹⁹⁶ Ultimately, the debate over religious fervor showed no signs of imaginative development with its most significant impact centered on the emotional attachment of Catholics to one liturgical language or the other.

Quality of English translations

The debate over English translations was characterized by traditionalists' specific indictments of particular translations and general belligerence toward all English liturgical texts. Unable to rescind the principle of vernacular worship in the face of its general acceptance, vernacular opponents concentrated their efforts on criticizing the mechanics of reform. Contending that English translations were a "poor thing foisted on the Church in America"¹⁹⁷ and consigning the texts to "the literary elegance of

government crop-rotation manuals,"¹⁹⁸ traditionalists clamored for "smooth, understandable translations."¹⁹⁹ "Shocked"²⁰⁰ traditionalists complained that "the translations could be improved"²⁰¹ with critical focus on the "valued connotations of true respect and an honored tradition."²⁰² Maintaining that "we must never distort the meaning for the sake of sound,"²⁰³ traditionalists loosed a torrent of jibes at the "mishmash,"²⁰⁴ "stylistic sadism,"²⁰⁵ and "drivel"²⁰⁶ of English translations. Vernacular texts were scored as "barbarous,"²⁰⁷ "abominable,"²⁰⁸ "low class,"²⁰⁹ "ridiculous,"²¹⁰ "irreverent,"²¹¹ "awkward,"²¹² "childish,"²¹³ "vulgar,"²¹⁴ "unsuitable,"²¹⁵ "insipid,"²¹⁶ "dull,"²¹⁷ "wretched,"²¹⁸ "illogical,"²¹⁹ and definitely "disappointing."²²⁰

Traditionalists reproached translators for substituting less dignified modern equivalents for familiar traditional words, specifically the substitutions of "engaged" for "betrothed," "bandit" for "thief," and "happy" for "blessed,"²²¹ while bemoaning the less solemn addresses of "Good evening, Rabbi" and "You" taking preference over "Hail, Rabbi" and "Thou."²²² Traditionalists also specified the substitutions of "I assure you" for "Amen. Amen. Dico vobis,"²²³ "Go, the Mass is ended" for "Ite, missae est,"²²⁴ and "You Who" for "Qui."²²⁵ Observing that the translations would "sadden the heart of anyone who loves good English,"²²⁶ traditionalists attacked the vernacular texts for failing "the test of oral delivery"²²⁷ and for

lacking "imagery, rhythm, precision."²²⁸ Critics of the translations considered none of them to be "as beautiful as the original Latin"²²⁹ and concluded that the vernacular reform "only makes us wish we had the Latin back again."²³⁰

The progressive defense of English translations appeared shallow in comparison with the traditionalist attacks and focused merely on God's "command to teach all nations" as an explicit support for the use of "every tongue."²³¹ Cautious defenders explained that English texts represented only "provisional and temporary translations"²³² and that translation problems "soon will be remedied."²³³ More ambitious progressives declared that English translations represented "uniform"²³⁴ quality and "freshness, vigor, and dignity"²³⁵ in style. One progressive suggested: "Let us have better translations, certainly: but meanwhile let us rejoice that we have even a poor translation."²³⁶ Occasionally taking to offense, progressives compared English texts to "deplorable . . . and archaic"²³⁷ Latin versions while explaining: "Contemporary English, provided that it keeps clear of excessive colloquialism, need not be deficient in dignity and reverence."²³⁸ In addition, some vernacularists taunted their opponents as "Latin lovers"²³⁹ and challenged them to face up to the reality of "irreversible"²⁴⁰ changes in the liturgy. Emphasizing that the translations no longer favored "any particular idiom"²⁴¹ or "old Latin words with English endings,"²⁴² progressives concluded that "the challenge of

finding a contemporary language will be met by newer and better translations."²⁴³ Though progressives explained that "we are not looking for Shakespearean English"²⁴⁴ but the "simple sentence, short word, active phrase"²⁴⁵ of contemporary English, traditionalists still described the translations as "current cant,"²⁴⁶ "hits and misses,"²⁴⁷ and "sins against all the conventions of faithful translation and good taste."²⁴⁸ Considering that the translators' "outrage"²⁴⁹ could only please "illiterates,"²⁵⁰ traditionalists concluded that "eloquence is lost."²⁵¹

Summary

The lines of argument employed during the period of March, 1965, through July, 1968, represented the final, full treatment of the vernacular issue. The relative disdain for active debating and argumentative development shown by progressives seemed to evoke a deeper traditionalist involvement in the debate. Facing the two-headed monster of minority status and rapidly dwindling opportunities for argument in the public forum, traditionalists pursued the vernacular debate vigorously.

Argumentative development during the rise of resistance emphasized the progressives' lack of interest in rhetorical invention and traditionalists' efforts to both expand and specify their lines of argument. Progressives displayed a very conventional approach to arguing the principles of linguistic and liturgical intelligibility, while maintaining their stress on vernacular contributions to

increased lay participation in the liturgy. Vernacular advocates treated the official status of their reforms and vernacular contributions to internal ecclesiastical cohesion with decreasing frequency, preferring to accent the devotional benefits and increased pride in one's own linguistic heritage which were provided by vernacular changes. Progressives showed little argumentative development when treating the problem of English translations beyond assuming a more apologetic tone occasionally and terming the translations "provisional and temporary." The scarcity of progressive argument and the relative triteness with which progressives approached the vernacular issue indicated that vernacular advocates perceived little need for supporting their cause beyond the mid-1960's.

Traditionalist efforts to renew their campaign sustained the rise of resistance as well as a lingering opposition to vernacular reform after the active exchange of views with progressives had ended. Expanding their argumentation beyond the restricted focus they had employed during the rise of reform, traditionalists debated the progressives much more frequently on matters of liturgical appreciation and also stepped up their efforts to emphasize Latin's contributions to devotional esthetics. Traditionalists sustained their lines of argument dealing with ecclesiastical unity and universality after progressive treatment of Catholic unity had declined, while developing the argument of liturgical coexistence between Latin and Eng-

lish after it had been popularized by the Catholic Traditionalists in 1965. Traditionalists also expanded the core of arguments dealing with doctrinal orthodoxy, liturgical sacredness, and linguistic propriety that they had relied upon so heavily by the end of 1964. Comparing the vernacularist attitude toward orthodoxy as "a conspiracy against the Faith," describing vernacular trends in liturgy as "vulgarizations," and criticizing specific English translations as "sins" of "stylistic sadism," opponents of vernacular reform both widened and deepened their attack on the English liturgy.

Tenor of the Debate

The rise of resistance was enlivened generally by increased levels of affective intensity in the argumentation generated by both sides. Though progressives exhibited considerable fervor in their attachment to the values of personal awareness and appreciation of liturgy, traditionalists' zeal in debating a number of issues represented the more outstanding characteristic of vernacular debate in the later 1960's. Opponents of vernacular reform exhibited far less of the beleaguered desperation evident in their argumentation before 1965. Traditionalists often resorted to pure invective and personal insults, occasionally evoking similar language in progressive rebuttals, but also displayed a more admirable tenor in supporting their cause. Traditionalists frequently used descriptive superlatives and fervent aspirations in talking about Latin's contribu-

tions to the esthetic beauty of services, while displaying extreme reverence in treating the sacredness of the Latin liturgy. Traditionalist criticism of the vernacularist "apostasy" and their reform's introduction of "confusion and noise" into a previously solemn, quiet liturgy heralded an increased emotional intensity in traditionalist argument that reached peak proportions in the attack on English translations. Displaying a new willingness to cite specific errors and an increased use of biting invective, traditionalists compared the "drivel" of English translations to the relative literary accomplishments of "government crop-rotation manuals." The generally revitalized tenor of traditionalist argument provided further indications that reformers simply discontinued the debate rather than resolving it. The extremes of language employed by traditionalists could only have arisen from a deep sense of frustration over their own willingness to pursue the vernacular debate long after reformers had substantially diverted their attention to other issues.

The Character of the Debate: 1965-1968

The rise of resistance to vernacular reform was characterized internally by an expanded traditionalist involvement in the vernacular debate after March, 1965, and was characterized externally by the organization of movements like the Catholic Traditionalists. Although traditionalist fortunes were aided by a series of papal warnings about liturgical abuses during 1966 and 1967, public

attention was diverted to issues considered more pressing after the complete vernacularization of the liturgy on October 22, 1967. The controversy over birth control, stimulated by Pope Paul VI's promulgation of Humanae Vitae on July 29, 1968, signalled the definitive conclusion of debate over vernacular reform. The rise of resistance witnessed significant increases in the argument generated by lay traditionalists, as well as by traditionalists generally, and in the publicity afforded vernacular issues by Catholic newspapers. The rise of resistance was sustained by traditionalist efforts to develop effective lines of argument and by the fervent tenor of traditionalist debating. The ultimate impact of the rise of resistance produced a lingering dissatisfaction in the traditionalist minority of American Catholicism and an extension of the vernacular controversy beyond the termination of the vernacular debate. Although analysis of traditionalist argument as it appeared in the extended controversy does not fit within the confines of this study, the persistent effect of traditionalist resistance must be considered in final assessments of the vernacular debate.

ENDNOTES

¹ Papal approval for vernacular recitation of the Mass Preface was reported in the Pittsburgh Catholic, June 10, 1965, p. 1; Brooklyn Tablet, June 10, 1965, p. 1; and Michigan Catholic, June 10, 1965, p. 1. Papal approval for vernacular recitation of five additional Mass prayers was reported in the Michigan Catholic, Oct. 21, 1965, p. 1; Chicago New World, Oct. 22, 1965, p. 5; Los Angeles Tidings, Oct. 22, 1965, p. 1; Boston Pilot, Oct. 23, 1965, p. 1; San Francisco Monitor, Oct. 28, 1965, p. 1; Pittsburgh Catholic, Oct. 28, 1965, p. 1; Register, Oct. 29, 1965, p. 1; Baltimore Catholic Review, Oct. 29, 1965, p. 1; and Our Sunday Visitor, Oct. 31, 1965, p. 1.

² For example, the "Forum," Wanderer, Mar. 11, 1965, p. 8, contained a concentration of thirteen letters supporting "the wording and meaning" of an article published on Feb. 25, 1965, which argued for preservation of the Latin liturgy alongside of vernacular liturgies.

³ See Our Sunday Visitor, Feb. 18, 1968, p. 1.

⁴ Reporting on the liturgical reform was notable in that none of the several reports treated the use of liturgical English as especially novel.

⁵ The encyclical, Humanae Vitae, will be considered here as a definitive indication of the beginning of a new popular debate over Catholics' moral obligations in respect to birth control.

⁶ See the Chicago New World, Dec. 30, 1966, p. 3.

⁷ See reporting on the liturgical directives in the Los Angeles Tidings, Feb. 24, 1967, p. 1.

⁸ See reporting on the decree urging more liturgical singing by the laity in the Michigan Catholic, Mar. 9, 1967, p. 1; Los Angeles Tidings, Mar. 10, 1967, p. 1; Chicago New World, Mar. 10, 1967, p. 1, and Mar. 24, 1967, p. 1; Our Sunday Visitor, Mar. 12, 1967, p. 1; and Baltimore Catholic Review, Mar. 24, 1967, p. 2.

⁹ See the "Forum," Wanderer, Feb. 16, 1967, p. 4, Mar. 2, 1967, p. 4, Mar. 9, 1967, p. 4, and July 13, 1967, p. 6.

¹⁰ See reports on the imminent implementation of an English Canon in the Brooklyn Tablet, May 11, 1967, p. 1, and Oct. 5, 1967, p. 1; Chicago New World, Mar. 10, 1967, p. 1, and Oct. 13, 1967, p. 5; Register, Mar. 17, 1967, p. 6; Pittsburgh Catholic, May 11, 1967, p. 1, June 29, 1967, p. 1, Oct. 5, 1967, p. 1, and Oct. 12, 1967, p. 3 and p. 4; Michigan Catholic, May 11, 1967, p. 1, and Oct. 12, 1967, p. 3; Baltimore Catholic Review, May 12, 1967, p. 1, and Oct. 6, 1967, p. A-14; Boston Pilot, May 13, 1967, p. 1 and p. 3, and May 20, 1967, p. 2; Our Sunday Visitor, May 14, 1967, p. 1; National Catholic Reporter, May 17, 1967, p. 1, and Oct. 18, 1967, p. 4; Los Angeles Tidings, Sept. 22, 1967, p. 1; Wanderer, Oct. 5, 1967, p. 1; and San Francisco Monitor, Oct. 19, 1967, p. 2.

¹¹ See survey results in the Pittsburgh Catholic, June 22, 1967, p. 1.

¹² See survey results in Our Sunday Visitor, Feb. 18, 1968, p. 1.

¹³ Chicago New World, Oct. 27, 1967, p. 1.

¹⁴ See commentary in the National Catholic Reporter, Aug. 9, 1967, p. 5, and Aug. 16, 1967, p. 4.

¹⁵ National Catholic Reporter, Nov. 15, 1967, p. 2.

¹⁶ "Forum," Wanderer, Nov. 16, 1967, p. 6.

¹⁷ See the Pittsburgh Catholic, Sept. 7, 1967, p. 6.

¹⁸ "Point of View," Baltimore Catholic Review, Aug. 23, 1968, p. A-12.

¹⁹ Los Angeles Tidings, Apr. 9, 1965, p. 1; Wanderer, Apr. 15, 1965, p. 1; San Francisco Monitor, Oct. 13, 1966, p. 3.

²⁰ Wanderer, Jan. 13, 1966, p. 1; and Chicago New World, Jan. 28, 1966, p. 1.

²¹ "Point of View," Baltimore Catholic Review, Jan. 12, 1968, p. A-10.

²² Wanderer, Mar. 24, 1966, p. 1.

²³ "Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, June 10, 1965, p. 17.

²⁴ "Letter," Ave Maria, June 5, 1965, p. 3.

²⁵ "Repartee," National Catholic Reporter, Jan. 26, 1966, p. 4.

²⁶"You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, Jan. 13, 1966, p. 4, and Jan. 27, 1966, p. 4.

²⁷Los Angeles Tidings, Mar. 10, 1967, p. 1; Our Sunday Visitor, Mar. 12, 1967, p. 2; Pittsburgh Catholic, May 11, 1967, p. 1; Michigan Catholic, May 11, 1967, p. 1; Boston Pilot, May 13, 1967, p. 1; and National Catholic Reporter, May 17, 1967, p. 1.

²⁸"Repatee," National Catholic Reporter, May 11, 1967, p. 2.

²⁹Pittsburgh Catholic, Oct. 12, 1967, p. 3; and Chicago New World, Oct. 13, 1967, p. 5.

³⁰Pittsburgh Catholic, June 10, 1965, p. 1; Brooklyn Tablet, June 10, 1965, p. 1; and Michigan Catholic, June 10, 1965, p. 1.

³¹Michigan Catholic, Oct. 21, 1965, p. 1; Chicago New World, Oct. 22, 1965, p. 5; Los Angeles Tidings, Oct. 22, 1965, p. 1; Boston Pilot, Oct. 23, 1965, p. 1; San Francisco Monitor, Oct. 28, 1965, p. 1; Pittsburgh Catholic, Oct. 28, 1965, p. 1; Register, Oct. 29, 1965, p. 1; Baltimore Catholic Review, Oct. 29, 1965, p. 1; and Our Sunday Visitor, Oct. 31, 1965, p. 1.

³²Brooklyn Tablet, May 11, 1967, p. 1; Pittsburgh Catholic, May 11, 1967, p. 1; Michigan Catholic, May 11, 1967, p. 1; Baltimore Catholic Review, May 12, 1967, p. 1; Boston Pilot, May 13, 1967, p. 1 and p. 3, and May 20, 1967, p. 2; Our Sunday Visitor, May 14, 1967, p. 1; and National Catholic Reporter, May 17, 1967, p. 1.

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³⁴Los Angeles Tidings, Feb. 18, 1966, p. 3.

³⁵Chicago New World, Mar. 25, 1966, p. 13.

³⁶Chicago New World, Apr. 29, 1966, p. 9.

³⁷"Letter," Boston Pilot, Aug. 20, 1966, p. 5.

³⁸Michigan Catholic, Mar. 9, 1967, p. 6; Los Angeles Tidings, Mar. 10, 1967, p. 3; and Our Sunday Visitor, Mar. 12, 1967, p. 2.

³⁹"Repatee," National Catholic Reporter, Feb. 15, 1967, p. 4.

⁴⁰In "You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, May 25, 1967, p. 4, the writer cites I Corinthians, 14: 4-33, to emphasize St. Paul's preference for vernacular "prophecy" over mere "speaking in tongues."

⁴¹"Forum," Wanderer, June 15, 1967, p. 6.

⁴²"Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, Feb. 9, 1967, p. 5.

⁴³"Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, Mar. 8, 1968, p. 5.

⁴⁴"Editorial," Triumph, Dec. 1967, p. 8; and "Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, Feb. 9, 1968, p. 5.

⁴⁵"Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, Nov. 10, 1967, p. 14.

⁴⁶"Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, Apr. 15, 1965, p. 16.

⁴⁷"Letter," Boston Pilot, Aug. 27, 1966, p. 5.

⁴⁸Our Sunday Visitor, May 23, 1965, p. 8.

⁴⁹"Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, Apr. 15, 1965, p. 16.

⁵⁰"Forum," Wanderer, May 20, 1965, p. 8.

⁵¹"Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, Apr. 22, 1965, p. 16.

⁵²"You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, June 3, 1965, p. 4.

⁵³"Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, Oct. 26, 1967, p. 5.

⁵⁴"Forum," Wanderer, Nov. 16, 1967, p. 6.

⁵⁵"Forum," Wanderer, Nov. 23, 1967, p. 6.

⁵⁶M. Joseph Costelloe, "The New English Canon," Homiletic and Pastoral Review, July, 1968, p. 844.

⁵⁷"The English Canon," Triumph, Jan., 1968, p. 37.

⁵⁸"The Battle for the Mass," Triumph, Apr., 1968, p. 38.

⁵⁹"Reaction," Triumph, May, 1968, p. 5.

⁶⁰"Point of View," Baltimore Catholic Review, Jan. 5, 1968, p. A-8.

⁶¹See the Boston Pilot, Apr. 24, 1965, p. 5; and Wanderer, May 6, 1965, p. 5, May 20, 1965, p. 8, May 27, 1965, p. 7, and June 3, 1965, p. 7.

⁶²"You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, July 1, 1965, p. 4.

⁶³"You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, Sept. 9, 1965, p. 4.

⁶⁴"You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, Sept. 30, 1965, p. 2.

⁶⁵National Catholic Reporter, Oct. 27, 1965, p. 2.

⁶⁶J. M. Cameron, "A Post-Waugh Insight," Commonweal, Oct. 29, 1965, p. 114; and "Reaction," Triumph, May, 1968, p. 5.

⁶⁷"Forum," Wanderer, Sept. 8, 1966, p. 4.

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⁷⁰National Catholic Reporter, Apr. 14, 1965, p. 10.

⁷¹"Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, Apr. 22, 1965, p. 5.

⁷²"Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, June 10, 1965, p. 17.

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⁷⁴"Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, June 17, 1965, p. 18.

⁷⁵Pittsburgh Catholic, July 1, 1965, p. 3.

⁷⁶Michigan Catholic, July 29, 1965, p. 1.

⁷⁷"Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, May 6, 1965, p. 5; Baltimore Catholic Review, Mar. 24, 1967, p. 2; and Chicago New World, Mar. 24, 1967, p. 1.

⁷⁸"Forum," Wanderer, Jan. 26, 1967, p. 4.

⁷⁹"Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, Mar. 18, 1965, p. 18, Mar. 31, 1966, p. 25, and Apr. 7, 1966, p. 25.

⁸⁰"Correspondence," Commonweal, Sept. 24, 1965, p. 678.

⁸¹New World, Mar. 12, 1965, p. 2; and Wanderer, Feb. 8, 1968, p. 5.

⁸²"Public Opinion," San Francisco Monitor, Mar. 11, 1965, p. 16; and "Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, Feb. 10, 1966, p. 18.

⁸³"Letter," Boston Pilot, Mar. 20, 1965, p. 5, and Nov. 25, 1967, p. 5.

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⁸⁶"Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, Jan. 27, 1966, p. 14.

⁸⁷"Letter," Boston Pilot, Mar. 20, 1965, p. 5; "Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, Apr. 15, 1965, p. 5, June 3, 1965, p. 5, Feb. 2, 1967, p. 16, and Nov. 3, 1967, p. 5; "You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, May 20, 1965, p. 4, and June 24, 1965, p. 4; "Point of View," Baltimore Catholic Review, Jan. 7, 1966, p. 4, and Jan. 27, 1967, p. 8; "After Ours," Chicago New World, Apr. 15, 1966, p. 20; and "Forum," Wanderer, Feb. 2, 1967, p. 4.

⁸⁸"Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, Apr. 15, 1965, p. 16, and Jan. 27, 1966, p. 14.

⁸⁹"Letter," Boston Pilot, Mar. 13, 1965, p. 5.

⁹⁰"Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, June 10, 1965, p. 5.

⁹¹"Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, May 6, 1965, p. 5, and June 10, 1965, p. 5; and "Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, May 6, 1965, p. 10.

⁹²Los Angeles Tidings, Jan. 28, 1966, p. 4, and Dec. 9, 1966, p. 4; "Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, Mar. 2, 1967, p. 5; and "Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, Mar. 9, 1967, p. 16.

⁹³Boston Pilot, Jan. 29, 1966, p. 3; and Wanderer, Mar. 3, 1966, p. 5.

⁹⁴"You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, July 28, 1966, p. 4.

⁹⁵"Editorial," Los Angeles Tidings, Sept. 2, 1966, p. 5.

⁹⁶"Editorial," Wanderer, Aug. 18, 1966, p. 6.

⁹⁷Baltimore Catholic Review, Jan. 6, 1967, p. 2.

⁹⁸Los Angeles Tidings, Jan. 6, 1967, p. 5.

⁹⁹San Francisco Monitor, Oct. 13, 1966, p. 3; and Wanderer, Mar. 30, 1967, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰"Letter," Boston Pilot, Oct. 29, 1966, p. 5; and Our Sunday Visitor, Jan. 15, 1967, p. 2.

¹⁰¹Baltimore Catholic Review, Oct. 6, 1967, p. A-14.

¹⁰²Brooklyn Tablet, Jan. 5, 1967, p. 17.

¹⁰³"Forum," Wanderer, May 25, 1967, p. 6.

¹⁰⁴National Catholic Reporter, May 17, 1967, p. 1.

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¹⁰⁶Pittsburgh Catholic, Oct. 12, 1967, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷Pittsburgh Catholic, Oct. 26, 1967, p. 2.

¹⁰⁸"Point of View," Baltimore Catholic Review, Mar. 1, 1968, p. A-10.

¹⁰⁹"Point of View," Baltimore Catholic Review, Feb. 2, 1968, p. A-8.

¹¹⁰"After Ours," Chicago New World, Nov. 17, 1967, p. 5.

¹¹¹"Editorial," Los Angeles Tidings, Mar. 29, 1968, p. 8.

¹¹²"You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, Oct. 26, 1967, p. 4.

