
An abstract of a Thesis by
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The problem. How did three, major, American magazines—Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report—cover the Second Vatican Council and Roman Catholic renewal between 1959 and 1965? What were the publications' attitudes, emphases, expectations, and qualities regarding their reporting of the council?

Procedure. Pope John XXIII announced Vatican II in January 1959; and Pope Paul VI solemnly closed the council, after four sessions, in December 1965. Consequently the three news magazines' coverage of the Catholic Church during a seven year period was methodically researched. Moreover, relevant primary and secondary sources on the press, the church, and the council provided a needed perspective on the journals' reportage and a basis with which to evaluate it.

Conclusions. The image of aggiornamento—the image of the council and Catholic renewal—fluctuated between January 1959 and December 1965, and varied according to the character of the individual periodicals. Nevertheless the changing Catholic Church was the dominant religious news during the early 1960's. And despite some very critical reporting, the church received a wealth of favorable publicity that transformed its public image.
THE IMAGE OF AGGIORNAMENTO 1959-1965: THE COVERAGE OF
THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL BY TIME, NEWSWEEK,
AND U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

A Thesis
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Master of Arts

by
Patrick John Wilkinson
August 1976
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AND U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Americans between 1959 and 1965 witnessed a dramatic change in the image of the Roman Catholic Church. "Up to 1962," wrote Catholic scholar John L. McKenzie, S.J., "few living religions appeared to be more stable than Roman Catholicism." McKenzie was correct; the church did appear stable, but at times it seemed much more than that--arrogant, defensive, and closed. Yet in the early 1960's, a new image replaced the old image of the Catholic Church as a prisoner of the Counter Reformation. This new image proclaimed a church of aggiornamento, a pilgrim church trying to adapt to the modern world and a people of God trying to develop communication and cooperation with old enemies.

The driving force behind this phoenix-change of image was the people, events, and ideas associated with the Second Vatican Council. This transformation had two parts. One, the Roman Catholic Church experienced a change of revolutionary proportions. 2 This experience moved Catholic

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historian John Tracy Ellis to equate the significance of the church's alteration during this period to the Reformation:

... in the Catholic Church's history of nearly two thousand years one must go back to the third decade of the sixteenth century, when the movement begun by Martin Luther started to spread, to find a parallel to the revolutionary transformation that has taken place since the election in October, 1958, of Pope John XXIII.¹

Two, this "revolutionary transformation" in itself was not sufficient to change the Roman Catholic Church's image. The event had to be recognized and publicized. The American secular press recognized (as did others) this change and reported it to the nation. During Vatican II the press gained a new understanding of the Catholic Church, excited interest in the council, and thereby helped to create a new image of Catholicism.² Pope Paul VI confirmed this idea of the press' importance to the council and the church. "If the Church has felt, as never before in her 2,000-year history, that many millions of men were taking an interest in the reunion of bishops from all over the world," the Pontiff told the council's press corps on November 26, 1965, "this, gentlemen is undoubtedly owed very largely to you."³

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³Ibid., p. 123.
The Second Vatican Council, announced by Pope John XXIII in January of 1959, held four sessions between October 1962 and December 1965 and was the twenty-first ecumenical council of the Roman Catholic Church. Canon law clearly defined a council. It was an august gathering of cardinals, bishops, and heads of male religious orders called by the Pope which operated under papal supervision and had no legislative power independent of the Supreme Pontiff. Periti (non-voting experts) could be and were used by the council to help draft documents. Also it should be noted that an "ecumenical" council was a general council of the Roman Catholic Church; only those in communion with the Holy See had a right to attend and vote even though non-Catholic observers were admitted to Vatican II.

Yet this authoritative definition of canon law ignored the myriad of historical variations that councils had undergone from their beginning. The problems of who could call a council, who presides over it, and what powers a council should actually possess were not always as clear as they were in the middle of the twentieth century. For example, extreme definitions of conciliarism, a theory emerging in the

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1R. F. Trisco, "Vatican Council II," New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967), XIV, 563-572. This article by Trisco gave a basic factual overview of the council.