¹¹³Los Angeles Tidings, June 28, 1968, p. 1.

¹¹⁴"Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, Apr. 29, 1965, p. 16.

¹¹⁵"Public Opinion," San Francisco Monitor, Dec. 9, 1965, p. 22.

116"Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, Apr. 15, 1965, p. 5; and "After Ours," Chicago New World, May 7, 1965, p. 11.

117"Repatee," National Catholic Reporter, Apr. 28, 1965, p. 4; Chicago New World, Sept. 3, 1965, p. 10, Nov. 3, 1967, p. 5 and p. 9, and "After Ours," Jan. 19, 1968, p. 5; "You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, Sept. 9, 1965, p. 4, Sept. 23, 1965, p. 4, Sept. 30, 1965, p. 4, Feb. 3, 1966, p. 4, and Dec. 14, 1967, p. 4, and Michigan Catholic, Oct. 21, 1965, p. 1, and Mar. 17, 1966, p. 6; Hans A. Reinhold, "No Time To Stop," Commonweal, Aug. 20, 1965, p. 584; Pittsburgh Catholic, Aug. 12, 1965, p. 6, and "Forum," Mar. 2, 1967, p. 5, Mar. 9, 1967, p. 5, and Nov. 3, 1967, p. 5; Our Sunday Visitor, Aug. 29, 1965, p. 1, and Mar. 20, 1966, p. 2, and "Capsule Comment," Oct. 22, 1967, p. 9; Register, Nov. 12, 1965, p. 5, and "The People," June 3, 1966, p. 11; "Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, June 17, 1965, p. 18, and Mar. 17, 1966, p. 13; "Reviewpoint," Baltimore Catholic Review, Mar. 25, 1966, p. 10, and Baltimore Catholic Review, May 26, 1967, p. 11, and "Point of View," Jan. 5, 1968, p. A-8; and "Letter," Boston Pilot, Aug. 6, 1966, p. 5.

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¹⁴⁶"After Ours," Chicago New World, Apr. 2, 1965, p. 20.

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- 174 Our Sunday Visitor, May 2, 1965, p. 4; and "Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, Feb. 10, 1966, p. 18.
- 175 "After Ours," Chicago New World, May 7, 1965, p. 11; and "Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, May 27, 1965, p. 20.
- 176 Brooklyn Tablet, May 13, 1965, p. 5; and Los Angeles Tidings, Oct. 20, 1967, p. 7.
- 177 "Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, Apr. 1, 1965, p. 1.
- 178 "Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, Apr. 8, 1965, p. 5.
- 179 "Repartee," National Catholic Reporter, May 31, 1967, p. 4.
- 180 "Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, Apr. 29, 1965, p. 16.
- 181 National Catholic Reporter, June 10, 1965, p. 8.
- 182 "You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, May 20, 1965, p. 4; and Wanderer, Feb. 3, 1966, p. 3.
- 183 "You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, Feb. 17, 1966, p. 4.
- 184 Brooklyn Tablet, Mar. 17, 1966, p. 13; National Catholic Reporter, Mar. 18, 1966, p. 3; and Baltimore Catholic Review, Apr. 15, 1966, p. 1.
- 185 "Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, Mar. 31, 1966, p. 25.
- 186 Los Angeles Tidings, Sept. 30, 1966, p. 6.
- 187 "Forum," Wanderer, Sept. 8, 1966, p. 4.
- 188 Pittsburgh Catholic, Aug. 12, 1965, p. 6.
- 189 "Comment and Opinion," Register, Nov. 12, 1965, p. 5.
- 190 Brooklyn Tablet, June 7, 1965, p. 2.
- 191 "Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, June 17, 1965, p. 18.
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195 "You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, Sept. 30, 1965, p. 4.

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207 "Letter," Boston Pilot, Mar. 13, 1965, p. 5, and Oct. 29, 1966, p. 5.

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225"Forum," Wanderer, Mar. 3, 1966, p. 8.

226"You're Telling Us," Michigan Catholic, Feb. 17, 1966, p. 4.

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- 231 "Readers' Forum," Brooklyn Tablet, Apr. 15, 1965, p. 16.
- 232 Baltimore Catholic Review, Sept. 3, 1965, p. 4, and Oct. 29, 1965, p. 1; Register, Sept. 3, 1965, p. 8, and Oct. 29, 1965, p. 1; Our Sunday Visitor, Oct. 31, 1965, p. 1, and Dec. 12, 1965, p. 1; and Brooklyn Tablet, Apr. 21, 1966, p. 15.
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- 240 "The People," Register, Aug. 5, 1966, p. 4.
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²⁵¹"After Ours," Chicago New World, May 24, 1968,
p. 5.

CHAPTER VI

CLASSES OF ARGUMENT

The public debate over vernacular reform produced a complex system of rhetorical supports which identified the religious, liturgical, linguistic, and even personal needs of American Catholics. Chapter VI describes and analyzes the classes of argument used by progressives and traditionalists in proposing the fulfillment of Catholics' needs. After explaining the analytical methods used, Chapter VI (1) identifies the basic premise of each argumentative class, (2) interprets the frequency with which each class of argument was used, (3) analyzes the typical forms in which vernacular debaters expressed their arguments, and (4) describes the linguistic intensity with which the debaters stated their positions. The chapter concludes with a summary of the analytical findings.

Individual classes of argument were determined by a collation of those lines of argument surveyed in Chapters III through V. Because of the argumentative relationships between language and ritual and ritual and faith, the debate frequently exhibited alternative meanings for certain terms. For example, argument about "understanding" referred variously to sheer linguistic intelligibility, the appreciation of liturgical symbols, and general knowledge

of the Catholic faith. Argument exhibiting various shades of meaning was collated with respect to the surrounding context and conventional interpretations of the era. The examination of over 1300 articles, editorials, and letters-to-the-editor yielded four major classes of argument which reflected the popular view of the efficacy of Latin or English, or, the relative power of each language to produce certain effects. The basic premises of the argumentative classes are listed below.

Class I Argument: Formal Religious Efficacy

"The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy emphasizes those characteristics (one, holy, catholic, and apostolic) which identify the Catholic Church."

I-A: Legitimacy

"The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy follows the lawful traditions of the Church."

I-B: Orthodoxy

"The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy safeguards true Catholic dogma."

I-C: Unity

"The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy promotes a sense of unity among Catholics."

I-D: Universality

"The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy promotes a sense of universality of Church membership."

I-E: Mission

"The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy assists the Church in attracting converts, increasing religious vocations, and fostering attendance at liturgical services."

Class II Argument: Liturgical Efficacy

"The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy assists worshippers to benefit more fully from the services."

- II-A: Understanding
"The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy makes the services more understandable to worshippers."
- II-B: Participation
"The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy fosters laymen's participation in the services."
- II-C: Effectiveness
"The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy improves the devotional impact and beauty of the services."
- II-D: Exclusivity/Accessibility
"The use of Latin in the liturgy promotes a proper atmosphere of mystery and awe in the services/The use of English in the liturgy promotes a desirable atmosphere of respectful familiarity in the services."

Class III Argument: Linguistic Efficacy
"(Latin/English) possesses desirable traits which are inherent to the language."

- III-A: Intelligibility
"(Latin/English) is an inherently understandable language."
- III-B: Esthetics
"(Latin/English) is an inherently beautiful language."
- III-C: Translation
"(Latin/English) texts are good translations."
- III-D: Sacredness
"(Latin/English) is an inherently sacred language."

Class IV Argument: Personal Religious Efficacy
"The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy satisfies the psychological and spiritual needs of worshippers."

- IV-A: Feelings and Fears
"The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy evokes desirable psychological reactions from worshippers."

IV-B: Piety

"The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy evokes desirable spiritual reactions from worshippers."

IV-C: Pride

"The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy promotes a healthy pride in the native language of worshippers."

The classes of argument were graphed according to how frequently they were used in the debate¹ as well as the timing of their appearances in the debate. Analysis of the timing of arguments was concerned with (1) the initial use of arguments by either side, (2) the point at which the issue was joined by both sides, and (3) the point at which either side abandoned the debate. The identification of Tables indicating the frequency and timing of arguments corresponds exactly to the numbered and lettered identifications in the above outline.

Forms of argument were derived from the categories and definitions supplied by Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca in The New Rhetoric.² The most typical forms of argument identified in the study include:

Argument ad hominem (or, relating one's claims to the general norms agreed upon by reasonable men)
(e.g., "The use of English in the Mass results in a wealth of divine grace and motivation.")

Argument ad verecundiam (or, citing supposedly unimpeachable authority)
(e.g., "Pope Pius encourages revitalization of liturgy.")

Argument ad ignorantiam (or, ignoring the very existence of other explanations)
(e.g., "The use of English in the Mass makes it understandable.")

Argument ad personam (or, personally insulting an opponent)
(e.g., "English translators are stylistic sadists who lack the least poetic sensitivity.")

Argument ab absurdo sensu (or, ridiculing an opponent's position as useless and absurd)
(e.g., "The use of Latin in the liturgy means nothing more than a mouthing of unintelligible sounds.")

Argument a pari
and

Argument a contrario (or, claiming that something which is true or good in one case does apply "a pari" or does not apply "a contrario" to truth or goodness in other cases)
(e.g., "The use of the universal Latin language in the liturgy will preserve the universality of the services 'a pari,' or, 'a contrario' the use of a single liturgical language is inappropriate for a world-wide Catholic community which is one in faith but not in language.")

Argument a fortiori (or, claiming that because something is good in one case it is all the better when applied to another case)
(e.g., "The ease and pride with which American Catholics use English in their daily lives become even more rewarding when they use English in worship.")

Excepting the needlessly fine distinction between argument "ad hominem" and argument "ad humanitatem" proposed in The New Rhetoric, the authors' terminology and identification of argumentative forms were followed exactly.

Finally, the relative vigor with which vernacular debaters adhered to their positions was measured in terms of linguistic intensity. The intensity with which each side expressed their arguments was derived from the range of "emotionalism and extremity" in language, which John Waite

Bowers has defined as "the degree to which the speaker's attitude toward a concept deviates from neutrality."³

Bowers's research suggests that linguistic intensity is related significantly to the use of metaphor and can also be correlated with the use of unfamiliar, attention-getting terms and qualifying adverbs such as "more" and "very."⁴

The following comparison of typical progressive and traditionalist arguments illustrates the three types of linguistic intensity suggested by Bowers:

	<u>Progressive language</u>	<u>Traditionalist language</u>
<u>Metaphors</u>	"The use of the mother tongue in liturgy makes for corporate worship."	"The vernacular movement is a tool of heresy and a conspiracy against the Faith."
<u>Odd Terms</u>	"The use of liturgical English provides exhilarating spiritual satisfaction."	"English translations represent nothing more than a hideous mishmash of errors."
<u>Qualifiers</u>	"English is much more intelligible than Latin."	"The use of Latin in the liturgy insures a very splendid service."

Bowers also suggests that very intense or "extroverted"⁵ styles of argument can produce "a boomerang effect"⁶ in which a speaker's credibility is reduced. Both preliminary and definitive conclusions in Chapter VI take account of the potential influences on vernacular debating exerted by linguistic intensity.

Class I: Formal Religious Efficacy

The basic premise of Class I argument can be stated as follows:

The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy emphasizes those characteristics (one, holy, catholic, and apostolic) which identify the Catholic Church.

TABLE I

"Formal Religious Efficacy"

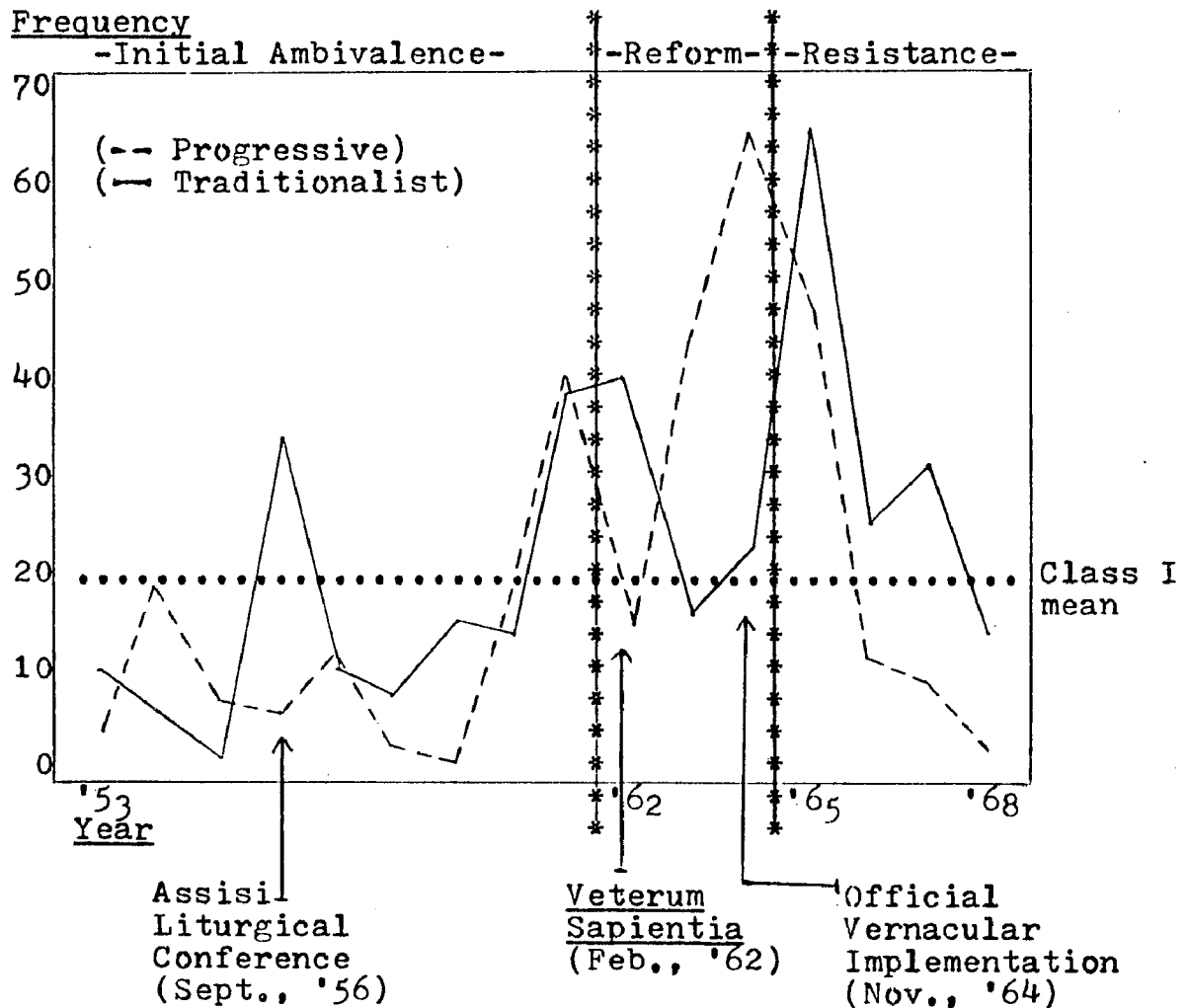


Table I indicates that the frequency with which formal religious arguments were used paralleled the appearance of crucial ecclesiastical pronouncements. After the Assisi liturgical conference dampened vernacularist enthusiasm in 1956, traditionalists increased the frequency with which they applied formal religious arguments to the debate. Al-

though the high frequency with which progressives used Class I arguments in 1961 reflected their anticipation of the forthcoming Vatican Council's approval of liturgical reforms, traditionalists cited formal religious issues much more frequently in responding to Pope John XXIII's promulgation of Veterum Sapientia in 1962. The highest frequency with which progressives used Class I arguments occurred in conjunction with official American implementation of vernacular reform late in 1964. The most frequent traditionalist use of the arguments occurred during the organization of resistance to the vernacular movement in 1965. In addition, traditionalists exhibited a much greater reluctance to abandon Class I arguments during the denouement of debate after 1966. Opponents of vernacular innovation showed an overall tendency to use Class I arguments more frequently than vernacular advocates, averaging twenty-two citations of formal religious issues a year compared with the nineteen Class I arguments a year used by progressives. An analysis of the subdivisions of Class I argument indicates specific trends in argumentative frequency as well as debaters' preferences in argumentative forms and linguistic intensity.

Class I-A: Legitimacy

The basic premise of Class I-A argument can be stated as follows:

The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy follows the lawful traditions of the Church.

Class I arguments included any citations of official ecclesiastical decrees and hierarchical statements supporting one side or the other.

TABLE I-A
"Legitimacy"

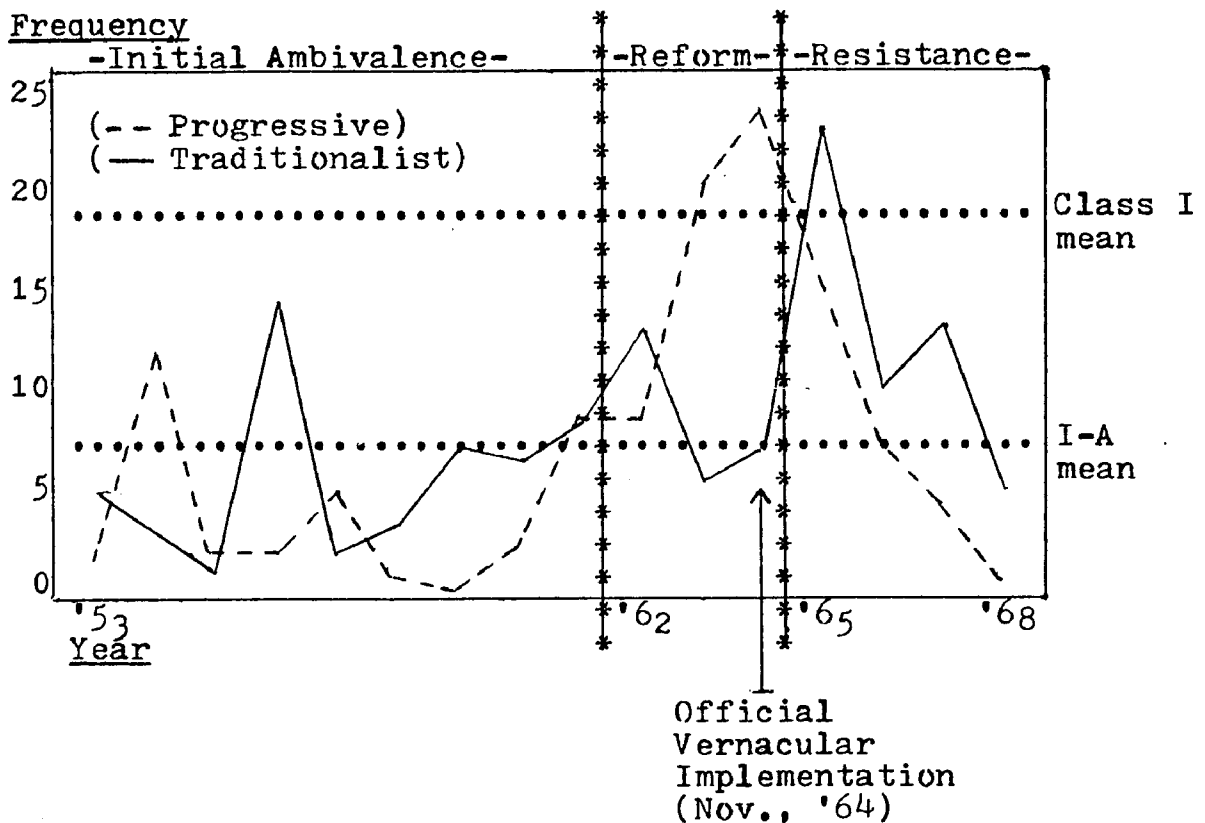


Table I-A indicates that both sides in the debate used arguments concerning the legitimacy of vernacular reform most frequently around the time of the reform's official implementation late in 1964. Progressives made higher than average use of the arguments when the sacramental rites of Baptism, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction were partially vernacularized in 1954. The obvious legitimacy of the reform encouraged use of the arguments. The frequency with which

traditionalists used Class I-A arguments after the Assisi liturgical conference in 1956, the promulgation of Veterum Sapientia in 1962, and Pope Paul VI's warnings to liturgical innovators in 1966, was also predictable. However, progressives placed unusually heavy emphasis on the legitimacy of vernacular reform during its ascendancy in 1963 and 1964, while traditionalists placed an even more surprising emphasis on Class I-A arguments during the organization of their resistance in 1965. Both sides' respective uses of Class I-A arguments surpassed the average frequency of uses for all arguments combined in Class I. The very high frequency with which progressives discussed legitimacy was unusual because it represented an argumentative emphasis that had no precedent and which quickly disappeared throughout the rest of the debate. Progressives were obviously taking temporary advantage of the official support for vernacular reform provided by the Second Vatican Council. On the other hand, their opponents' consistently heavy emphasis on legitimacy following official vernacular implementation in 1964 represented a surprising rhetorical tactic considering the official existence of vernacular revisions. Late traditionalist use of Class I-A arguments appeared to be a last ditch effort to reassert the previously legitimate and much longer tradition of liturgical Latin. Traditionalists might also have been encouraged to debate the legitimacy of vernacular reform because progressives never developed their use of the argument beyond frequent citation

of official decrees which favored vernacular progress. Ultimately, the traditionalists' strategic superiority in using Class I-A argument was built on both a more frequent use of the argument than progressives and a more sophisticated development of the argumentative substance than progressives could offer.

Form of the Argument. The public debate over the legitimacy of vernacular reform was marked by each side's reliance on contrasting forms of the argument. Traditionalists used argument "a fortiori" and stressed that the "venerable ways of worship" canonized in the Church's "long history" of liturgical Latin should qualify Latin for an even more "sovereign place" in contemporary worship. One liturgist summarized the Latinist viewpoint by observing: "Briefly, the tens of arguments for the continued use of Latin seem reducible to the massive fact of tradition."⁷ Although vernacularists refuted traditionalist arguments by pointing out that liturgical Latin was not popularly approved until the fourth century and did not achieve official status in the Church until the sixteenth century, progressives preferred to use argument "ad verecundiam" in treating the issue of legitimacy. By the early 1960's, progressives frequently combined references to Vatican decrees supporting vernacular reform with citations of authoritative statements approving local bishops' legitimate power over implementing vernacular revisions.

Intensity of the Argument. Traditionalists used a

variety of striking metaphors in expressing Class I-A arguments while progressives showed little intensity in treating the legitimacy of vernacular reform. In indicating an intense adherence to their arguments, traditionalists used typical metaphors describing how Latin had "enshrined a precious cultural heritage" and had "nourished the roots" of the Catholic religion. Traditionalists' linguistic intensity was accented by the lack of corresponding progressive images describing the legitimacy of liturgical English. In debating vernacular legitimacy, traditionalists appeared determined to preserve "time honored traditions" while progressives casually referred to the growing official sanction of a new liturgical tradition.

Class I-B: Orthodoxy

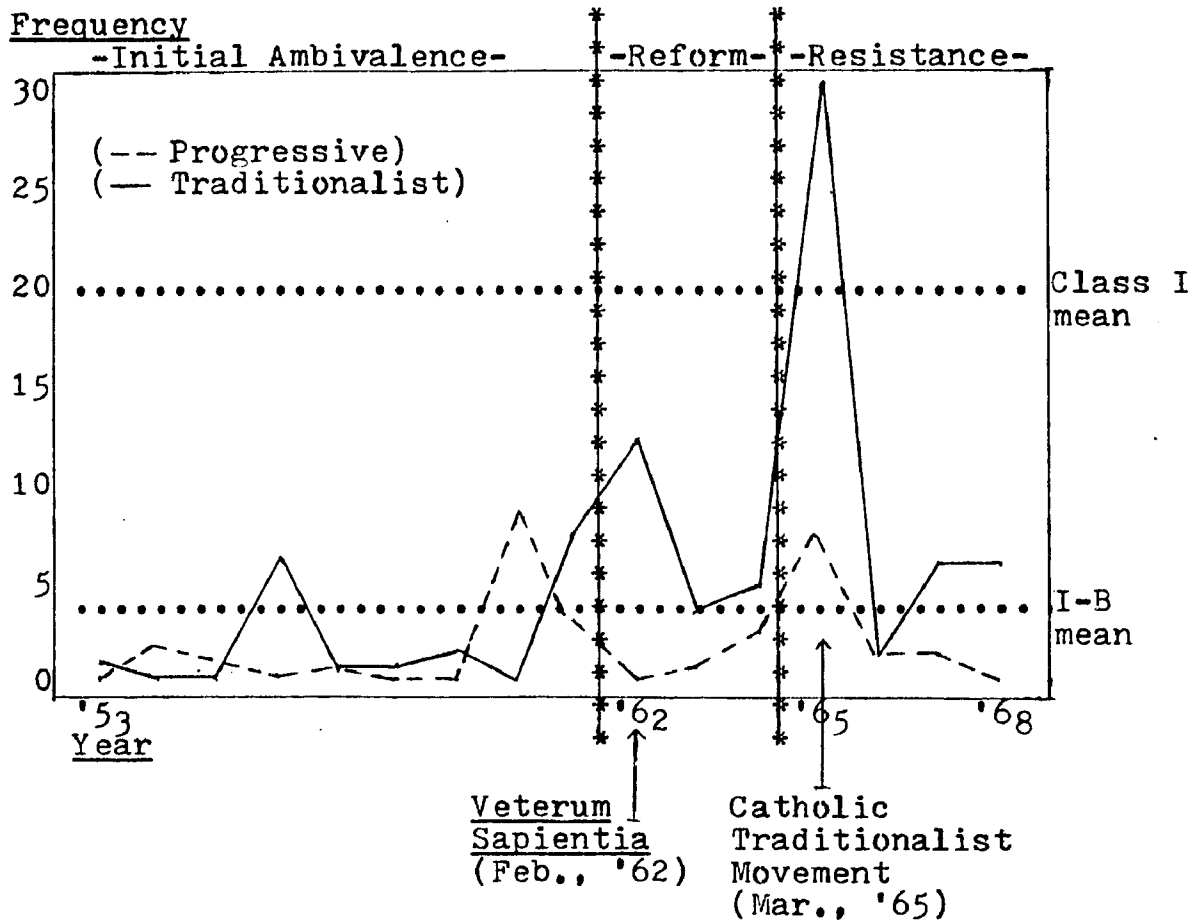
The basic premise of Class I-B argument can be stated as follows:

The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy safeguards true Catholic dogma.

Table I-B indicates that progressives seemed reluctant to bring up the issue of orthodoxy very frequently, using Class I-B arguments with average frequency only when liturgical reform was anticipated widely in the early 1960's and when vernacular reform actually had been implemented. Traditionalists did not make very frequent use of the argument themselves until after Pope John XXIII had issued Veterum Sapientia in 1962. While progressive use of Class I-B arguments in the years surrounding 1962 appears to

represent a response to increased progressive use of the arguments, the surprising frequency with which traditionalists raised the issue of orthodoxy in 1965 is more

TABLE I-B
"Orthodoxy"



difficult to interpret. The founding of the Catholic Traditionalist Movement may have stimulated traditionalists to perceive a doctrinal crisis in the Church. In any respect, the sudden burst of argument concerning orthodoxy surpassed the highest levels of frequency attained in any other Class I argument. Significantly, traditionalists continued to use Class I-B arguments with above average

frequency in two of the three remaining years of debate. Traditionalists first raised the issue of orthodoxy in the vernacular debate and made the longest, most frequent use of Class I-B arguments. The consistent traditionalist concern over the unorthodox effects of vernacular reform was never allayed convincingly by progressives. Whether progressives considered traditionalist fears about orthodoxy to be too far-fetched to merit attention or whether progressives simply could not develop a substantial defense of vernacular reform's orthodoxy, the public debate over safeguarding Catholic dogma was managed largely by opponents of vernacular reform.

Form of the Argument. The debate over orthodoxy was marked by traditionalist use of argument "a pari" and progressive dependence on argument "a contrario." Traditionalists considered that the "changeless treasures" of Catholic dogma required the "immutable language" of Latin for their preservation. Indeed, Latinists pledged themselves to fight the inevitable "heresy" and "dogmatic chaos" which would follow changes in the liturgical language. On the other hand, progressives denied that both liturgy and doctrine were affected by vernacular reform. Refuting the traditionalist insistence on a necessary relationship between "the language of worship" and "the language of faith," progressives promoted the alternate relationship between "the language of worship" and "the language of life."

Intensity of the Argument. Traditionalists used a combination of metaphors and attention-getting language while discussing orthodoxy. Progressives responded with metaphorical advocacy of English and criticism of Latin. Traditionalists described liturgical English as "a tool of heresy," "a conspiracy against the Faith," and a threat to the "theological meat" in Catholic dogma. Supplementing their attack on English with dire predictions of "apostasy" and "schism" in the Church, traditionalists intensified their argument with attention-getting and vaguely unsettling references to a doctrinal subversion. Progressives defended themselves against traditionalist charges of being "Protestantizers" by metaphorically praising English in the liturgy as "a potent weapon against heresies." Progressives also attacked liturgical Latin metaphorically as "a barrier between people and the truth." Although progressives displayed a metaphorical intensity in their argumentation, the traditionalists' metaphors seemed to communicate a greater intensity. Added traditionalist emphasis on attention-getting warnings promoted the impression that vernacular opponents were intensely concerned with preserving the Faith.

Class I-C: Unity

The basic premise of Class I-C argument can be stated as follows:

The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy promotes a sense of unity among Catholics.

TABLE I-C

"Unity"

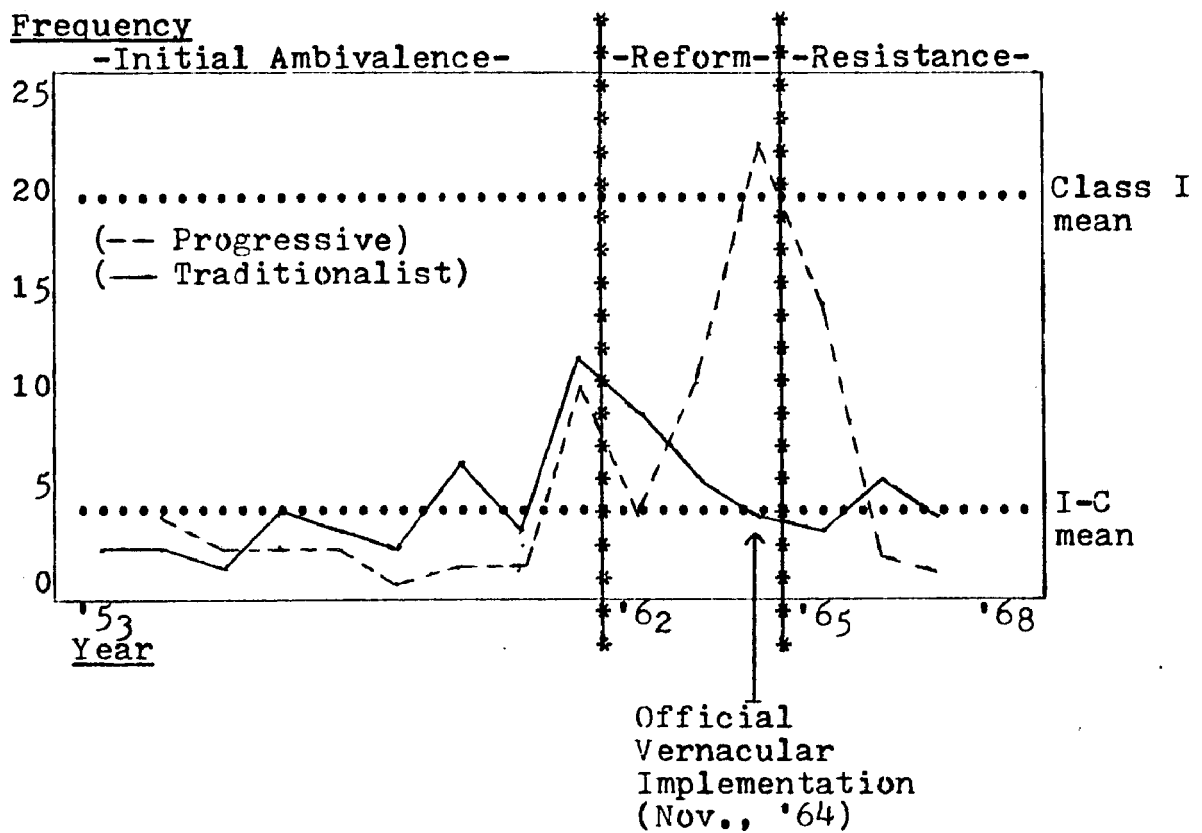


Table I-C indicates that the fairly consistent relationship between the frequencies with which both sides used arguments concerning unity changed radically during the years surrounding the official implementation of vernacular reforms in late 1964. From the early 1950's to the early 1960's, traditionalists appeared to maintain a steady lead in the relatively low frequency with which debaters raised the issue of unity. Traditionalists achieved their peak use of Class I-C arguments around the time of Veterum Sapientia (February, 1962). Significantly, progressives increased their use of Class I-C arguments greatly during the next three years. Reaching their most frequent use of argu-

ments concerning unity in 1964, progressives appeared to consider the official implementation of vernacular reform in America and throughout the world as a sign that vernacularized liturgies promoted a strong sense of unity in Catholicism. Progressives sustained a heavy emphasis on the issue of unity in the face of organized resistance to vernacular reform during 1965, indicating their strong conviction that vernacular reform aided Catholic unity. Both sides abandoned debate on the issue before 1968. Ultimately, the debate over Catholic unity did not appear to favor either side. The generally low level at which the issue was raised before the 1960's was characterized by a consistent traditionalist lead in arguing the case of Latin's contribution to Catholic unity; the very high frequency with which progressives raised the issue between 1963 and 1965 was eventually replaced by a renewed traditionalist lead in relatively infrequent argumentation. Perhaps the generally low levels of frequency in arguing Catholic unity indicated that neither side saw a substantial relationship between liturgical language and a sense of unity.

Form of the Argument. The debate over unity was once again characterized by traditionalist use of argument "a pari" and progressive use of argument "a contrario." Traditionalists insisted that a "common tongue" like Latin promoted a "communion among peoples." Traditionalists also related the "confusion" produced by differing liturgical

languages to potential "national, ethnic strife" in the Church. Progressives scolded traditionalists for suggesting that Catholic unity was based on something as shallow as a common language. Progressives denied that vernacular languages were in any way related to religious "nationalism" and generally minimized popular concern over the vague, political dangers predicted by traditionalists.

Intensity of the Argument. The debate over unity appeared to dwell on which side's metaphorical description of Catholics' internal cohesion was more attractive to the public. Traditionalists promoted Latin as "a bond of unity," "a great tie," and "a connecting link" in the Church. Progressives promoted the metaphors of "social act" and "corporate expression" in explaining the nature of worship. Traditionalists described an international togetherness in worship; progressives described an immediate togetherness in local congregations. The metaphorical intensity shared by both traditionalists and progressives contributed to the lack of resolution in debate over unity and steered consideration of the issue toward a question of personal taste rather than objective evidence.

Class I-D: Universality

The basic premise of Class I-D argument can be stated as follows:

The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy promotes a sense of universality of Church membership.

TABLE I-D

"Universality"

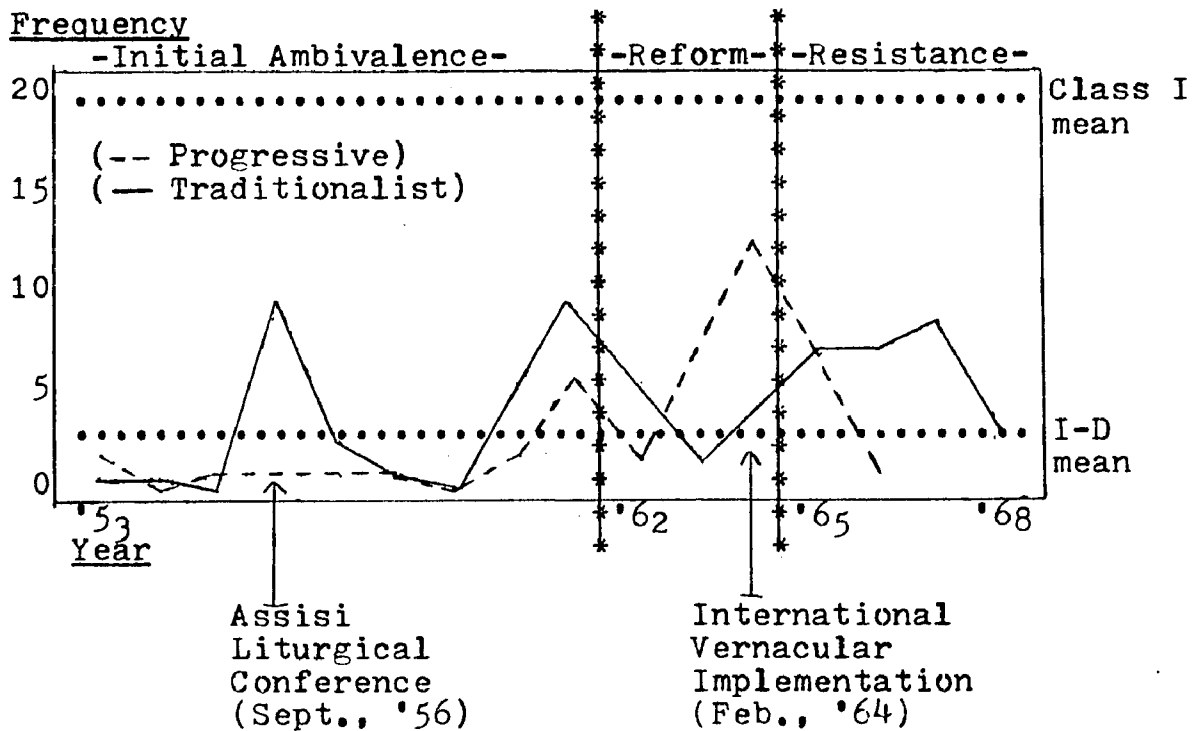


Table I-D indicates that arguments concerning universality never appeared very frequently. Actually, traditionalists seldom used Class I-D arguments except as supplements to their discussion of Catholic unity. Progressives seldom treated the issue of universality in any other context than denials of traditionalist claims. Traditionalists used Class I-D arguments with a predictable frequency after the international liturgical conference at Assisi in 1956 and progressives similarly used the arguments most frequently after vernacular reform was approved for international implementation in 1964. Both sides' use of arguments concerning universality showed a consistent relationship between 1957 and 1962, indicating that this six-year period encom-

passed the most significant debate over universality. Traditionalists consistently raised the issue more frequently than progressives but the general level of debate suggested that neither side considered universality to be a highly significant issue. Traditionalists raised the issue with higher than average frequency during the rise of resistance but the almost total lack of progressive rejoinders marked Class I-D argument as a minor element in debate over formal religious efficacy.

Form of the Argument. Debate over universality prompted more argument "a pari" by traditionalists and more argument "a contrario" by progressives. Traditionalists supported a basic comparison between the use of Latin, "the catholic language of the world," and the continued "universality of liturgical services." In addition, traditionalists used a form of argument recognized by both sides as argument "de turismo" in which traditionalists contended that liturgical Latin provided uniformly familiar services for Catholic tourists. Progressives responded to the traditionalists by criticizing them for confusing "universality" with "uniformity" and mocked Latinist argument "de turismo" by observing that Catholic tourists simply would not understand liturgical Latin wherever they travelled.

Intensity of the Argument. Debate over universality was not marked by particularly intense adherence by either side to their arguments. Traditionalists were fond of

metaphorically describing liturgical Latin as "a bond" of universality and sometimes intensified this metaphor by terming Latin "the greatest external bond." Progressives responded to their opponents' use of metaphor and superlatives by drawing popular attention to "the fetish of uniformity" advocated by the traditionalists. For the most part, though, both sides expressed Class I-D arguments with much less intensity than the more frequently debated and closely related issue of Catholic unity.

Class I-E: Mission

The basic premise of Class I-E argument can be stated as follows:

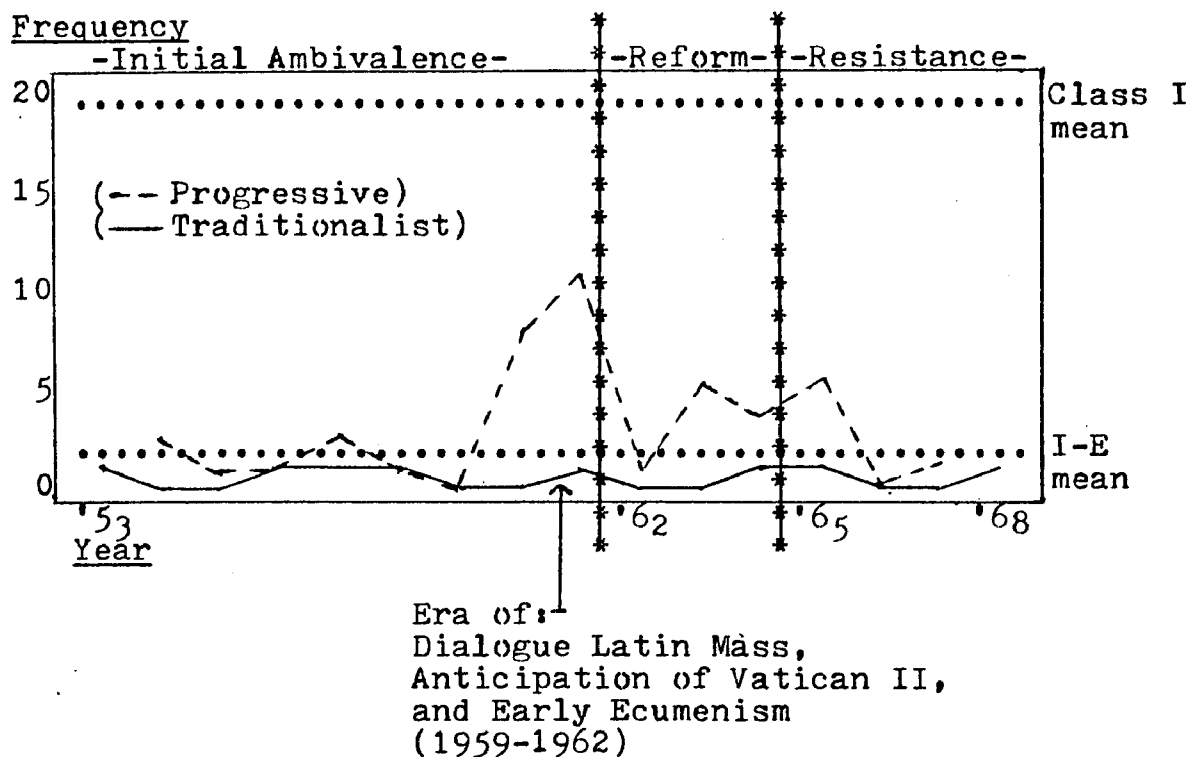
The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy assists the Church in attracting converts, increasing religious vocations, and fostering attendance at liturgical services.

Table I-E indicates that only progressives used arguments concerning the Church's mission with above average frequency. Traditionalists appeared to avoid debate over the Church's pastoral goals, indicating that Latinists saw no help for their cause in promoting an obviously strained relationship between the use of Latin and the improvement of fervor and attendance at liturgical services. On the other side, progressives did attempt to relate the use of English with potential increases in Church membership and liturgical attendance. The frequency with which progressives used Class I-E arguments during 1960 and 1961 may have resulted from three distinct stimuli. Limited

experience with the "participated" Dialogue Latin Mass after 1958 may have moved progressives to expect remarkable missionary effects from a "participated" English Mass. Progressives also may have expected a religious revival after the anticipated liturgical changes at the Second Vatican Council. Finally, progressives were probably excited over initial stirrings of the ecumenical movement in the late 1950's. Both sides ultimately recognized the lack of liturgical influence on the Church's mission and avoided the use of Class I-E arguments.

TABLE I-E

"Mission"



Form of the Argument. Debate over the Church's mission was characterized by the use of argument "ad ignoran-

tiam." Both traditionalists and progressives insisted that their respectively sponsored languages invited attendance at liturgical services to the exclusion of any other explanations. Significantly, only progressives asserted that liturgical English alone would increase religious vocations and conversions to the Church. The lack of any consistent relationship between the frequencies with which each side used Class I-E arguments accented their preferences for argument "ad ignorantiam."

Intensity of the Argument. Debate over mission exhibited little or no linguistic intensity in the expression of advocacy and opposition. Employing no metaphorical descriptions and explaining their positions in simple terms, vernacular debaters displayed little emotional adherence to their arguments. The difficulty of relating liturgical language to pastoral effectiveness seemed to discourage debaters from becoming emotionally involved with the issue.

Class I: Preliminary Conclusions

The very high frequency with which traditionalists used Class I arguments (see Table I) indicated that vernacular opponents were preoccupied with "the massive fact of tradition."⁸ The appearances of Latinist fears over the loss of their traditional Catholic identity surpassed the frequency with which progressives offered rebuttals. Because liturgical Latin was so frequently promoted as the officially-sanctioned and time-tested liturgical language, one of the most outstanding features of Catholic worship

and one of the most attractive elements in the Catholic Church, advocates of reform confronted a difficult task in publicizing the advantages of English in the liturgy. Ultimately, progressives cited an increasing number of hierarchical decrees, public opinion polls, and authoritative statements which favored the principle of vernacular reform. As one participant in the debate prophesied as early as 1961:

The issue of the vernacular versus the Latin appears to be a matter which can be decided only by Rome and the ecclesiastical authorities representing a given country or region. The people can push one way or another, but they will not be actually involved in the ultimate decision. Whether or not it is at their instigation, the decision will not be made by them, but for them. This issue, then, has for its practical objective to prod the hierarchy into making a general decree of some sort.⁹

The prophecy was accurate. Progressives decided on the practical approach to instigating vernacular reform; their extremely frequent quotations of official vernacular sanctions identified progressives as typical reformers. Unlike the opponents of reform, who cast themselves in the role of preserving the Church's identity as it traditionally had been recognized, progressives attempted to redefine the formal religious identity of American Catholics by gathering explicit support from the unquestionable majority of ecclesiastical leaders.