2McKenzie, pp. 106-103.

fifteenth century, challenged papal supremacy with conciliar supremacy. Though rejected by the Catholic Church, its specter still haunted the fathers at the First Vatican Council (1869-1870). 1

Irrespective of the dogmatism of canon law and the variations of history, the significance of an ecumenical council for the church is manifest. It has been an extraordinary means of church polity in Roman Catholic history. Its numbers have been few, but its accomplishments have been many often transcending its original purpose or purposes. 2

Yet, before exploring the image of aggiornamento created by Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report, some information about the individual periodicals is important. Two students, Henry Luce and Briton Hadden, conceived the idea for a weekly news magazine in the academic atmosphere of Hotchkiss School and Yale, and later gave birth to Time, their precocious brain child, in 1923. The publication displayed very definite assumptions about news, objectivity, and history. Hadden and Luce felt that Americans were poorly informed and needed a journal that organized and explained the news to their busy countrymen. Therefore Time not only wanted to report current events to its readers, but it also intended to explain what these events meant. Time's goal to teach and influence was stated quite clearly in its 1922 prospectus:

"... 'Time is interested—not in how much it includes

between its covers—but in how much it gets off its pages into the minds of its readers.\(^1\) The magazine accepted the consequences of this position. Even though it would strive for fairness, it made no pretense of objectivity. One bias that Time consistently displayed was its attachment to the hero school of history—great deeds needed a hero and evil ones required a villain. By the 1960's the publication had grown and matured, modifying some of its distinctive style, but it retained its rampant editorializing and tone of absolute certainty in reporting the news and its significance.\(^2\)

Newsweek was less articulate about its journalistic assumptions. In 1933 Thomas John Cardell Martyn, an English journalist, established News-Week. Four years later it merged with a journal edited by Raymond Moley and owned by Vincent Astor and W. Averill Harriman, Today. This merger produced Newsweek, which was purchased by the Washington Post Company in 1961. From its birth till the present, Newsweek has shared many, obvious common features with Time. Yet in 1937 it intended to offer a difference; it hoped to present hard news as objectively as possible, and opinion in clearly signed columns. As the periodical developed, it preserved


\(^2\) The material for this description was drawn from three sources: Mott, pp. 293-323; Theodore Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century (2d ed.; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), pp. 320-330; and Wood, pp. 205-221.
its signed editorial columns but lost its objectivity.\(^1\)

"U.S. News & World Report," commented James Playsted Wood, "... is serious, functional, concerned, and a foil to the contrasting beliefs and attitudes of its news magazine contemporaries."\(^2\) In 1948 David Lawrence joined his two enterprises, U.S. News begun in 1933 and World Report started in 1946, into a journal that concentrated on national and international economic and political news. With this stress on politics and economics, U.S. News & World Report expressed the interests of its founder and a more narrow focus than Time and Newsweek, which cover a large variety of topics weekly.\(^3\)

The three news magazines have their differences and similarities; yet like the press generally, they present an overall image of an event. In varying degrees they blend fact and opinion, evaluate and place their news in context, and display attitudes towards events and the people involved in them.

Moreover, the images that these publications conveyed about the Second Vatican Council were widely circulated. In a survey conducted by the Association of National Advertisers Magazine Committee for the years 1949 to 1969, Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report were the leaders in the "Business and News" category. For selected years between 1958 and 1965,

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\(^1\)Peterson, pp. 330-333; and Wood, pp. 229-232.

\(^2\)Wood, p. 234.

\(^3\)Peterson, pp. 333-334; and Wood, pp. 232-234.
their average total paid circulation was: ¹

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Newsweek</th>
<th>U.S. News &amp; World Report</th>
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<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>2,286,900</td>
<td>1,242,226</td>
<td>1,049,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2,637,088</td>
<td>1,493,315</td>
<td>1,245,999</td>
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<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>3,050,159</td>
<td>1,712,872</td>
<td>1,341,812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>3,182,273</td>
<td>1,530,283</td>
<td>1,410,698</td>
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Consequently, Vatican II gave *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*, image-generating periodicals with mass circulations, a significant event to cover. How was this done? Based on the public documents of Pope John XXIII, Paul VI, and the Second Vatican Council together with relevant secondary works on the council and the Roman Catholic Church, the coverage that the news magazines provided of Catholic renewal will be detailed and analyzed. ²

J. Ryan Beiser in his study of the American press' reaction to the First Vatican Council showed that if not

¹Association of National Advertisers Magazine Com-
mittee, *Magazine Circulation and Rate Trends, 1940-1969*
(New York: Association of National Advertisers, Inc.,

²In addition to the four volumes by Xavier Rynne
(Pseud.) on the council, the most useful sources in evalu-
ating the periodicals' coverage of Vatican II and Catholic
renewal were: Walter M. Abbott, S.J., ed., *The Documents
of Vatican II* (New York: Guild Press, 1960); Paul Blanshard,
Paul Blanshard on Vatican II (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965);
E. E. L. Jaekel, *Pope John and His Revolution* (Garden City:
Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965); The Staff of The Pope
Speaks Magazine, eds., *The Encyclicals and Other Messages
of John XXII* (Washington, D.C.: TFS Press, 1964); and
Ralph W. Willgen, S.V.D., *The Rhine Flows Into the Tiber:
ignored, the council and the church were given hostile treatment. In a similar manner, the attitudes of *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* toward Vatican II and the Roman Catholic Church will be illuminated. In addition, editorial bias will be identified. And finally in Chapter VI, the image of Catholicism presented in these journals during the council will be contrasted to the picture given of the church during Vatican I by the American secular press.