Forms of Class I Arguments. Progressive reliance on argument "ad verecundiam" in debating formal religious legitimacy and traditionalist reliance on argument "ad homi-

nem" accented the two sides' basic strategies in debating vernacular reform. Progressives appealed to the authoritative support shown vernacular reform by various Church officials while traditionalists appealed to basic human respect for long-standing practices. The debate over Catholic orthodoxy, unity, and universality was marked by the confrontation of traditionalist argument "a pari" and progressive argument "a contrario." While traditionalists contended that vernacular changes in the liturgy meant inevitable changes in other religious spheres, progressives retorted that vernacular revisions did not necessitate disruption of Catholic dogma and cohesion. The minor debate over the Church's mission was primarily characterized by progressive use of argument "ad ignorantiam" in discrediting liturgical Latin's influence on pastoral concerns. Basically, traditionalists argued that vernacular reform ignored the time-honored value of liturgical Latin while progressives predicted greater formal efficacy with the use of liturgical English. Progressives supplemented their predictions with appeals to the favorable vernacular pronouncements of contemporary Church officials.

Intensity of Class I Argument. Debate over religious legitimacy and orthodoxy exhibited the greatest linguistic intensity, with traditionalists surpassing progressives in the use of vivid metaphors and attention-getting terminology. Metaphorical images dominated the linguistic intensity characteristic of debate over unity and universality, though

traditionalists also employed superlatives in describing Latin's universality. The debate over mission did not indicate that either side harbored an especially intense adherence to their arguments. The greater traditionalist intensity in debating the more frequently discussed issues of legitimacy and orthodoxy indicated that formal religious efficacy was a particular concern of the traditionalists. Traditionalists appeared to increase the intensity with which they expressed Class I arguments as the debate progressed.

Class II: Liturgical Efficacy

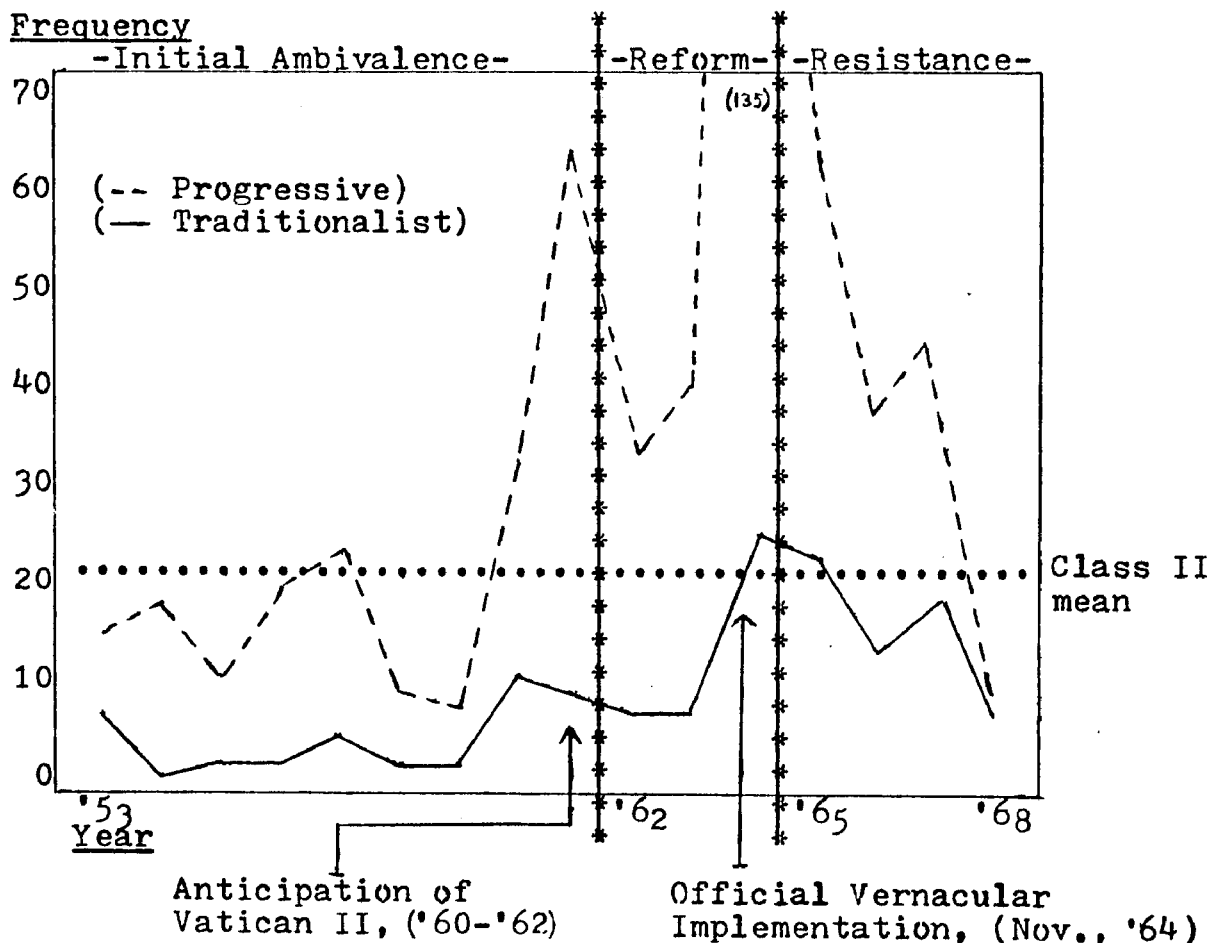
The basic premise of Class II argument can be stated as follows:

The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy assists worshippers to benefit more fully from the services.

Table II indicates that progressives used arguments concerning liturgical efficacy with extremely high frequency and that traditionalists maintained a consistent though minor response to progressive claims. While the frequency with which progressives employed Class II arguments indicated their emphasis on the proper function of liturgy, traditionalist use of the arguments indicated a combative unwillingness to leave the field open to progressive manipulation. Progressives used Class II arguments quite frequently between 1960 and 1962, probably in anticipation of the liturgical reforms expected to occur after deliberations at the Second Vatican Council. Progressives used

Class II arguments with an almost incredible frequency during 1964, the year in which extensive vernacular reforms were first introduced in the United States. Apparently, progressives decided to put all their strategic eggs in one basket and emphasize the liturgical benefits of English while the issue was very topical. Progressives continued to use Class II arguments frequently after 1964, significantly pursuing the functional value of using English in the liturgy while abandoning much of their other argumentation.

TABLE II
"Liturgical Efficacy"



Class II-A: Understanding

The basic premise of Class II-A argument can be stated as follows:

The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy makes the services more understandable to worshippers.

TABLE II-A
"Understanding"

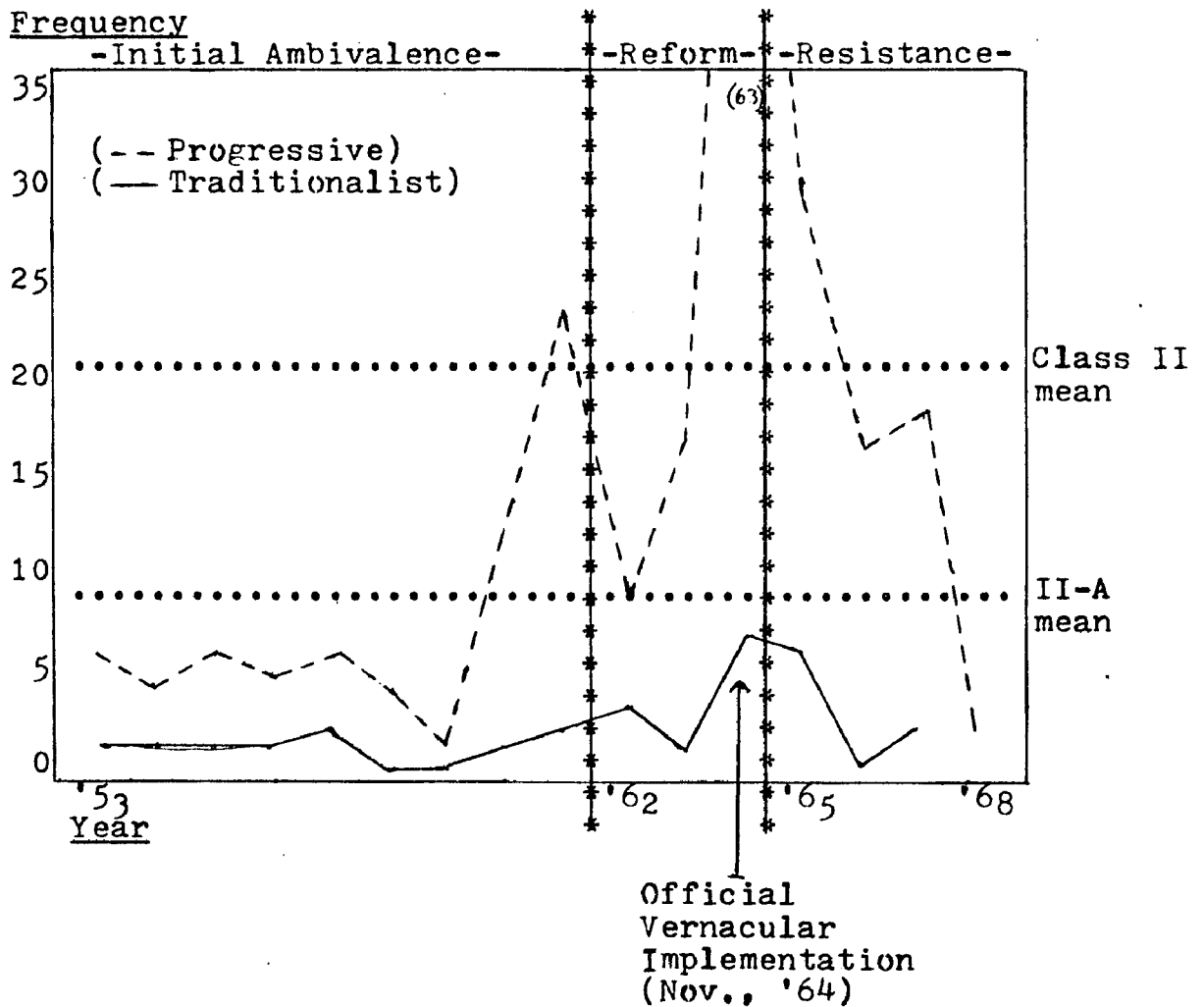


Table II-A indicates that traditionalists made very infrequent use of arguments concerning liturgical understanding while the very frequent progressive use of Class II-A argu-

ments represented a substantial portion of the Latinists' stress on liturgical efficacy. Traditionalists were obviously restricted in their treatment of understanding by the unintelligibility of Latin to many American Catholics. In addition, the Latinists' sparse use of Class II-A arguments was prompted by their insistence on the "otherness" of the Mass (see the analysis of Class II-D argument). Progressives first employed Class II-A arguments with relatively high frequency between 1960 and 1962, indicating that vernacularists were dissatisfied with the degree of liturgical awareness provided by the Dialogue Latin Mass. The remarkable increase in progressive arguments concerning understanding during 1964 reflected their substantial determination to emphasize vernacular liturgy's intelligibility during the initial burst of popular excitement over vernacular reform. Progressives raised the issue of liturgical understanding with cloying repetitiousness in 1964 and continued to emphasize Class II-A arguments for the rest of the debate. Traditionalists may well have chosen not to rebut progressive argument concerning understanding because its obvious, highly repetitive quality could be expected to restrict its popular impact.

Form of the Argument. Debate over liturgical understanding was marked by both sides' use of argument "ad ignorantiam." Progressives insisted bluntly that liturgical English provided Catholics with an increased "understanding of their liturgical role." Traditionalists contended

just as exclusively that liturgical Latin was perfectly acceptable because "human language cannot fully express the Mass." Class II-A argument was never developed very imaginatively by either side, with progressives relying heavily on simple repetition for emphasis.

Intensity of the Argument. The very frequent progressive qualification of vernacular liturgy as "more" understandable gave the clearest clue to the reformers' intense adherence to Class II-A arguments. Neither side in the debate used metaphor or attention-getting terminology to express Class II-A arguments, so that the frequent use of adverbial qualifiers by progressives distinguished them as particularly devoted to liturgical intelligibility. Unfortunately, the reformers' intense expression of Class II-A arguments was also dull and extremely repetitive.

Class II-B: Participation

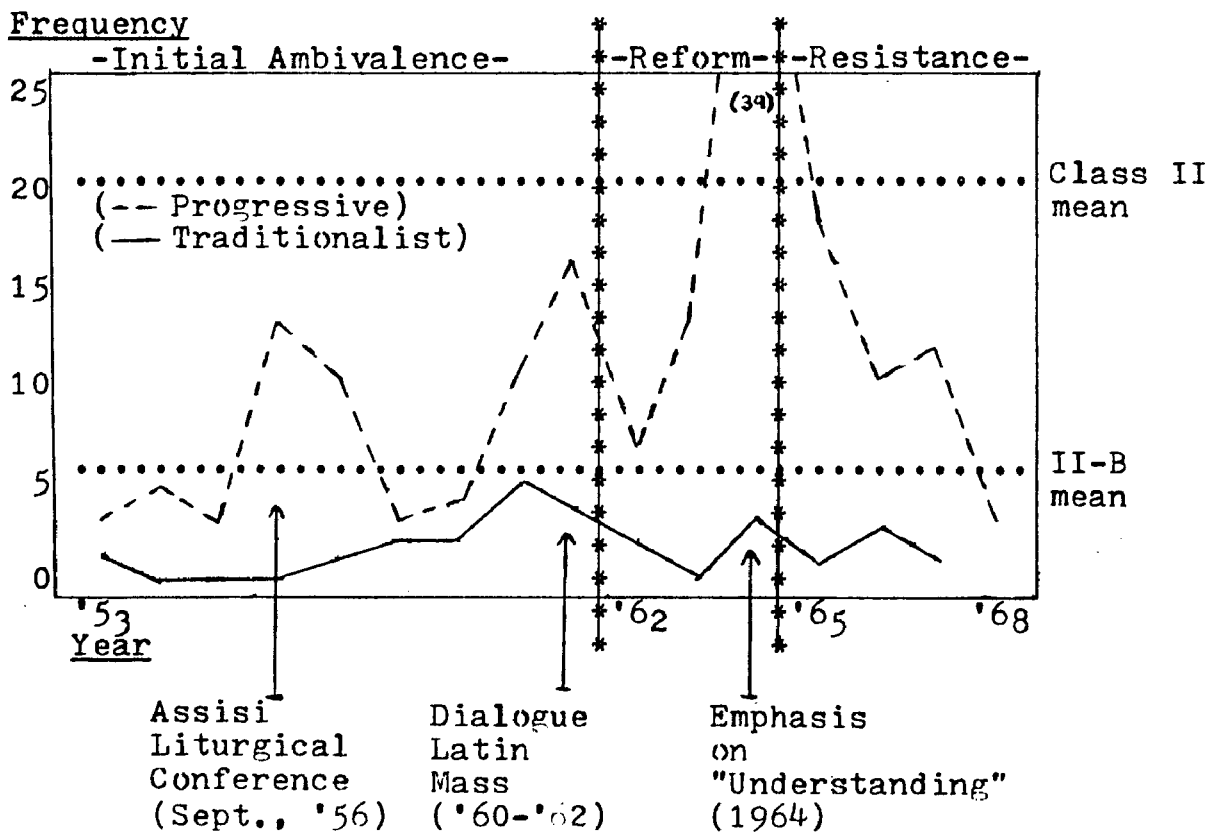
The basic premise of Class II-B argument can be stated as follows:

The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy fosters laymen's participation in the services.

Table II-B indicates that progressives extended their very frequent use of arguments concerning liturgical efficacy to the specific issue of participation in the liturgy. Once again, traditionalist use of the arguments was severely restricted, probably because laymen had never been afforded an active role in Latin liturgies. Progressives

frequently supplemented their arguments concerning liturgical understanding with Class II-B arguments, employing this predictable tactic most frequently during 1964--the same year in which they used arguments concerning liturgical understanding most frequently. Significantly, progressives also used Class II-B arguments with above average frequency after the Assisi liturgical conference devoted much of its time to considering participation incentives and after popular experience with the Dialogue Latin Mass failed to generate desirable levels of lay participation. Ultimately, progressives emphasized lay participation as an essential factor in achieving true liturgical awareness.

TABLE II-B
"Participation"



Form of the Argument. Progressives complemented their treatment of Class II-A arguments by also using argument "ad ignorantiam" in treating liturgical participation. Progressives claimed absolutely that vernacular reform effected "full, conscious, and active" participation in promoting "truly public worship." The few traditionalists who rebutted progressive claims simply contended that vernacular reform would "not effect participation automatically." Once again, Class II-B argument was not developed very imaginatively, with progressives relying heavily on sheer repetition and traditionalists depending on simple denials of the progressive position.

Intensity of the Argument. Although progressives were fond of referring to participation metaphorically as "the life of the Church," progressive use of Class II-B argument was more clearly intensified by the frequent claims for "more" participation in English. Progressive use of the adverbial qualifier "more" distinguished their adherence to Class II-B argument as more intense than that of the traditionalists. Traditionalists displayed none of the three marks of language intensity in treating liturgical participation.

Class II-C: Effectiveness

The basic premise of Class II-C argument can be stated as follows:

The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy improves the devotional impact and beauty of the services.

TABLE II-C

"Effectiveness"

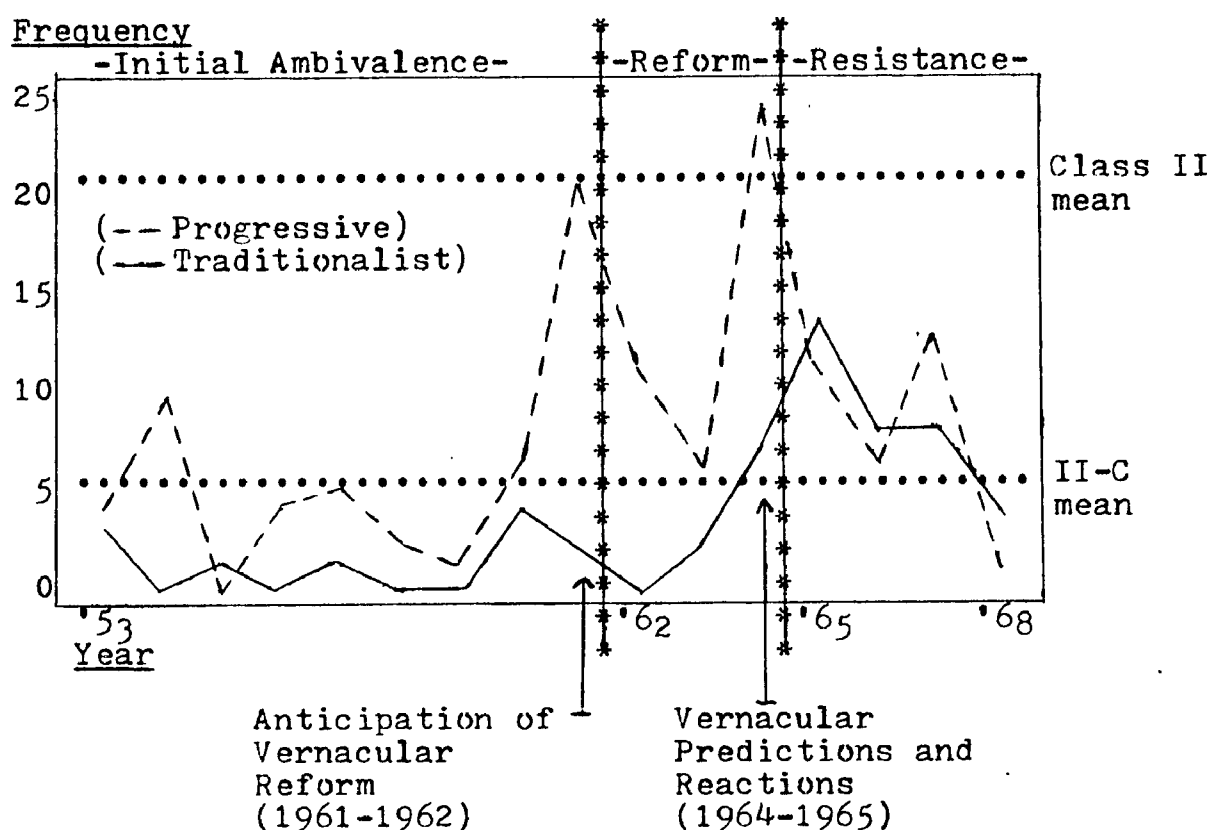


Table II-C indicates that progressives used arguments concerning liturgical effectiveness with great frequency in the early 1960's while traditionalists reserved their most frequent use of the arguments until the later 1960's. Progressives made their most frequent use of Class II-C arguments when optimistic speculation about liturgical reform was rampant. Indicating their expectant but purely theoretical stance toward vernacular improvement of devotions and liturgical beauty, progressives used Class II-C arguments with very high frequency when expressing anticipation of Vatican II during 1961 and when predicting the impact of actual vernacular implementations during 1964. Progress-

sives appeared so confident in their speculation about vernacular improvements in liturgical effectiveness that they used Class II-C arguments with above average frequency in 1962, the year in which Veterum Sapientia prompted traditionalists to dominate much of the popular debate. Traditionalists eventually asserted their own view of liturgical effectiveness by 1965. Although vernacular opponents never matched the high frequency with which progressives stressed Class II-C arguments, traditionalists did exhibit a substantial disaffection with the actual liturgical results of vernacular reforms in 1964 and 1965. The high frequency with which traditionalists supported liturgical Latin's effectiveness in 1965, and in succeeding years, may have resulted from a specific traditionalist displeasure with the English High Masses implemented in March, 1965. High Masses embodied the most solemn and most artistically refined examples of Catholic worship. Vernacular revisions in High Masses may have provided the last straw of irritation to traditionalist sensitivities. In any case, the debate over liturgical effectiveness took on more of a see-sawing character after both sides were actually exposed to English liturgies. The increased frequency of traditionalist arguments after 1964 indicated that vernacular opponents were determined to point out the inevitable gap between vernacularist dreams and liturgical reality.

Form of the Argument. Both progressives and traditionalists carried on a lively debate over liturgical ef-

fectiveness using argument "ad hominem." Appealing to general norms of devotion and beauty, progressives contended that English liturgies promoted "enriched personal devotion" and that the use of Latin caused prayers to "lose some of their effect." Traditionalists responded by celebrating the "solemnity and deep devotion" in Latin liturgies and by criticizing the "formalism and external observance" in English liturgies. Ultimately, the "ad hominem" treatment of liturgical effectiveness indicated that debate over liturgical effectiveness was more closely contested than that over understanding or participation. While ignoring the opposition's arguments in debate over liturgical understanding and participation, each side appealed to the same popular value-judgments as their opposition in debating effectiveness.

Intensity of the Argument. An abundance of metaphor and qualifying terms marked the debate over liturgical effectiveness as particularly intense. Progressives contended that vernacular liturgy brought people "closer to God" and insured "a wealth of divine grace and motivation." Progressives further intensified their argumentation by insisting that the use of English promoted "more beauty" and "a more fruitful liturgy." The predominant traditionalist metaphor described Latin liturgy as "an oasis of peace, meditation, and worshipful silence." Traditionalists also added that liturgical English was "less solemn and more distracting." Judging from both sides' extensive use of

intense language in debating effectiveness, neither side seemed confident in their rational justifications. The debaters appeared to recognize that liturgical effectiveness depended more on Catholics' personal decisions than on objective grounds of argument. Each side attempted to show an exemplary intensity in their allegiance to the respective liturgical languages.

Class II-D: Exclusivity/Accessibility

The basic premise of Class II-D argument can be stated as follows:

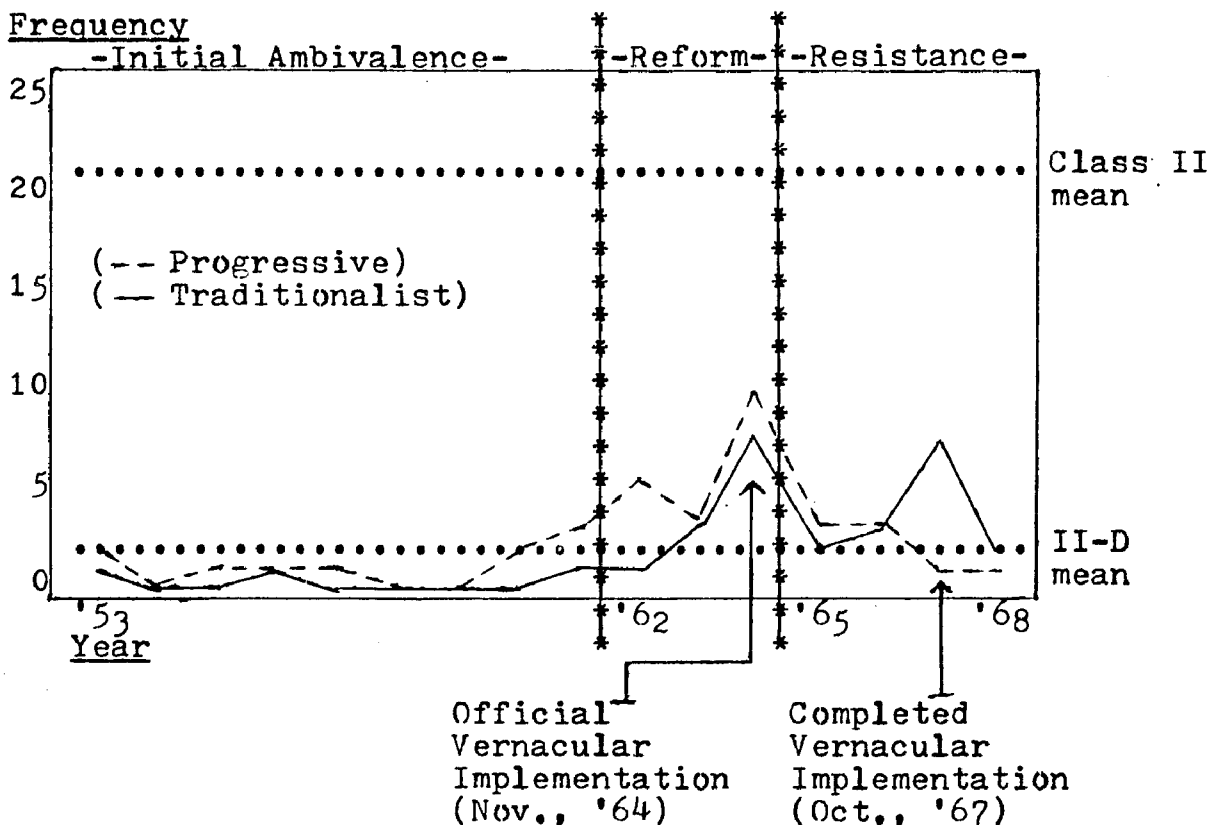
The use of Latin in the liturgy promotes a proper atmosphere of mystery and awe in the services/The use of English in the liturgy promotes a desirable atmosphere of respectful familiarity in the services.

Table II-D indicates that neither side used arguments concerning the exclusivity/accessibility of liturgy with outstanding frequency. Quite predictably, progressives made their most frequent use of Class II-D arguments during the general build-up of vernacular advocacy in 1964. Traditionalists used Class II-D arguments with surprising frequency in 1964 and 1967, years in which major vernacular progress was made. The traditionalist use of arguments promoting liturgical exclusivity, then, can be interpreted as a characteristic Latinist stress on liturgy's "otherness" precisely at times when vernacular progress emphasized a new familiarity in worship. Traditionalist argument was directed more at minimizing actual vernacular reforms than

at rebutting progressive arguments. In addition, traditionalists and progressives used Class II-D argument as more of a supplement to their treatment of other issues than as an independent tactic. Progressives related liturgical accessibility to other Class II arguments and traditionalists linked liturgical exclusivity with specifically linguistic sacredness.

TABLE II-D

"Exclusivity/Accessibility"



Form of the Argument. Entertaining radically distinct notions of the best atmosphere for worship, progressives and traditionalists engaged in opposing arguments "a pari." Traditionalists contended that the "uniqueness"

of liturgy required the use of a language which was "different and other." Progressives retorted that truly "public worship" demanded a liturgy which was "accessible to the community of the Faithful." Progressives also employed argument "a contrario" at times, claiming that "the mystery of the Mass" was not dependent on "a mysterious, unknown tongue." The debaters' use of parallel forms of argument gave further indication that debate over liturgical atmosphere comprised unrelated assertions and not closely disputed rejoinders.

Intensity of the Argument. The lack of intense expressions of Class II-D argument complemented the relative infrequency and structural parallelism with which the issue of liturgical atmosphere was raised. Neither side exhibited intense adherence to Class II-D arguments, reserving most of their emphasis for the arguments which were supplemented by considerations of exclusivity and accessibility in worship.

Class II: Preliminary Conclusions

Vernacular debaters frequently referred to liturgical understanding, participation, and effectiveness in response to the imminence of vernacular reform (see Table II). While traditionalists stressed more abstract values and esthetic considerations, progressives appeared especially concerned over the practical conduct of liturgy. For both sides in the debate, liturgical acts represented proof of the Church's continuing vitality and the real presence of

God among men. Arguments concerning the function of liturgy appealed directly to the people's sense of how well their worship symbolized their religious identity. The progressives' emphasis on liturgical understanding and participation indicated their preference for the theological image of "the People of God"--or, familiarity and accessibility in the relationship between God and men. The traditionalist stress on liturgical exclusivity and esthetic sublimity reflected their preference for the image of "the Mystical Body of Christ"--or, solemnity and decorum in the God-man relationship. Once again in Class II argument, progressives attempted to re-define the religious identity of American Catholics while traditionalists tried to preserve a longstanding self-concept.

Forms of Class II Argument. The progressives' use of argument "ad ignorantiam" in debate over liturgical efficacy signified their intolerance of the Latinists' views. Although both sides appealed to norms of good taste in debating liturgical effectiveness and emphasized argument "a pari" in discussing the "otherness" of liturgy, most of the debating centered on the issues of understanding and participation. Progressives raised these issues with remarkable frequency at the height of the debate and both issues were treated exclusively with arguments ignoring opposing viewpoints. Progressives took a very pragmatic approach to instigating reform but seemed reluctant to consider the usefulness of their opponents' approaches to

liturgical efficacy. The progressives' reliance on argument "ad ignorantiam" did not complement their attempts to show a broad understanding of liturgical problems. Considering the lack of intensity in their own argument, the progressives' decision to ignore traditionalist arguments represented a tactical error.

Intensity of Class II Argument. The debate over liturgical effectiveness received the most intense argumentation. While both sides used distinctive metaphors in expressing Class II-C arguments, other arguments of Class II were characterized only by the extensive use of adverbial qualifiers. In addition, progressives showed much less intensity in expressing Class II argument than traditionalists showed in expressing Class I argument. A comparison of the intensities with which each side expressed their favorite arguments indicates that vernacular advocates relied primarily on rational justification of their views. The relatively low intensity of the most frequently used progressive arguments, combined with the reformers' preference for argument "ad ignorantiam," depicted vernacular advocates as unusually detached considering their role as reformers.

Class III: Linguistic Efficacy

The basic premise of Class III argument can be stated as follows:

(Latin/English) possesses desirable traits which are inherent to the language.

TABLE III
 "Linguistic Efficacy"

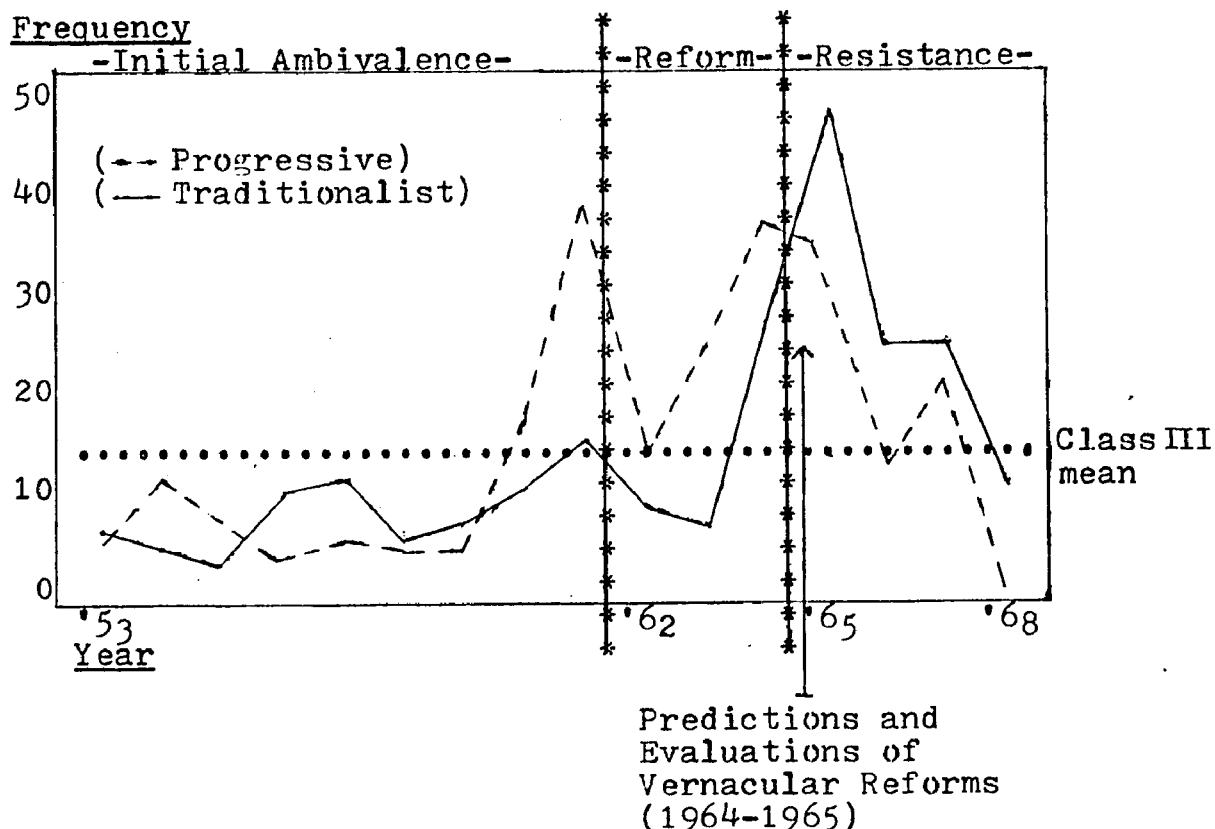


Table III indicates that neither side in the debate used arguments concerning linguistic efficacy very frequently until actual vernacular reforms were imminent. In addition, each side's tactical use of Class III argument fell substantially below the levels at which arguments concerning formal religious efficacy and liturgical efficacy were used. The frequency with which progressives used Class III argument rose and fell in exact relationship with progressive references to liturgical understanding (see Table II-A). The steady rise in traditionalist use of Class III argument from 1963 through 1965 paralleled the introductions of various vernacular liturgical texts, indicating a grow-

ing Latinist criticism of those texts. Specific trends in each side's use of individual Class III arguments indicate that the progressive use of linguistic intelligibility represented their only significant attention to Class III argument.

Class III-A: Intelligibility

The basic premise of Class III-A argument can be stated as follows:

(Latin/English) is an inherently understandable language.

TABLE III-A
"Intelligibility"

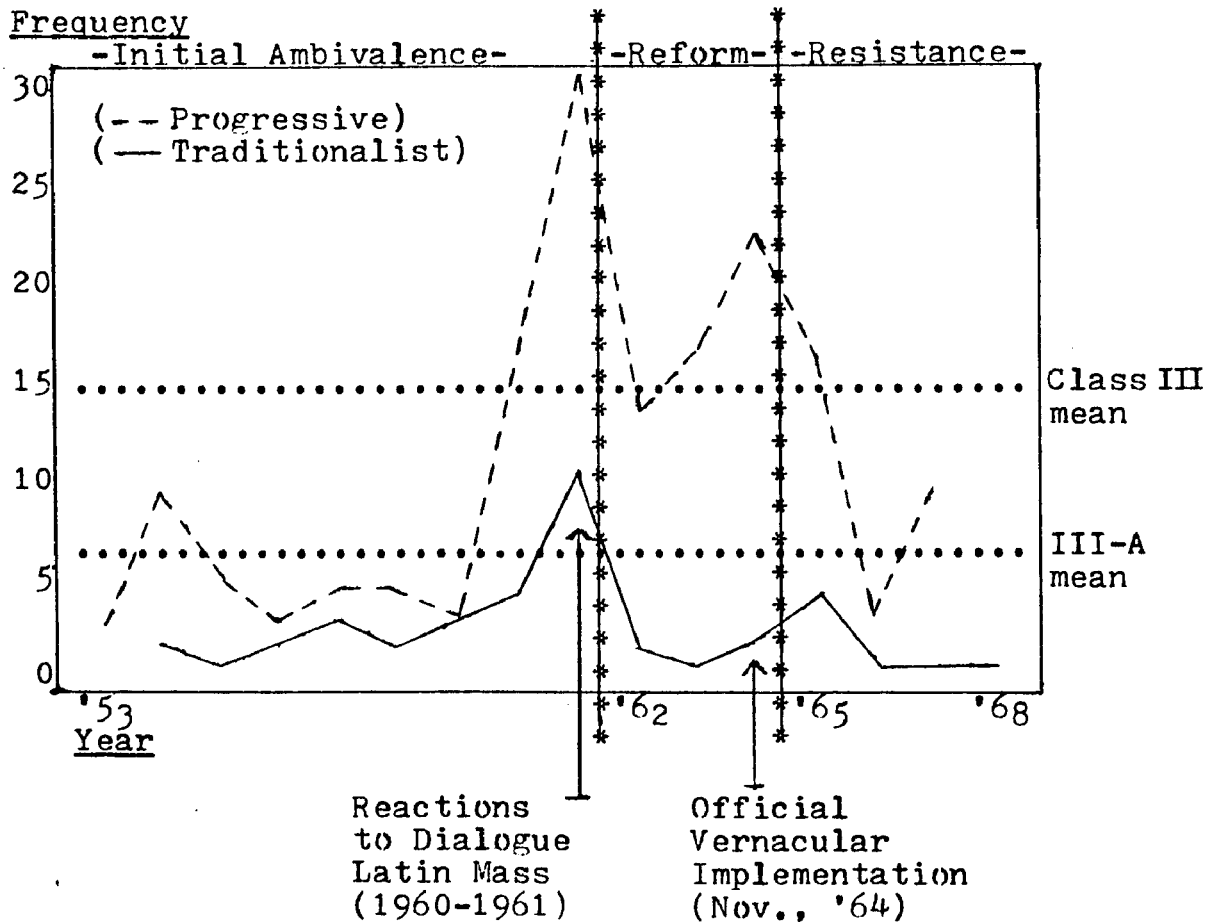


Table III-A indicates that progressive use of arguments concerning linguistic intelligibility accounted for almost all the progressive venture into Class III argument. Traditionalists avoided frequent use of Class III-A argument, obviously finding difficulty in supporting the intelligibility of Latin for American Catholics. Progressives appeared to take advantage of English's obvious intelligibility by frequently using Class III-A arguments in criticizing the inadequacy of the Dialogue Latin Mass (1960-1961). In addition, progressives frequently related the issue of linguistic intelligibility to liturgical understanding at the height of vernacular anticipation in 1964. The very infrequent use of Class III-A arguments by traditionalists during the rise of their resistance in the later 1960's indicated the progressive advantage in treating linguistic intelligibility.

Form of the Argument. Progressives relied on argument "ad ignorantiam" in carrying on debate over linguistic intelligibility. Continuing their practice of ignoring traditionalist arguments while treating issues which appeared to obviously favor vernacular reform, progressives contended that only English represented a "natural" medium in American Catholics' worship. Progressives occasionally used argument "ab absurdo sensu" in ridiculing the use of Latin as a mere "mouthing of unintelligible sounds." The limited traditionalist treatment of intelligibility relied on vague assurances that liturgical Latin was "not without

meaning or reason."

Intensity of the Argument. While traditionalists displayed a predictable lack of intensity in approaching Class III-A argument, progressives argued their position with extensive use of adverbial qualifiers and metaphorical comparisons. Progressive insistence that English was "more" intelligible than Latin and their repeated attacks on the Latin "barrier" to understanding indicated the intensity with which progressives advocated vernacular reform. Progressives also relied on striking comparisons of the "living" English with the "dead" Latin. The intensity with which progressives treated Class III-A arguments reflected well their heavy dependence on intelligibility in approaching the wider issue of linguistic efficacy.

Class III-B: Esthetics

The basic premise of Class III-B argument can be stated as follows:

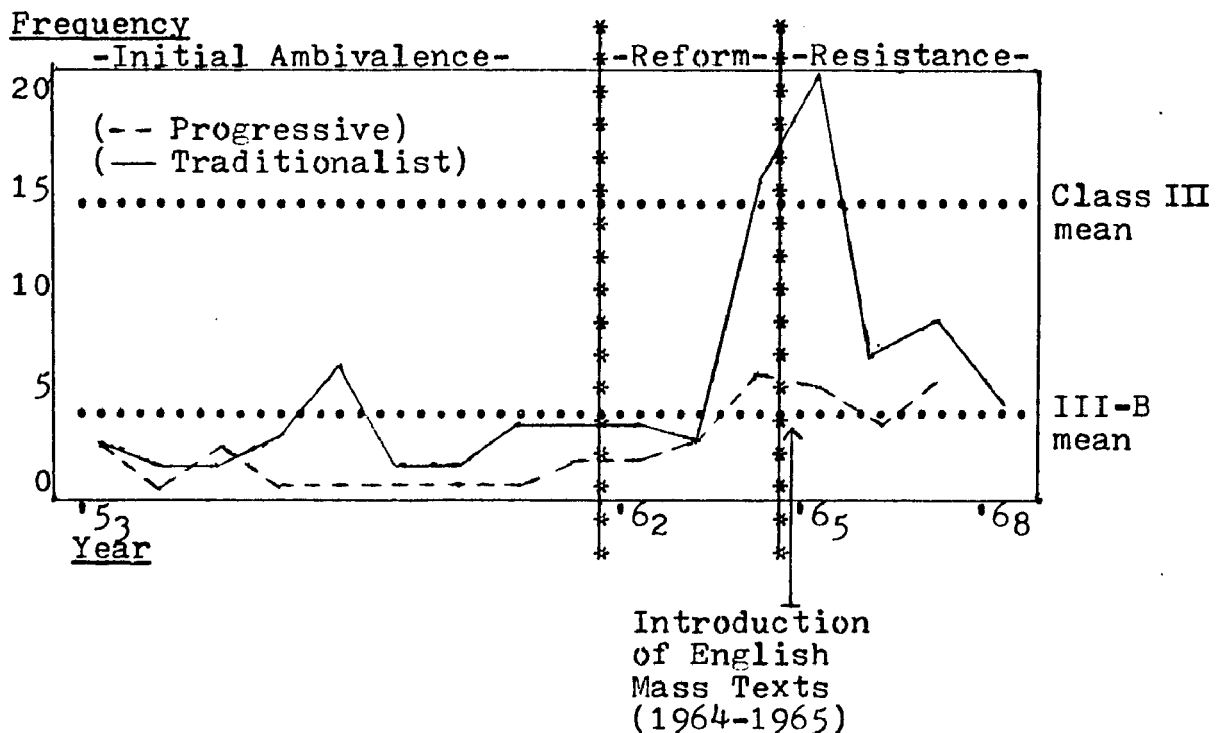
(Latin/English) is an inherently
beautiful language.

Table III-B indicates that the issue of linguistic esthetics was not raised very frequently by traditionalists until after vernacular Mass texts were introduced and was not raised frequently by progressives at all. While progressives avoided Class III-B arguments even more than traditionalists had avoided the issue of intelligibility, vernacular opponents began to criticize vernacular texts frequently as the implementation of vernacular Masses neared.

Comparison of both sides' reactions to English Mass texts suggests that traditionalists saw immediate deficiencies in the English medium and progressives tended to agree with their argumentative silence. The contrast between traditionalist emphasis on esthetics and progressive stress on intelligibility further indicates the wide gulf separating traditionalist support for "sublimity" and progressive support for "accessibility" in the liturgy.

TABLE III-B

"Esthetics"



Form of the Argument. Debate over linguistic esthetics was marked by the same argument "ad hominem" that was inherent to debate over liturgical effectiveness. Both sides appealed to norms of good taste in arguing their cases but applied rather distinct norms to the use of each

liturgical language. Progressives contended that English offered the beauty of "simplicity" while traditionalists countered that Latin provided the beauty of "splendor." Generally speaking, progressives failed to dispute the efficacy of the ornate Latin texts in facilitating liturgical symbolism.

Intensity of the Argument. Debate over linguistic esthetics was characterized by very intense traditionalist expressions of their arguments. Traditionalists combined attention-getting references to the "grandeur" and "elegance" of Latin with sustained emphasis on Latin's "more" beautiful expression. In addition, traditionalists used a well-developed combination of metaphors describing the "majesty" of Latin in contrast to the "king in rags" of English liturgical texts. The total lack of intense progressive argument concerning esthetics accentuated the clash between traditionalist support for esthetic concerns and vernacularist support for the principle of intelligibility.