Besides attitude, three other factors concerning the publications' reporting of the council are important. First, the welter of events taking place in the Roman Catholic Church between 1959 and 1965 forced each magazine to be selective. Thus, the focus and particular interest of the journals will be described. Second, the periodicals consistently exhibited expectations for the council; these expectations will be detailed at some length. Moreover, constant and fluctuating hopes for Catholic reform will be traced. Third, journalists did not have a free hand in Rome. Although the press received valuable assistance from the U.S. Bishops' Press Panel and the Divine Word News Service, it fought varying degrees of conciliar secrecy and managed news from the official press office. Hence, a fair analysis of the news magazines'...
quality of reporting—completeness, understanding, and accuracy—demands an awareness that *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* did not have the full record of Vatican II at their disposal.

U. S. Bishops' Press Panel for the first session of Vatican II and a briefing officer at the last three sessions. Wiltgen organized the Divine Word News Service.
AN INVITATION TO MISUNDERSTANDING

On January 25, 1959, Pope John XXIII told a small group of cardinals in Rome that he intended to hold an ecumenical council. There resulted in the news magazines an immediate misunderstanding of the council's purpose and the role non-Catholic Christians were to play in it. And even though the most flagrant misconceptions were later corrected, a subtle error regarding the aim of Vatican II and John's attitude toward Christian unity was never fully overcome by Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report.

In this address the Pope explained his desire to meet the spiritual demands of the age, acknowledged that he was a question mark to many, and described his twofold role of Supreme Pontiff and Bishop of Rome. Upon surveying the modern world, John found it in a troubled state. He felt that the light of Christ was being spread throughout the earth, but the denial of freedom by some and gross materialism which distracted others from the spiritual posed grave problems for the Roman Catholic Church. And he stated that these grave problems required an ancient, ecclesiastical answer:
A speech to the United Nations, a meeting with President Lyndon Johnson, and a Mass in Yankee Stadium highlighted Paul's visit to New York, which was covered extensively in words and pictures by *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*. Although it appeared basically disappointed with his appeal to the General Assembly, *Time* proclaimed that the trip was a "personal triumph" for the Pope. *Newsweek* agreed and also contended that the journey had strengthened the Papacy—an institution that the magazine now saw as "... Paul's passport out of the narrow confines of Curial Rome and into the wider relations of the world in the mid-1960's." In stark contrast to his previous criticism, Emmet John Hughes lavished praise on the Pope and his oratory: "A man could not have devised a bolder retort to the despairing cry of Yeats ['Things fall apart; the center cannot hold ...'] than the soaring appeal of Paul VI to the United Nations." Hughes was so carried away by this address that he mistakenly saw in Paul's condemnation of artificial birth control a clever ploy to lead Catholic conservatives toward


an acceptance of the pill. Moreover, the author even favorably compared the present Pontiff to Pope John. Finally, U.S. News & World Report gave a full English translation of the Pope's talk; pointed out the historic aspects of the episode; and accentuated the possible points of contention between the positions held by the Vatican and United States on the admission of "Red China" to the world organization, and population control.

The fourth session itself was extremely productive but a basically placid affair. In the fall of 1965, it issued eleven documents, over twice the number issued by the first three meetings of Vatican II. Therefore revision of drafts and voting occupied much of the council's time. Some important and controversial schemata were debated such as the "Declaration on Religious Freedom" and the multifaceted "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern

1Concerning birth control Paul said: "You must strive to multiply bread so that it suffices for the tables of mankind, and not favour an artificial control of birth, which would be irrational, in order to diminish the numbers of guests at the banquet of life." See the Pope's speech to the United Nations in Rynne, Fourth Session, p. 290. Hughes felt that this statement still left the church free to accept the pill because advocates of oral contraception argued that their method was natural, not artificial.