Class III-C: Translation

The basic premise of Class III-C argument can be stated as follows:

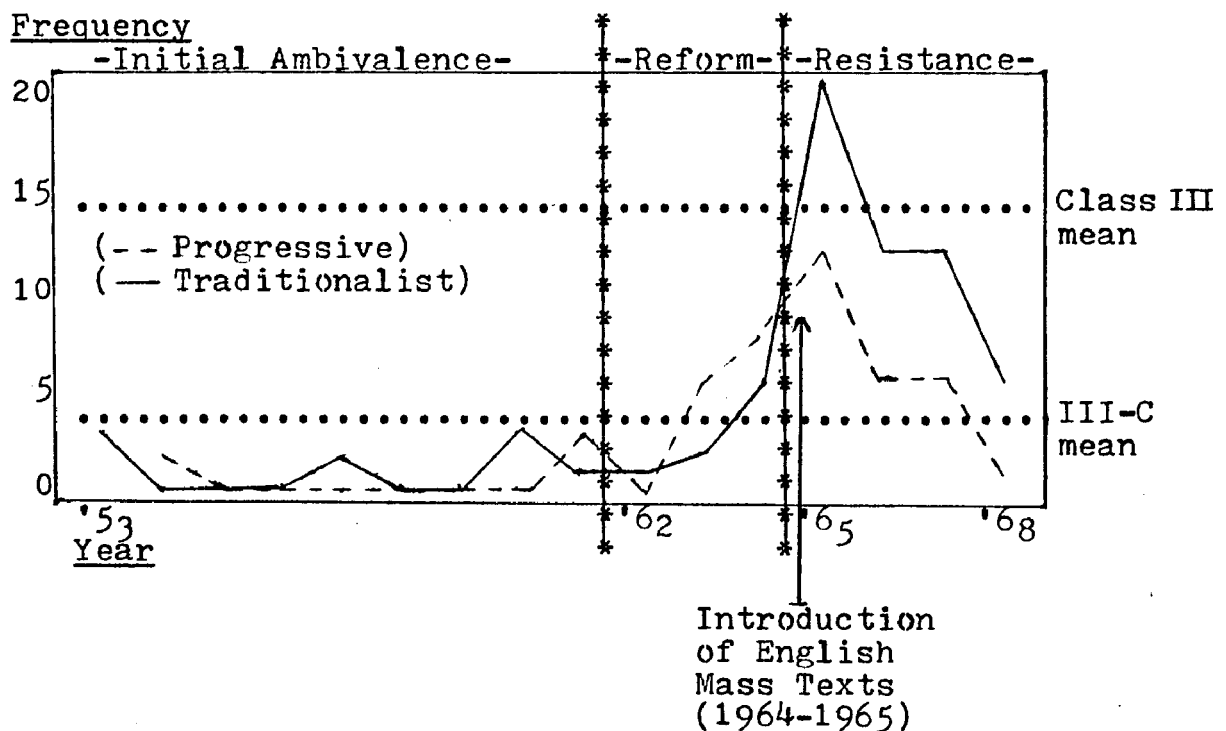
(Latin/English) texts are good translations.

Table III-C indicates that, not surprisingly, neither side in the debate treated problems of translation frequently until after translated Mass texts appeared (1964). Progressives first began to use Class III-C arguments more

frequently in predicting that vernacular translations would be expert and accurate by the 1964 implementation of English Masses. Traditionalists, sensing a vulnerable point in the progressive position, criticized specific problems in the English translations which appeared after 1964. Unlike their use of Class III-B arguments, progressives attempted at least a minimal response to traditionalist arguments. However, later analysis of the traditionalists' linguistic intensity suggests that the progressive response was prompted more by a natural instinct for self-defense than by a development of rhetorical tactics.

TABLE III-C

"Translation"



Form of the Argument. Debate over translation was marked by a flood of traditionalist argument "ad hominem."

Latinists argued that English translations entailed "a lowering of standards" and an acceptance of "insipid novel-ties." Traditionalists supplemented their attack on the English versions with argument "ad personam," as the translators themselves were accused of "stylistic sadism" and personal standards which were "hard to stomach." The traditionalist attack on translators represented the most substantial use of "ad personam" tactics in the debate, indicating that traditionalists envisioned a death blow to vernacular reform in their criticism of vernacular translations. The progressive use of argument "ad hominem" was indicated in the reformers' conciliatory attempts to defend the translations as "provisional and temporary."

Intensity of the Argument. Traditionalists displayed a particularly intense adherence to their arguments concerning English translations by using a potent combination of attention-getting language and metaphorical descriptions. English versions were attacked as "vulgar drive-el" and a "hideous mishmash" of style. Traditionalists added more fuel to the fires of controversy by decrying the possible translation of phrases such as "Ave Maria" to "Hi! Mary." Traditionalist hints of "sadism" and "barbarism" in translators' characters only heightened their already intense attack on translations. The tenor of traditionalist charges was further accentuated by the comparative meekness of progressive retorts. Ultimately, the intensity of traditionalist argument indicated that Latinists were deter-

mined to exploit progressive meekness to the fullest.

Class III-D: Sacredness

The basic premise of Class III-D argument can be stated as follows:

(Latin/English) is an inherently sacred language.

TABLE III-D
"Sacredness"

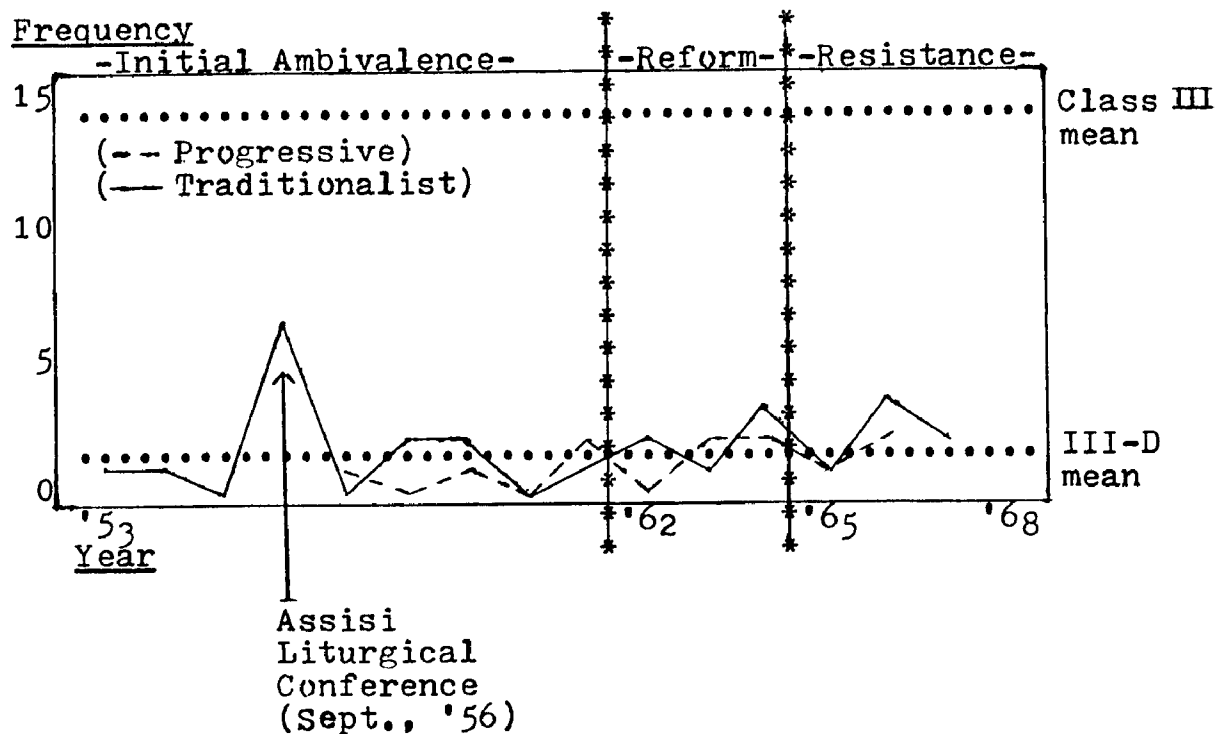


Table III-D indicates that the use of argument concerning linguistic sacredness was a minor element in the debate that received special impetus during the Assisi liturgical conference of 1956. At that meeting, Pope Pius XII cited "grave motives of the Church"¹⁰ as a vague support for continued Latin usage. Traditionalists interpreted the Pope's statement literally and spiced the debate in 1956 with

respectful references to Latin's "holiness." Neither side used Class III-D arguments very frequently at any other time in the debate, with progressive use of the argument limited to a simple denial of the traditionalist claims. The traditionalists' infrequent use of Class III-D arguments after 1956 indicated that Latinists accurately perceived a lack of popular support for inherent sacredness in Latin or any language.

Form of the Argument. The restricted debate over linguistic sacredness was marked by traditionalist use of argument "a pari" and progressive use of argument "ab absurdo sensu" in denying the traditionalist claims. Traditionalists contended, in a loosely reasoned pattern, that Latin was inherently "sacred" just as the liturgy itself was inherently "other." Progressives simply responded that the traditionalist arguments made no sense and that Latin was not "a special means of communication with God." The two sides' use of unrelated argumentative forms reflected the general lack of debate over linguistic sacredness.

Intensity of the Argument. Debate over linguistic sacredness was marked by traditionalist use of extraordinary terms in defining Latin's sacredness. Referring to "the transcendence" of Latin, traditionalists defined it as especially "hallowed" and "priestly" in character. Progressives did not match the traditionalist intensity of argument. Vernacular advocates simply observed that Latin

was not "any more sacred than English." The general lack of debate over sacredness indicated that intense traditionalist arguments represented the views of a distinct minority within the ranks of Latinists.

Class III: Preliminary Conclusions

The specialized debate over linguistic efficacy exhibited basic differences in each side's view of liturgy. One liturgist's comments in 1961 typified the progressive approach to worship: "I find it hard to see how any use of language in prayer can be truly functional and fully effective if the language is not the normal language of thought, i.e., the vernacular."¹¹ Progressives raised the issue of linguistic intelligibility with extremely high frequency, almost to the exclusion of needed argument concerning esthetic matters, and related their Class III-A arguments to liturgical understanding, effectiveness, and accessibility. The progressives' concern for the principle of intelligibility seemed to stifle their esthetic and affective reactions to vernacular reform. Progressives viewed linguistic intelligibility basically as a primary aid to liturgical, or functional, efficacy. On the other hand, traditionalists revealed their deep concern for the expressive beauty and literary quality of Latin by frequently arguing about esthetics and translations. The traditionalists saw the issue of linguistic efficacy as important enough to merit full debate as a major element in liturgical evaluations. The traditionalists' treatment

of arguments concerning esthetics and translations indicated how deeply they felt about the affective side of worship.

Forms of Class III Argument. Debate over linguistic efficacy was marked by progressive denial or ridicule of their opponents' arguments and traditionalist use of argument "ad hominem" in supporting Latin's esthetic value and the propriety of Latin translations. Although progressives used argument "ad hominem" in discussing esthetics and translations, traditionalists showed a deeper devotion to general norms of good taste in supporting liturgical Latin. Progressives ridiculed the traditionalist argument "a pari" concerning linguistic sacredness but traditionalist use of "ad personam" attacks on translators easily represented the more vigorous form of offense. Both sides' use of ridicule and personal insults, combined with the use of contrasting argumentative forms in debating related issues, indicated that neither side was prepared to engage the other in close debate over linguistic efficacy. The substantial difference between both sides' views of liturgy was clearly reflected in their choice of contrasting forms of argument.

Intensity of Class III Argument. The relative intensity with which each side argued about linguistic efficacy further indicated their distinctively different views of liturgy. Progressives did not argue intensely except in the area of intelligibility, offering vivid metaphorical

attacks on Latin's obscurity and frequently citing vernacular superiority in intelligibility. Obviously, progressives considered liturgical language to be a means of communication rather than an end in itself. Traditionalists frequently used metaphors and attention-getting words to emphasize the inherent values of language. Vernacular opponents made it clear that liturgical language should be appreciated as an independent element in liturgy.

Class IV: Personal Religious Efficacy

The basic premise of Class IV argument can be stated as follows:

The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy satisfies the psychological and spiritual needs of worshippers.

TABLE IV

"Personal Religious Efficacy"

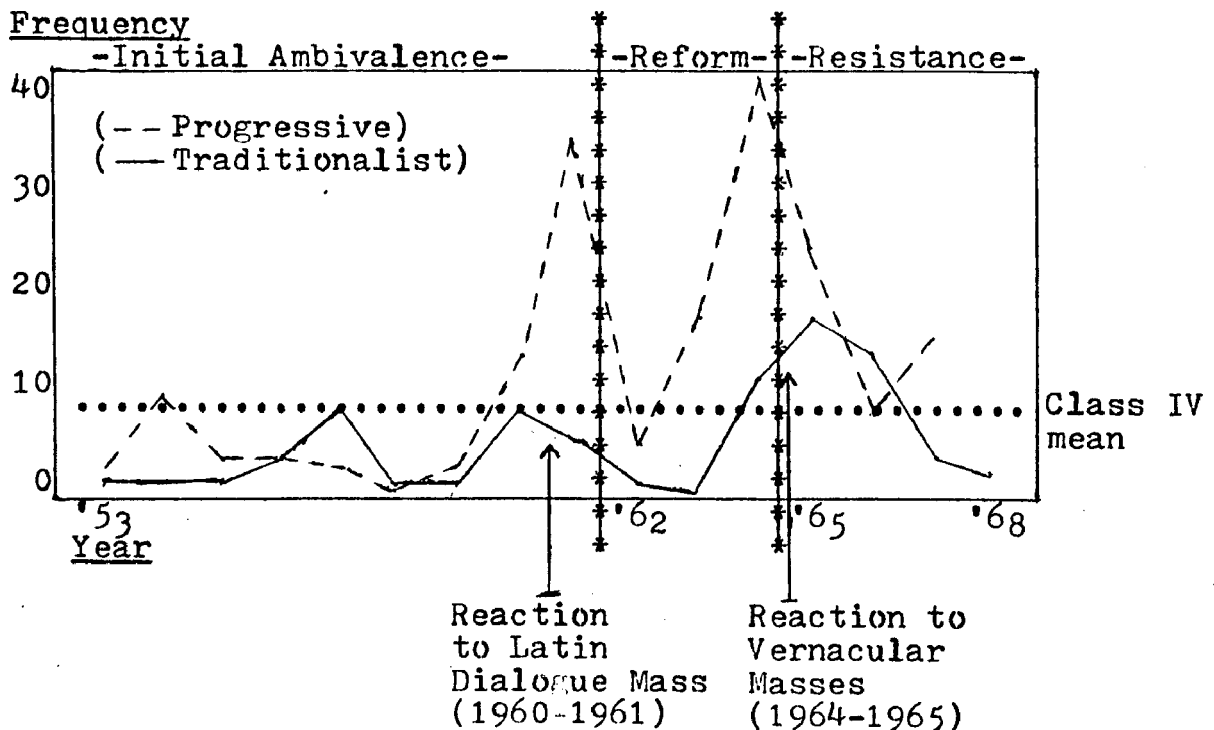


Table IV indicates that both sides used arguments about personal religious efficacy frequently in reacting to the era of the Latin Dialogue Mass and to the implementation of English Masses. While traditionalists used Class IV arguments with moderate frequency in both instances, progressives laid heavy emphasis on the Latin Mass's inadequate satisfaction of personal religious needs (1960-1961) and the English Mass's satisfactory fulfillment of Catholics' psychological and spiritual needs (1964-1965). Specifically, the trends in progressive use of Class IV arguments reflected the peaks and depressions of vernacularist morale until vernacular reforms were carried out. Progressive morale rose with vernacular revisions in Baptism, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction (1954), declined during the aftermath of the Assisi liturgical conference (1956), rose again with papal hints of future liturgical reforms following experimentation with Latin Dialogue Masses (1960-1961), and declined again with the promulgation of Veterum Sapientia (1962). The great peak of progressive morale with official implementation of vernacular Masses in 1964 was countered by increased traditionalist emphasis on the dire consequences of vernacular reform in 1965 and 1966. Later analysis of Class IV-C argument will indicate that the Latinists' treatment of personal religious efficacy paralleled the frequency with which progressives used Class IV arguments in all but one respect. Not surprisingly, both traditionalists and progressives shared the basic

human responses to sweeping changes in religious practice.

Class IV-A: Feelings and Fears

The basic premise of Class IV-A argument can be stated as follows:

The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy evokes desirable psychological reactions from worshippers.

TABLE IV-A
"Feelings and Fears"

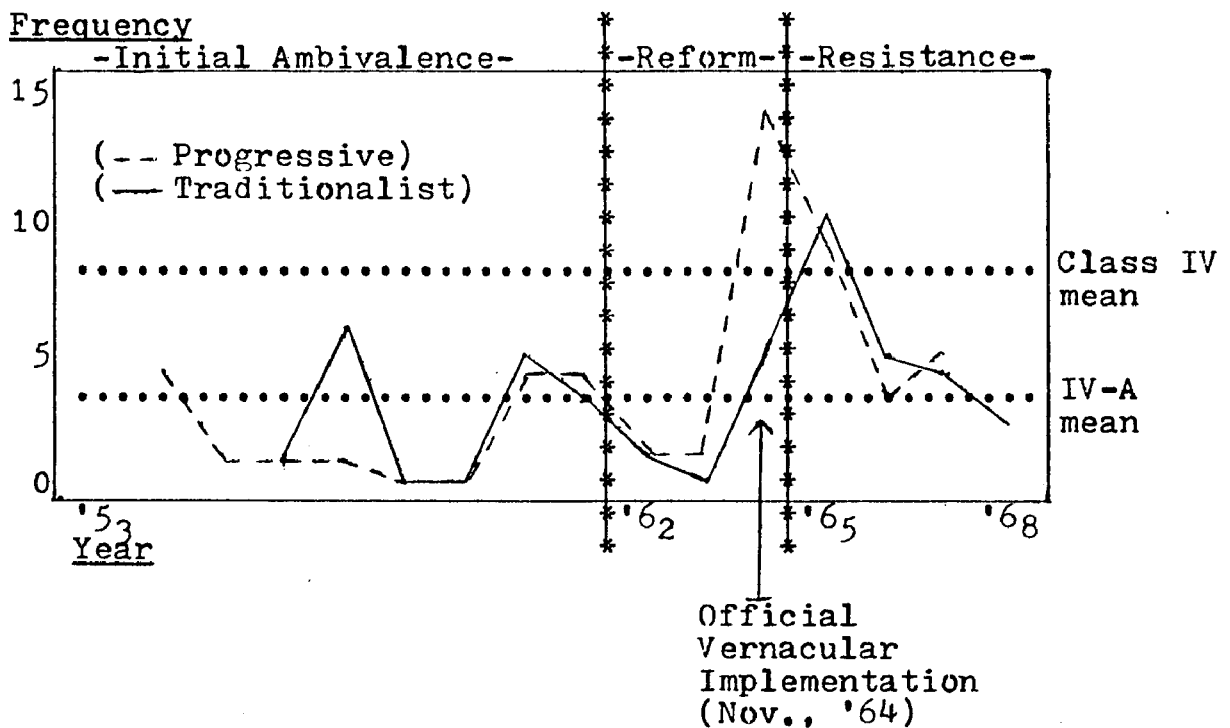


Table IV-A indicates that both sides used arguments concerning personal feelings and fears very frequently in the years encompassing actual vernacular reforms. Progressives reacted joyously and frequently to the implementation of English Low Masses in 1964 and English High Masses in 1965. With equal predictability, traditionalists frequently cited

their personal fears over vernacular "innovations" in 1965. Traditionalists also used Class IV-A arguments with above average frequency after the Assisi liturgical conference (1957), during experimentation with Latin Dialogue Masses (1960), and throughout the rise of vernacular fortunes after 1963. However, Pope Paul VI's instruction to be "docile"¹² in accepting vernacular reform particularly troubled traditionalists early in 1965. Trends in both sides' use of Class IV-A arguments indicate that vernacular debaters were quite conventional in expressing joy at their successes and displeasure with their failures.

Form of the Argument. Debate over personal feelings and fears was characterized by a mixture of "ad personam" and "ad hominem" tactics. Traditionalists personally attacked reformers as "rash" and "imprudent" in demanding "too much too soon." Progressives responded by criticizing "Latin lovers" as reactionaries who indulged themselves in fruitless "nostalgia." The appearance of argument "ad hominem" included the Latinists' assertions that Catholics would experience "strangeness" in their worship and the reformers' contentions that Catholics would find "joy" and "pleasure" in vernacular liturgies. Eventually, progressives tried to soothe their opponents' feelings by explaining that vernacular changes were "not radical" at all. Obviously, the argumentative forms were dictated by the subject matter of the arguments--personal insults and appeals to general human norms followed from the treatment

of personal feelings and basic human fears.

Intensity of the Argument. Debate over personal feelings and fears surprisingly did not wallow in extremely intense expressions of argument. Neither side employed metaphorical comparisons or superlative descriptives. Traditionalists did use a minimal amount of unusual terminology but, then, a much greater amount of other traditionalist arguments was expressed in odder terms. Apparently, each side felt free to express themselves in simple, straightforward terms describing their subjective states. Analysis of the sources for Class IV-A argument indicates that much of the argument came from letters-to-the-editor, sources in which the writer usually did not embellish his sentiments or in which editors presented only the main lines of thought.

Class IV-B: Piety

The major premise of Class IV-B argument can be stated as follows:

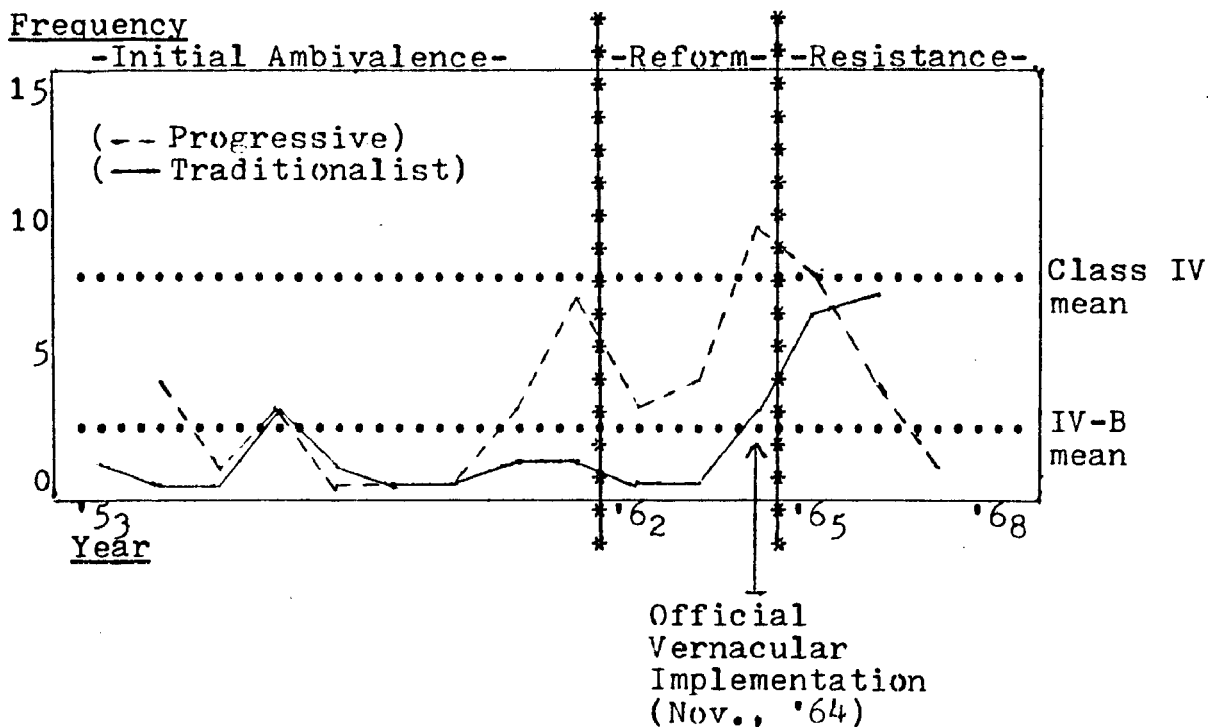
The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy evokes desirable spiritual reactions from worshippers.

Table IV-B indicates that both sides predictably cited their reactions to vernacular effects on their personal spirituality with greatly increased frequency after 1964. Progressives used Class IV-B arguments with above average frequency when anticipating vernacular reform in the early 1960's, but employed the arguments most frequently in the two years encompassing actual vernacular revisions (1964-1965). Significantly, traditionalists began to use Class

IV-B arguments frequently after more extensive experience with vernacular liturgies. Citing vernacular effects on their personal piety most frequently in 1966, traditionalists based their criticism of English liturgies on almost two years of experience. A comparison of progressive and traditionalist reactions indicates that vernacular advocates based much of their argument on confident predictions of vernacular efficacy while vernacular opponents relied on an experiential base in demeaning vernacular effects on piety. Overall trends in the use of Class IV-B argument show that progressive enthusiasm for the spiritual benefits of vernacular reform radically confronted traditionalist skepticism.

TABLE IV-B

"Piety"



Form of the Argument. Debate over personal piety was marked by each side's use of argument "ad hominem" in citing general religious experiences which would edify all reasonable Catholics. Progressives attempted to promote the rewards inherent in a personally stimulating experience with liturgical English. Traditionalists tried to promote the personally soothing experience of Latin liturgy. In addition, the traditionalists used argument "ad verecundiam" in citing Pope Pius XII's encyclical, Musicae Sacrae Disciplina, and its reference to "qualities of holiness"¹³ in the Latin liturgy. The bulk of each side's argument, however, relied on the intensity with which personal reactions were expressed.

Intensity of the Argument. Both sides used unusual, attention-getting language in debating personal piety, with progressives frequently qualifying vernacular liturgies as "more" moving and producing "more" inward feeling. Although progressives insisted that vernacular reform would bring Catholics "closer to God," traditionalists considered "personal closeness to God" lost in English liturgies. In addition, progressive claims that English in the liturgy increased "spiritual fruits" and "spiritual sweetness" were countered by the Latinists' assertions that Latin alone provided Catholics with "spiritual vigor" and "inner peace." Ultimately, the intensity with which both sides expressed Class IV-B arguments overshadowed argumentative forms in significance and raised the arguments'

significance beyond that which was indicated in their frequency of use.

Class IV-C: Pride

The basic premise of Class IV-C argument can be stated as follows:

The use of (Latin/English) in the liturgy promotes a healthy pride in the native language of worshippers.

TABLE IV-C

"Pride"

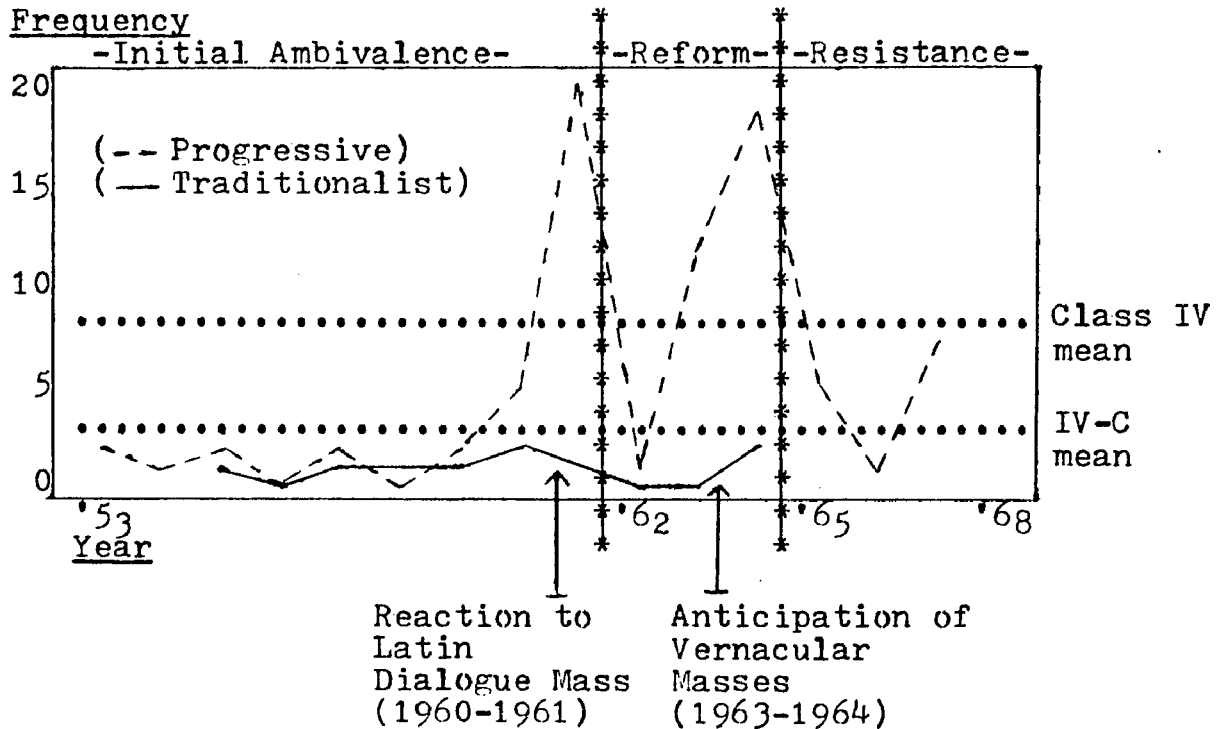


Table IV-C indicates that, while traditionalists seldom raised the issue of personal pride in one's language, progressives referred to personal pride very frequently in reacting to Latin Dialogue Masses and anticipating the vernacular Masses which were implemented in November, 1964.

The total lack of traditionalist emphasis on Class IV-C arguments was predictable from Latinists' frequent attacks on vernacular support as a highly suspicious, perhaps heretical effort. On the other hand, progressives used arguments dealing with personal pride in one's own tongue so frequently during the 1960's that it appeared as if vernacular advocates perceived a serious weakness in the traditionalist position. Pope John XXIII's support of liturgical Latin in February, 1962, represented the only discouragement to progressive use of Class IV-C argument. In terms of their overall strategy, progressives linked pride in one's language with their emphases on linguistic intelligibility and liturgical understanding to form an impressive set of rationales for supporting vernacular reform. Traditionalists developed little opposition to progressive argument, neither promoting a corresponding pride in Latin (the analysis of Class I-A argument indicates an emphasis on Latin's historicity instead) nor rebuking the reformers for encouraging an inappropriate vanity.

Form of the Argument. Debate over personal pride was marked by the progressives' unrestricted use of argument "a fortiori." Pressing their tactical edge in this one area of personal religious efficacy, progressives emphasized that the pride with which familiar modes of communication are employed in daily life can be applied to worship with even greater personal rewards. Traditionalists did not attempt to refute the form of progressive

argumentation even during the rise of their resistance to vernacular reform.

Intensity of the Argument. The intensity with progressives expressed Class IV-C argument paralleled the extreme intensity with which traditionalists attacked English translations of liturgical texts. Progressives took advantage of their freedom in applying Class IV-C argument to the debate by developing an elaborate system of metaphors. Commentary by vernacular advocates was liberally sprinkled with references to "the mother tongue," "the native tongue," and ultimately the "people's tongue." Adding comparisons of American Catholics' facility with English rather than with a "foreign tongue," progressives argued their case with special intensity.

Class IV: Preliminary Conclusions

Vernacular debaters emphasized the emotional needs of American Catholics in debating vernacular influence on feelings and fears, piety, and personal pride. Although neither side based its appeals entirely on emotional reactions to vernacular reform, the frequency with which progressives and traditionalists discussed the emotional side of religion indicated that personal religious efficacy was not primarily a rational concern. Basically, each side used Class IV arguments to supplement their positions on other issues. Progressives supplemented their stance on the Church's character and mission by praising vernacular improvements in personal piety. The reformers' re-defin-

ition of liturgical efficacy was supplemented by their argument favoring the use of a language which was personally accessible and effective for American Catholics. Traditionalist expressions of their feelings and fears about vernacular reform supplemented the general traditionalist emphasis on preservation of the Church's formal religious identity.

Both sides' failure to develop argumentative supplements based on personal religious efficacy before the 1960's was not surprising. Argument based on psychological and pious reactions could only be devised after experiencing vernacular liturgies. Unfortunately, progressives tended to base more of their argument on speculation than on experience and traditionalists felt strongly that "their" Church had been "ransacked" before progressives could apply their argumentative supplements to the debate. Debate over personal religious efficacy, then, reflected a wider state of affairs. Vernacular reform was implemented before the vernacular debate was resolved and the ultimate impact of the reform was a perpetuation of the vernacular controversy.

Forms of Class IV Argument. Debate over personal religious efficacy was characterized by both sides' frequent use of argument "ad hominem" in an unresolved dispute over the psychological and pious influences of vernacular reform. Specialized debate over pride in one's own language was characterized by progressives' unchallenged

use of argument "a fortiori." Progressives relied on Class IV-C argument to gain a tactical edge in debating in much the same manner traditionalists depended on severe criticism of English translations. However, progressive success in debating personal pride was probably due more to the lack of traditionalist rebuttals than to imaginative rhetorical strategy.

Intensity of Class IV Argument. Although neither side expressed itself very intensely on the question of personal feelings and fears--a surprising development considering the subject matter--debate over personal religious efficacy was characterized by particularly intense progressive argument. Progressives expressed Class IV-B arguments by frequently using qualifying terms in addition to attention-getting word choices. Progressive adherence to Class IV-C argument was even more intense. Devising a well-developed series of metaphors, progressives linked personal pride in the liturgical language with their intense supports for linguistic intelligibility and liturgical understanding. The progressive intensity in arguing for personal pride complemented their advantage in the frequency with which the issue was raised.

The Character of Vernacular Argument

Analysis of the argument employed by each side in the vernacular debate reveals that traditionalists and progressives favored certain classes of argument respectively. In addition, each side's preferences in argumentative forms

and the varying intensity with which each side expressed individual arguments further substantiated traditionalist and progressive favoritism toward certain distinct classes of argument.

Traditionalist Argument

TABLE I-III

Formal and Esthetic Argument

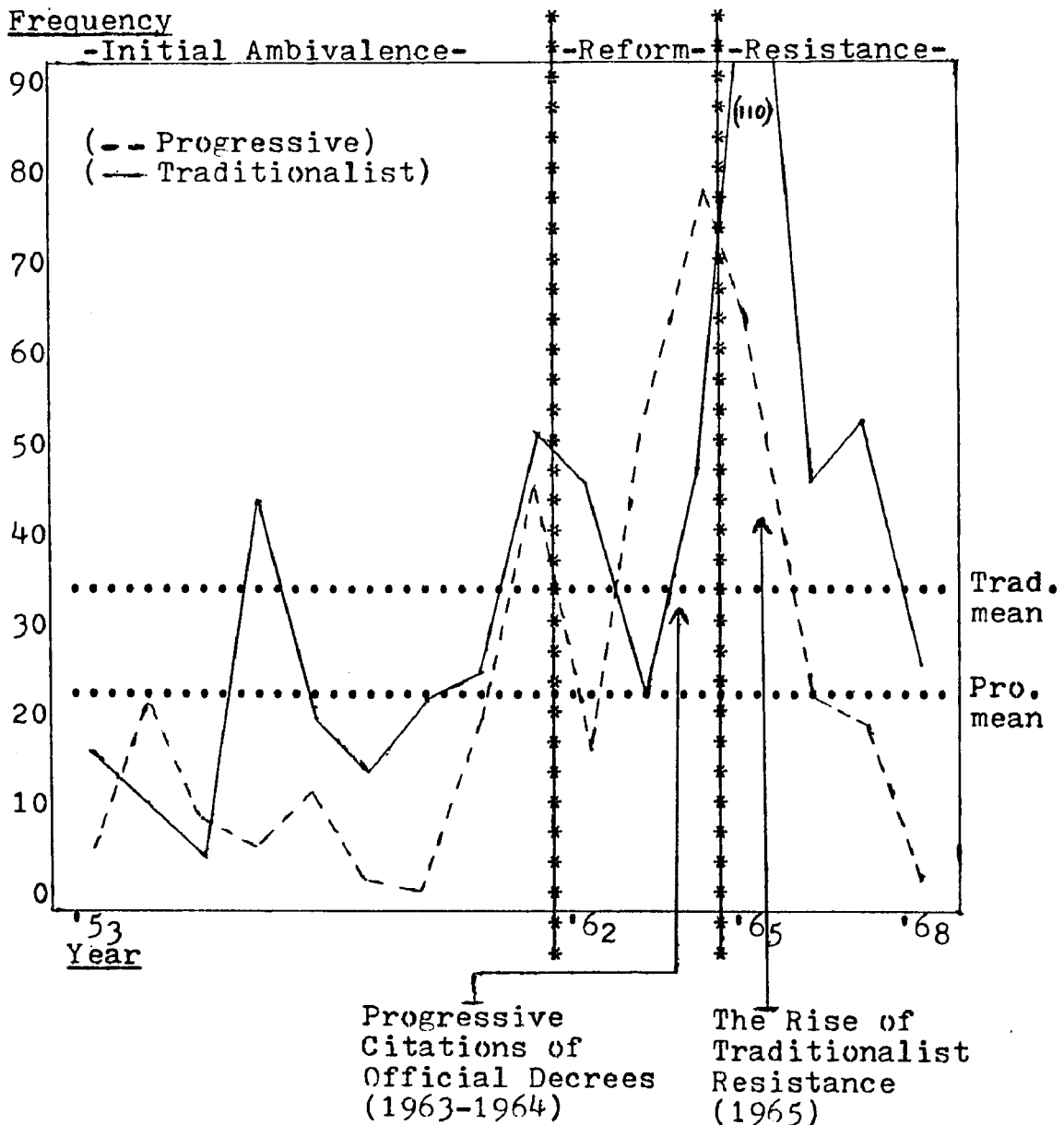


Table I-III indicates the dominant traditionalist emphasis on formal argument of Class I and esthetic argument of Class III (the heavy progressive emphasis on linguistic intelligibility was not included in the Table because the progressive arguments dealt more with functional values in liturgy than with esthetic values in language). The mean frequency with which traditionalists used formal and esthetic arguments equalled the combined mean frequencies with which both classes of argument were used generally throughout the debate. Traditionalists raised formal and esthetic issues very frequently at the time of the Assisi liturgical conference (1956), Pope John XXIII's support of Latin in a letter to the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music (1961) and in Veterum Sapientia (1962), and Pope Paul VI's warnings to liturgical innovators (1966-1967). The most frequent traditionalist use of the arguments took place in 1965, when Latinists began to consolidate their opposition and responded vigorously to the frequent progressive citations of official decrees favoring vernacular reform (1963-1964). General trends in traditionalist argument indicate a predictable support for the status quo in religion and liturgy and a substantial emphasis on Catholics' esthetic experience while worshipping God. Later comparison of each side's emphasis in vernacular argument will discuss the traditionalist emphasis on an esthetic experience as an alternative strategy to progressive emphasis on a psychologically and

piously satisfying experience in worship.

Progressive Argument

TABLE II-IV

Functional
and
"Personal Satisfaction"
Argument

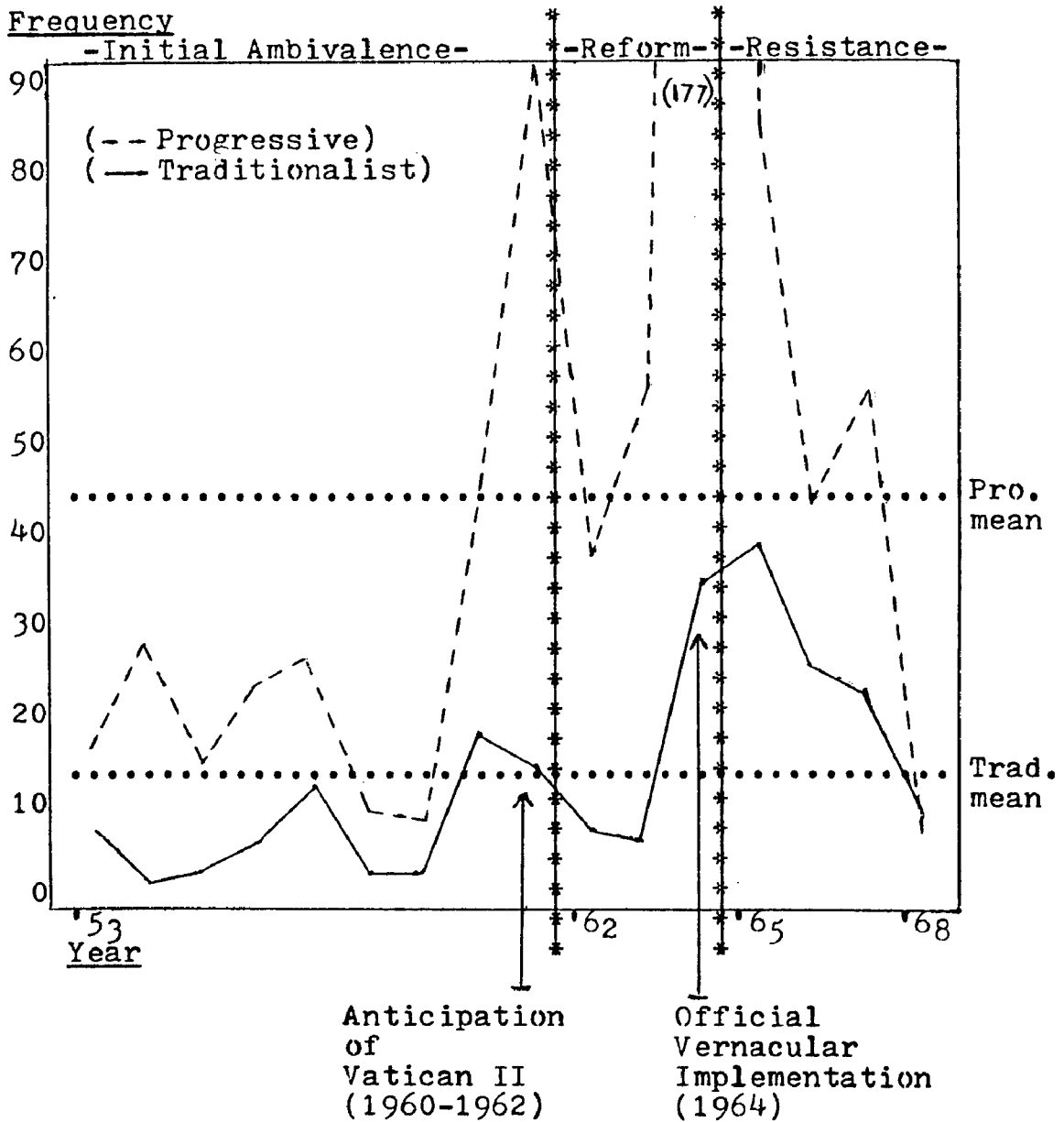


Table II-IV indicates how frequently progressives em-

phasized arguments concerning functional values in liturgy and personally satisfying factors in the use of liturgical English. Significantly, the combined mean frequencies of Class II and Class IV argument falls halfway between the mean frequency with which progressives used the arguments and the mean frequency with which traditionalists raised the issues of functional value and personal satisfaction. Progressives used Class II and Class IV arguments very frequently throughout the 1960's, especially in anticipation of the Second Vatican Council (1961) and in heralding the imminence of vernacular reform (1964). The peak of traditionalist use of the arguments (1964-1965) represents more of a desperate response to the enormous surge of progressive argumentation than an independent Latinist attempt to apply the arguments to their own cause. General trends in progressive argument indicate a utilitarian emphasis on liturgical English and a secondary emphasis on the psychological benefits of using English in worship. Progressive emphasis on the personally satisfying dimension of liturgical English was surprising, considering the strong vernacularist attack on traditionalists' desires for personal devotions within the setting of the Church's public worship.

Comparison of Traditionalist and Progressive Argument

Vernacular debaters displayed contrasting preferences in argument which made ultimate reconciliation very diffi-

cult. Traditionalists emphasized argument based on formal and esthetic values, the past achievements of liturgical Latin, and respectful preservation of the Church's identity. Progressives emphasized functional and psychological values, the future benefits of liturgical English, and modern revision of the Church's identity. Neither side integrated each other's seemingly reasonable arguments in a synthesis of vernacular considerations. Instead, progressives confronted the traditionalist emphasis on Latin's time-honored heritage with praise for the sheer utility of English; traditionalists emphasized Latin's esthetic virtues as ultimately more satisfying for American Catholics than their use of their native tongue in worship. Neither side brought effective argument to bear on many Catholics' unresolved fears about the immediate transition from Latin to English. As a result of the debaters' preference for open confrontation and their neglect of immediate fears, the vernacular controversy continued to smolder after active vernacular debate had concluded.

Form of Vernacular Argument

Analysis of the argumentative forms used by vernacular debaters indicates that they helped to prolong the vernacular controversy. Resolution of the issues was prevented by each side's frequent use of argument "ad hominem" in advocating opposing points of view. The form of the argument emphasized vague, general norms and entailed a confrontation of positions rather than a resolution of the

overall debate. In addition, both sides' occasional use of "ad personam" attacks and the progressive use of argument "ad ignorantiam" in supporting their major premise of vernacular utility restricted a free and open exchange of viewpoints. Naturally, the relatively unstructured approach to argument in a popular rhetorical strategy restrained both sides from realizing the contemporary effects of their argumentative choices.

Intensity of Vernacular Argument

Analysis of the intensity with which both sides expressed their arguments indicates that each side's particularly intense adherence to certain arguments may have stimulated rather than resolved popular fears about vernacular reform. Traditionalists expressed especially intense arguments attacking the quality of English translations, while progressives launched a very intense campaign to foster Catholics' personal pride in their own language. Preliminary research indicates that extreme argumentative intensity, such as that cited above, may adversely affect people's belief in an advocate and the concept he supports.¹⁴ The probability that vernacular debaters hurt their respective causes by indulging in strained metaphors and unqualified praise looms large in considering causes for the perpetuation of the vernacular controversy.

ENDNOTES

¹Trends indicated for the year 1961 should be interpreted cautiously because of the disproportionate volume of argument contributed by one source, the Pittsburgh Catholic.

²See Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, The New Rhetoric, trans. John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969). The New Rhetoric is particularly clear and exhaustive in its categorization of argumentative forms, is readily applicable to the study of popular argument, and is widely quoted by a number of published research studies.