World"; but although liberal and conservative disagreement surfaced, the crackling tension that electrified St. Peter's for three years seemed gone. By mid-October, reported Xavier Rynne, the mood of Catholic prelates was one of "resigned euphoria." He explained:

... They were resigned because of the realization that more acceptable texts could not be achieved under present circumstances and it was better to be grateful for the great progress already accomplished than mourn over unattainable ideals.2

The coverage by Time and Newsweek of the Second Vatican Council's last session displayed many, familiar aspects. They concentrated on such issues and documents as the "Declaration on Religious Freedom"; the "Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation"; the "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World"; a "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions," which contained a statement on the Jews; the newly created synod of bishops; and with Newsweek, birth control. Again both journals evidenced a pro-progressive slant, although in a modified form.3 Also, the periodicals remained cool to

1Rynne, Fourth Session, passim. 2Ibid., p. 178.

Pope Paul; they refused to give the Pontiff credit for actions that they themselves favored. For example, when Paul approved the worker-priest movement in France, a liberal cause killed by John, *Time* failed to praise the progressive spirit that dared to revive "... an experiment once thought to have strayed so radically that liberal Pope John XXIII himself pronounced its doom."¹ Likewise when the Pope forced a vote on religious liberty over conservative resistance and liberal indecision, the magazines related the incident without editorial comment.²

Generally the articles in *Time* and *Newsweek* reflected more resignation than euphoria. The dominant image projected was that under the Pope's guidance the council had moved away from dramatic change and conflict to compromise and consensus. *Time's* story, "Vatican Council: The Uses of Ambiguity" and *Newsweek's* item, "St. John and St. Pius?," made this point quite clearly. Yet even though the publications were obviously disappointed, they refrained from harshly criticizing the council or Paul at this time.³

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Like its rivals, U.S. News & World Report covered the major issues of the fourth session; yet its articles continued to differ with those of Time and Newsweek. The journal gave less attention to the council and remained relatively free from bias. Also during the session, it countered the image of compromise with an emphasis on change. Where Time and Newsweek stressed the conciliar drive toward consensus, U.S. News & World Report proclaimed: "More rapidly than at any time in recent history, Roman Catholic teaching is being changed as the world-wide Ecumenical Council's fourth and final session moves into its closing weeks."\(^1\) However, the periodical sometimes appeared unaware that certain actions of Vatican II were more significant than others. Furthermore, as the illusion of Christian union waned in the pages of its competitors, the Lawrence publication—uncharacteristically—began to picture some schemata as forward steps "... in the movement toward Christian unity."\(^2\)

The Second Vatican Council ceremoniously concluded on December 8, 1965. After years of religious ferment, the three news magazines had another opportunity to assess the council and analyze the state of Catholicism.

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Newsweek covered the end of Vatican II in an article entitled "What the Council Did." The distinctive feature of the story, when compared to the journal's past reporting, was its flat and unexcited tone. It related some successes of aggiornamento: moving the Roman Catholic Church into the twentieth century, creating "... a blueprint for renewed forms of worship and ways of government within the church ...," and allowing former theological outcasts like Yves Congar and Henri de Lubac into the Catholic mainstream. Also the item pin-pointed failures of the council especially its "... dodging the birth control issue." Yet the periodical did not lavish praise on the victories of renewal nor did it grieve its losses. In fact, the analysis simply gave bland, capsule descriptions of half the council's documents and marked the "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church" with its definition of episcopal collegiality as the keystone of conciliar accomplishment. Moreover, while it detailed the influence of the periti such as Hans Küng, the publication portrayed these theological experts as the real intellectual leaders of the council. And finally, the summary ended on a note of resignation about the council's labors and the future of reform: "Nobody doubted the harvesting was going to take a lot of work and many years."1

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In contrast to *Newsweek*, *Time* overcame its disappointment with "Reformation Roman style" in a thoughtful two-page essay on the meaning of the Second Vatican Council. The essay held that the major achievement of the council was a transformation of Catholic attitude. The magazine described the pre-council church as world-rejecting and intolerant, but after Vatican II it saw a community in dialogue with modern life, other religions, and even Godless Communism. Beyond this metamorphosis, the journal praised two important types of conciliar decrees. The first were documents, such as the "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy," the "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church," and the "Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity," whose purpose was to renew and reform Catholicism itself. The second—the "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World," the "Decree on Ecumenism," the "Declaration on Religious Freedom," and the "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions"—were statements that ended the Counter Reformation and Roman isolation. Despite this acclamation of accomplishment, the item also mentioned failures. It felt that some schemata like the ones on mass communications and Christian education were conspicuously bad, and some were generally "noble" but too cautious. Furthermore, the publication saw the council's failure to resolve the birth control issue as another blemish on its record. Yet despite these failures, the inevitable
conservative resistance to reform, and the natural difficulties in translating the ideal of *aggiornamento* into reality, the periodical was impressed that a new spirit, sparked by Vatican II, had caught fire within the Roman Catholic Church. And it stated that the more the church followed the call of gospel-centered renewal, "... the more likely it is that its voice will be heeded again by the world."¹