³See John Waite Bowers, "Language Intensity, Social Introversion, and Attitude Change," Speech Monographs, 30 (Nov., 1963), 345. The approach which Bowers takes in studying the effect of linguistic intensity on attitude change is particularly well suited to the analysis of published argument because of the three specific criteria which Bowers uses in identifying significant levels of intensity. Each of the criteria can be applied to written statements as validly as to oral statements.

⁴Bowers, "Some Correlates of Language Intensity," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 50 (Dec., 1964), 415-420.

⁵Bowers, "The Influence of Delivery on Attitudes toward Concepts and Speakers," Speech Monographs, 32 (June, 1965), 158.

⁶Bowers, "Language Intensity, Social Introversion, and Attitude Change," 351.

⁷Clement J. McNaspy, "The Vernacular Reviewed," Catholic Mind, May, 1961, p. 196.

⁸McNaspy, p. 196.

⁹"Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, June 29, 1961, p. 5.

¹⁰See reports in the Wanderer, Sept. 27, 1956, p. 1, and Oct. 4, 1956, p. 4; Boston Pilot, Sept. 29, 1956, p. 1; and Register, Oct. 5, 1956, p. 1.

¹¹McNaspy, p. 196.

¹²Quoted in the Pittsburgh Catholic, Jan. 21, 1965, p. 1.

¹³See reactions published in the Wanderer, Jan. 5, 1956, p. 1; Chicago New World, Jan. 6, 1956, p. 1; San Francisco Monitor, Jan. 6, 1956, p. 1; Brooklyn Tablet, Jan. 7, 1956, p. 1 and p. 7; Los Angeles Tidings, Jan. 8, 1956, p. 3; and Pittsburgh Catholic, Jan. 8, 1956, p. 1.

¹⁴See Bowers, "Language Intensity, Social Introversion, and Attitude Change," 351.

CHAPTER VII

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PUBLIC DEBATE OVER VERNACULAR REFORM

Chapter VII surveys the precedents, development, and general impact of the public debate over vernacular reform, interpreting the rhetorical choices of American Catholics in light of present and potential communicative strategies. The debate was characterized by several significant trends in both external and internal influences. Chapter VII reviews important developments in (1) the prompting events, (2) the volume of debate, (3) the nature of advocates and media, (4) the classes of argument, and (5) the tenor of the debate. The chapter concludes with an itemization of major conclusions and a consideration of the study's predictive value.

Prompting Events

Official indications of ecclesiastical support shaped the progress of vernacular reform throughout the twentieth century. From the Abhinc Duos Annos of Pope Pius X in October, 1913, through the Divini Cultus of Pope Pius XI in December, 1928, to the Mediator Dei of Pope Pius XII in November, 1947, the Vatican consistently approved liturgical renewal. Ecclesiastical officials reserved particular emphasis for supporting increased lay

involvement in liturgical functions. The publication of the first American Catholic periodical devoted solely to liturgical matters in 1925 and observance of the first Liturgical Week in 1940 reflected the rise of a liturgical consciousness in the United States. Consideration of improved lay participation in the liturgy led the way in the renewal.

The specific development of the vernacular movement benefited from official ecclesiastical concessions to the use of native tongues in worship. Vatican approval of vernacular rituals began appearing early in the twentieth century and, by the early 1950's, major European nations such as France, Germany, and Italy had been granted permission to recite at least some sacramental rites in local languages. International concessions to areas other than mission territories set formidable precedents for vernacular reforms in English-speaking nations. With constant emphasis on the need for increased lay participation in liturgy, the Church granted initial vernacular concessions to the United States in 1954 and to countries of the British Commonwealth in 1955. Official ecclesiastical sanctions, aimed at encouraging wider participation in rites, provided vernacular advocates with a substantial body of helpful precedents.

The Church's reluctance to disassociate the use of Latin completely from the principle of active lay participation in the liturgy posed a strategic problem for re-

formers in the late 1950's. Authoritative decisions to continue using Latin were typified by the Sacred Congregation of Rites' instruction to experiment with a Dialogue Latin Mass. Latinists considered the experiment to be eminently worthwhile and confidently predicted that Dialogue Latin Masses would represent the ultimate development in liturgical reform. Supporters of English in the liturgy were compelled to reassert time and time again that liturgical participation required a preliminary lay understanding of the liturgy's meaning and that participation in Dialogue Latin Masses was a mere mouthing of unintelligible sounds.

The Second Vatican Council's support of vernacular reform provided progressives with their greatest single source of official sanctions. The Council's overwhelming support for reform in a vote taken late in 1962 and in a subsequent vote which approved specific vernacular revisions late in 1963 prepared the way for a dramatic rise in the progressives' fortunes. Vatican approval of an official date for the implementation of partial reforms in February, 1964, and the American bishops' decision to implement reforms in November, 1964, introduced American Catholics to a radically different format for their worship. Further revisions were implemented throughout 1965 and 1966, with full vernacular reform of the liturgy becoming a reality on October 22, 1967. Progressives first expressed excited anticipation of progress and then ex-

pressed satisfied approval as reforms were implemented through the 1960's. Vernacular opponents constricted their argumentation after the experiment with Dialogue Latin Masses and did not resume vigorous debating until after they had caught their breath in the face of a series of rapid liturgical revisions. The rise of traditionalist resistance, then, was characterized by critical judgments of English liturgies which were based on hindsight.

A long series of events prompted the adoption of English liturgies and pushed the vernacular movement along more rapidly than American Catholics could resolve their debate over the principles of reform. As a result, the debate was characterized more by a belated discussion of accomplished revisions than by a preliminary consideration of priorities. After the initial phase of debating in the 1950's and early 1960's, vernacular advocates were thrust into the position of defending the liturgical establishment rather than promoting reform. At the same time, traditionalists were forced to shoulder the burden of proof and demonstrate that English liturgies should be restricted. Neither side in the debate seemed especially comfortable with its role. Progressives relied on a repetitious promotion of fundamental reasons for vernacular reform instead of fulfilling their duties as spokesmen for the liturgical establishment. Progressives also did not address themselves sufficiently to the criticisms

raised by traditionalists. On the other side, the opponents of reform did not seem to recognize the special strategic problems of a dissident minority. Traditionalists relinquished their role as defenders of the status quo with great difficulty and continued to level absolutist criticisms at the theory and practice of English liturgies. Although traditionalists failed to concentrate on promoting positive alternatives to vernacular rites, they did succeed in temporarily attracting popular attention to their cause.

The traditionalists' support for the hierarchical framework of Church authority ultimately worked against them. Authoritative sanctions encouraged vernacular progress and forced traditionalists to harmonize their opposition to vernacular reform with their explicit support of ecclesiastical authority. The friction generated by such a strained relationship eventually caused traditionalists to repudiate the American hierarchy as radicals. Espousing the vigorous attacks on Church leadership, such as those expressed in the Reverend Charles Coughlin's series of pamphlets, Helmet and Sword, traditionalists assumed a rebellious stance which they normally would castigate. Latinists also supported an underground of illicit liturgical functions, such as the Latin Masses celebrated by the Reverend Gommar DePauw at his Ave Maria Chapel in Westbury, New York. The public debate over English in the liturgy, then, resulted in a perpetuation of

the vernacular controversy and a remarkable reversal of the roles usually assumed by reformers and their opponents.

Volume of Debate

The volume of debate responded readily to prompting events in the controversy. During the initial phase of the debate, a long period of ambivalent prospects for reform from October, 1953, through March, 1962, slightly more than thirty-three percent of the popular argument appeared in print. As the actual implementation of reform drew closer, the volume of debate increased dramatically. During the rise of reform between April, 1962, and mid-March, 1965, more than thirty-five percent of the popular argument appeared. The rise of traditionalist resistance from March, 1965, through the end of the debate in July, 1968, prompted almost one-third of the published argument. Extensive ecclesiastical support for reform and the implementation of specific liturgical revisions between 1962 and 1968 prompted almost seventy percent of the popular argument. The outpouring of argument late in the debate suggests that the conclusion of debating in 1968 represented merely a suspension of the dispute and not its resolution.

Trends of advocacy and opposition also indicate that the debate was far from settled in 1968. Progressives contributed sixty percent of the published argument before 1962, including sixty-two percent of the letters-

to-the-editor. The margin enjoyed by the progressives climbed to an overwhelming seventy-six percent of published argument by March, 1965, although slightly more than half of the published correspondence opposed vernacular reform. Traditionalists completely usurped the progressives' margin in argumentative volume during the final phase of debating. Although progressives found support for their cause in almost three-quarters of the articles published during the debate, traditionalists steadily gained more support in the volume of letters which criticized reform. Garnering support from sixty-two percent of the correspondence published during the rise of resistance, traditionalists could point to vernacular opposition in over fifty percent of the letters-to-the-editor published during the debate. The sharp contrast between the reported support for reform in magazine and newspaper articles and the explicit opposition to reform in the correspondence of American Catholics indicates that the debate ended without final resolution in the public forum. The less than decisive support for reform in published editorials emphasized the popular doubt about the efficacy of vernacular liturgies. A sudden decrease in the volume of argument after 1968 points more to an unwillingness on the part of the Catholic press to publicize the vernacular controversy than to an unwillingness on the part of traditionalists to pursue the debate.

Advocates and Media

Beginning with the leadership provided by Dom Lambert Beaudin, a Belgian Benedictine, and Dom Virgil Michel, a Benedictine from St. Paul, Minnesota, the development of a liturgical consciousness and the vernacular movement in the United States relied on the pioneering efforts of clergymen. Archbishop Edwin O'Hara militated for reform at gatherings of his American colleagues and international meetings of the Church's hierarchy; Monsignor Joseph Morrison acted as president of the American Vernacular Society. Clerical leadership was also evident in the advocacy of reform during the public debate. While forty-eight percent of the lay editorials and letters supported reform in the debate, fully sixty-three percent of the clerical editorials and letters advocated revisions in the liturgical language. Over seventy-one percent of clerical contributions to the debate favored reform during the rise of vernacular fortunes between 1962 and 1965. Clerical leadership stands out especially well against a background of only fifty-one percent of lay argument favoring reform in the period 1962-1965 and merely thirty-six percent of lay argument supporting reform in the period 1965-1968. The clergy advocated reform early in the vernacular debate and continued to support revisions in the liturgical language throughout the debate.

The rise of lay resistance to reform paralleled the growth of participation in the debate by Catholic news-

papers. National and diocesan Catholic newspapers expanded their share of published argument from a low of fifty-six percent during the initial phase of the debate to an impressive ninety-three percent during the rise of resistance. Catholic magazines were issued too infrequently and favored too much speculative matter to retain a disproportionate share of the published argument. Responsibility for publicizing the debate eventually passed to the printed media which were more immediately responsive to both prompting events and popular reactions to reform.

The relationships between clerical leadership and the declining role of magazines and between lay opposition to reform and the growing influence of newspapers suggest a critical error on the part of vernacular advocates. Unaccustomed to popular debate over ecclesiastical pronouncements, the clerical reformers failed to recognize their need to resolve the vernacular issue in the media most accessible to popular opinion. Advocates of reform pleaded their case in the restricted forum of Catholic magazines and neglected to adapt their tactics to the popular forum provided by newspapers in the 1960's. The situation became worse when lay advocates of Latin began to dominate popular argument at the same time that magazines diverted their attention from the vernacular issue. The clerical advocates of reform neglected the most suitable forum for their views precisely when tradi-

tionalist resistance reached its peak. This tactical error partially accounts for the perpetuation of the controversy. The frustration experienced by traditionalists encouraged two distinct reactions in later years. First, the traditionalists overreacted to whatever opportunities for debate did present themselves; second, the traditionalists dismissed the clerical espousal of democratic processes within the Church as a hollow, suspicious gesture.

Classes of Argument

Although each side in the debate attempted to secure strategic gains from every class of argument, obvious differences in the frequency and diversity of their emphases on particular issues indicated argumentative preferences. The preferences for certain classes of argument revealed contrasts in each side's intellectual and spiritual orientation. Traditionalists preferred to emphasize the formal and esthetic religious values they perceived in the use of Latin. Progressives preferred to stress the functional effectiveness and personal satisfactions which American Catholics might find in the use of English.

Traditionalists emphasized strictly formal considerations of religious lawfulness, orthodoxy, and the universal application of the Latin language. The formal religious arguments stressed by opponents of reform reflected their abiding respect for the lengthy heritage

and absolute authority of Roman Catholicism. Dismissing the progressives' insistence on togetherness in worship as a fad and suggesting that members of the Church's hierarchy who favored reform were either misinformed or scandalously unorthodox, traditionalists revealed a basically legalistic mentality. However, traditionalists supplemented their religious legalism with additional emphases on the esthetic values in Latin liturgies. The Latinists placed appropriate stress on the intellectually and spiritually satisfying influences of beautiful, solemn services. Although traditionalists offered occasionally outlandish criticisms of English translations, they seemed well within the bounds of reason in insisting that liturgical texts foster an atmosphere of spiritually edifying reverence and intellectually satisfying beauty.

Progressives emphasized strictly functional considerations of the intelligibility, accessibility, and popular impact of the English liturgy. Progressives indicated their respect for practicality and efficiency by substantiating their arguments with citations of official approval for reform. Refuting the traditionalists' view of liturgical exclusivity as sheer elitism and demeaning the linguistic preference of Latinists as obscurantism, progressives revealed a basically utilitarian mentality. However, progressives unwittingly minimized some of the strategic gains they made in promoting a pragmatic approach to liturgy by overemphasizing the personally satis-

ifying aspects of vernacular worship. The reformers placed a disproportionate stress on the personal pride and private rewards which American Catholics could expect to derive from the fundamentally public office of the Church. Progressives paralleled the worst argumentative excesses of traditionalists in promoting personal devotion by emphasizing the subjective satisfactions offered by an English service.

The popular rhetorical strategy of the traditionalists was characterized by seemingly potent arguments concerning esthetic values in worship and by legalistic but understandable arguments concerning religious heritage and orthodoxy. The popular rhetorical strategy of the progressives seemed to change for the worse after the implementation of reform. Promoting the reform with arguments based on the functional utility of English, progressives added an inappropriate stress on personal aggrandizement after vernacular prospects improved. The progressives seemed strategically sound in appealing to American regard for efficiency but far less accurate in emphasizing the private dimension of a fundamentally public act. Most American Catholics could be expected to respond more favorably to a comparison of vernacular pragmatism with Latin legalism than to a comparison of extremely subjective norms in English liturgy with the broad esthetic norms in Latin liturgy. The progressives' tactical error contributed to the lack of resolution in the debate

and to the perpetuation of the vernacular controversy.

Tenor of the Debate

Developments in the tenor of debating reflected the varying influence of official ecclesiastical sanctions. The tenor of the debate developed from speculative detachment to deeply emotional involvement as the Church's official stance toward reform changed from ambivalence to approval, and ultimately to canonization of the liturgical revisions.

The hierarchical position on reform was difficult to define during the initial phase of the debate. The ambivalent prospects for reform prompted a flowing, speculative discussion of advantages and disadvantages by progressives and traditionalists. Progressives saw some hope for future progress and traditionalists saw no immediate threat to existing liturgical practices. Consequently, both sides engaged in a rather subdued exposition of the pros and cons of reform.

The Catholic press began to report an increasing number of officially sanctioned changes during the rise of reform. Ecclesiastical approval of the principle of reform and several specific implementations of linguistic revisions produced a more volatile atmosphere. Reformers excitedly expressed their anticipation of English in the liturgy and Latinists expressed their indignation at being officially encouraged to accept the changes. Both sides exhibited significant changes in their approach to

the debate. Progressives began to assume a more confident tone and offered increasingly vivid descriptions of improvements in worship. Traditionalists restricted the scope of their argumentation, as if they had been stunned into a surprised silence, and focused on religious orthodoxy, liturgical esthetics, and vernacular deficiencies.

The ultimate canonization of reform between 1965 and 1968 was characterized by each side's muddled attempts to adjust the tenor of their argument. Final ecclesiastical sanction of the vernacular movement cast progressives into the role of the tolerant majority and compelled the traditionalists to adapt their argument accordingly. Neither side seemed capable of making the required adjustment. Progressives showed an uncharacteristic triumphalism in their ridicule of the traditionalists' affection for Latin. Traditionalists expressed bitterness at being forced to comply with reforms whose principles they had never accepted. The intensity of each side's reactions precluded resolution of the debate.

The tenor of the debate reflected the changing roles assigned to vernacular advocates and opponents. Progressives had difficulty in adjusting their perspective to the relatively rapid implementation of reform in the 1960's. Traditionalists balked at forced compliance with the vernacular revisions. Ultimately, progressives failed to adopt a conciliatory tone while traditionalists resisted

the adoption of the constructive rhetoric required of a loyal opposition.

Major Conclusions

The Debate

- 1) The debate was initiated by the clergy and reflected the growth of liturgical interest among American Catholics during the twentieth century as well as a series of international precedents of vernacular reform.
- 2) The three phases of the debate paralleled roughly the development of vernacular reform from initial ambivalence, through official approval, to ultimate canonization.
- 3) The volume of debate fluctuated under the influences of implementations of reforms (1954, 1964, 1965, and 1967), liturgical conferences (1953 and 1956), hierarchical decrees (1955, 1958, 1962, 1966, and 1968), and conciliar decisions reached by Vatican II (1962 and 1963).
- 4) The debate was suspended without resolution by 1968, perpetuating the vernacular controversy.

The Debaters

- 1) The general advocacy of reform by a majority of both clergy and laity in the 1950's fulfilled the need of reformers to draw favorable attention to their cause.
- 2) The distinct clerical advocacy of reform in the 1960's was expressed typically in speculative magazine items and newspaper articles which praised the potential benefits of English liturgies.
- 3) The distinct lay opposition to reform in the 1960's was expressed typically in newspaper letters-to-the-editor which criticized the English services post facto.
- 4) The eventual implementation of reform reversed the debating roles of both sides but neither side effectively adjusted its tactics to the change.

- 5) The emotional detachment of each side early in the debate ultimately was supplanted by the triumphalism and intolerance of reformers and the bitterness and indignation of the opposition.

The Arguments

- 1) Both sides in the debate used four major classes of argument: Formal Religious Efficacy,
Liturgical Efficacy,
Linguistic Efficacy,
Personal Religious Efficacy.
- 2) The reformers favored pragmatic arguments about the functional effectiveness and personally satisfying rewards of using English in the liturgy.
- 3) The opposition favored legalistic arguments about religious heritage and orthodoxy and esthetic arguments about the beauty of Latin services.
- 4) Specific analysis of argumentative forms indicates that the reformers' rejection of opposing viewpoints and the opposition's appeal to vague, general norms restricted a free exchange of opinions.
- 5) Specific analysis of language intensity in the arguments indicates that the reformers' unqualified support for personal pride in the liturgical language and the opposition's strained metaphorical attack on the quality of English translations helped to perpetuate the vernacular controversy.

Predictive Value of the Study

This study concludes with the type of speculation indicated in Kenneth Burke's remarks outlining the distinction between needlessly restricted and overly prescriptive analytical approaches:

Encountering a "global" situation, to what extent can we avoid the piecemeal response of dissipation (that is content simply to take whatever opportunities are nearest at hand) and the response of fanaticism (that would impose one terminology of motives upon the whole world, regardless of the great dialectic interchange still to be completed)? To what extent can we confront the global situation

with an attitude neither local nor imperialistic? Surely, all works of goodwill written in the next decades must aim somehow to avoid these two extremes, seeking a neo-liberal, speculative attitude.¹

The study of public debate over vernacular reform might be evaluated as a guide to the popular rhetorical strategy one could expect in almost identical situations in the future. The four major classes of argument designated in the study--formal, functional, esthetic, and personal--could be applied in anticipation of the rhetorical stances assumed by debaters of religious, fraternal, or scholarly societies when disputing potential revisions in communicative media. The proponents of established media might be expected to stress their society's heritage and the superior esthetic merits of existing media. Reformers might be expected to stress the practicality and facility of potential revisions. In addition, the reformers would probably highlight the personally rewarding aspects of the new media. Risking the Burkeian scorn for a critical response of dissipation, this study suggests that traditionalists will prefer formal and esthetic arguments while progressives will prefer arguments based on pragmatic and subjective standards. Any public debate over potential revisions in the popular symbolic system of communication--perhaps future debates over the place of ethnic dialects in broadcasting or official conversion to the metric system of weights and measures--can be expected to test further the predictive value of the study.

The study of public debate over vernacular reform

might indicate the course of popular manifestations of the three levels of meaning in ritual utterances.² In the future, rhetorical critics of the relationship between ritual and language might profitably compare the formal class of argument to the meaning of "what is said" in ritual, the functional class of argument to the meaning of "doing while saying" in ritual, and the esthetic and personal classes of argument to the meaning of "the saying itself" in ritual. The critical approach of this study does not lend itself to a case study of the relationship between ritual and language. Future research might employ the popular notion of the ritual-language relationship implicit in the vernacular debate to structure a specific investigation of ritual utterances.

Finally, the study of public debate over vernacular reform can certainly be applied to future considerations of intercultural communication. The debate exhibited parallels to the typical expression of ethnic superiority and personal bigotry by advocates of different cultural backgrounds. The vernacularists' pleas for "unity--not uniformity"³ typify the same respect for cultural integrity voiced by opponents of the "melting pot approach" to cultural integration. The Latinists' observations that "the Vandals have sacked Rome again, but this time they are much less masculine"⁴ typify the visceral feelings of inherent inferiority harbored against persons of dissimilar ethnic origins. Future rhetorical critics might apply

the example of a subverted, unresolved vernacular debate to other public disputes which run afoul of implicit cultural barriers. Perhaps submerged cultural obstacles can be related reliably to surface confrontations between formal and functional popular arguments. With the hope that this study avoids the critical approaches of dissipation and fanaticism, these speculations on predictive values of the study are offered as signposts of needed research.

ENDNOTES

¹Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945), pp. 442-443.

²The discussion of meanings in the ritual-language relationship does not represent an expert interweaving of research but a liberal speculation on the theories proposed in Edward Sapir's Language (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1921) and Selected Writings in Language, Culture, and Personality, ed. David G. Mandelbaum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949); Ernst Cassirer's Language and Myth, trans. Susanne K. Langer (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946) and The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms, prefaced and introduced by Charles W. Hendel (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1953); Max Black's Language and Philosophy (Ithica, New York: Cornell University Press, 1949); Bronislaw Malinowski's Magic, Science, and Religion (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955); Benjamin Lee Whorf's Language, Thought, and Reality, ed. John B. Carroll (Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1956); Paul Henle's (ed.) Language, Thought, and Culture (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1958); Kenneth L. Pike's Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior (Glendale, California: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1960); John L. Austin's Philosophical Papers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); S. I. Hayakawa's Language in Thought and Action (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1964); John C. Condon's Semantics and Communication (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1966); Ronald W. Langacker's Language and Its Structure (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1967); Yuen Ren Chao's Language and Symbolic Systems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); P. F. Strawson's "Intention and Convention in Speech Acts," in The Philosophy of Language, ed. John P. Searle (London: Oxford University Press, 1971); and Joseph H. Greenberg's Language, Culture, and Communication (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971).

³Register, Oct. 30, 1964, p. 1.

⁴"Forum," Pittsburgh Catholic, Sept. 17, 1964, p. 5.

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