Lastly, *U.S. News & World Report* gave a faithful summary of its view of the council. First, it stressed that great and unprecedented changes were taking place within Catholicism. Second, with little reference to conciliar documents, the magazine listed numerous changes in the church's rules, worship, thought, and polity without discriminating between major and minor mutations. Next, the journal emphasized that the council achieved more than anyone expected when John announced his determination to hold a council. And in contrast to *Time* and *Newsweek*, *U.S. News & World Report* made Paul the hero of reform. According to the publication, it was he who took charge of Vatican II after the first session and "... was able, by diplomacy and compromise, to ease the dangerous conflicts and preserve the momentum of change."²


²"How Life Will Be Different For Catholics," *USN*, 12/20/65, pp. 52-53.
Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

The Second Vatican Council was definitely the ecclesiastical event of the early 1960's. No other happening dominated the religion articles in *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* like the renewal of the Roman Catholic Church. With Vatican II, the church became big news and the recipient of keen press attention.

The image of *aggiornamento* was highly changeable; it evolved between 1959-1965 and varied according to magazine. After Pope John's announcement of the council until the end of 1961, the three journals projected a confused picture of the upcoming conclave and often inferred that it would be some type of Christian summit. By 1962 the confusion subsided, and the publications recognized that reform was the council's purpose. Then came the passionate debates of the first session, a Vatican opening to the East, and *Pacem in Terris*. These occurrences seemingly astonished *Time* and *Newsweek*, and incited them to fashion an impression that almost anything was possible in this "New Church." *U.S. News & World Report* was also impressed; and after showing little interest in the inaugural meeting in Rome, it came alive in the spring of 1962 demonstrating a particular interest in the diplomatic implications of John's actions during his waning days.
After the Pope's death and the election of Paul VI, two fundamentally different images of aggiornamento started to emerge. Until the end of the third session, U.S. News & World Report presented a constant picture: Pope Paul was continuing John's policy of dramatic change. But Time and Newsweek were mercurial. They wavered between hailing Paul as a Johannine progressive and condemning him for not bringing Catholic renewal to fruition. The conclusion of the third session settled the question for them; Paul was not John and the Roman revolution was over. From then to the end of Vatican II, Time and Newsweek—tempered by disappointment—recognized that moderate reform under the guidance of a cautious and compromising leader best described the council's progress. Yet U.S. News & World Report portrayed a different Pope and council. It felt that Paul had skillfully forged a reform consensus which continued the church's drive toward modernization.

These divergent impressions and an analysis of the periodicals show that the character of the three magazines shaped the image of aggiornamento to a significant degree. Attitude was a major factor in this. The journals were overwhelmingly favorable to the council and Catholic renewal; but a noticeable, pro-liberal/anti-conservative bias infected Time and Newsweek. And this bias greatly determined their

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1 Time transcended this disappointment in its summary essay on the council's conclusion.
This most disheartening sight has caused this humble priest... to make a decision intended to recall certain ancient forms of doctrinal affirmation and of wise arrangements for ecclesiastical discipline. These forms, in the course of Church history, have yielded the richest harvest of results because of their clarity of thought, their compactness of religious unity, and their heightened flame of Christian fervor. . . .

... Trembling a little with emotion, but with humble firmness of purpose, We now tell you a twofold celebration: We propose to call a diocesan synod for Rome, and an ecumenical council for the Universal Church. . . .

To you, venerable brethren and beloved sons, We need hardly elaborate on the historical significance and juridical meaning of these two proposals. They will lead to the desired and long awaited modernization of the Code of Canon Law, which is expected to accompany and to crown these two efforts in the practical application of the rules of ecclesiastical discipline, applications the Spirit of the Lord will surely suggest to Us as We proceed.1

Finally, the Pope placed his trust in God and implored the saints in heaven for the successful outcome of this task:

We entreat all of them to grant Us a good beginning and continuation, and final success, in these projects (all of which require hard work) to the enlightenment, edification, and happiness of the whole Christian world, and to the inducement of the faithful of the separated communities to follow Us amicably in the quest for unity and for grace, to which so many souls aspire from all corners of the earth. . . . 2

Significantly, the newly-elected Pontiff did not make Christian unity the theme of his speech nor the purpose of the council. In reality, the sorry state of the world compelled John to call a synod of Rome and an ecumenical council. His

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2Ibid., p. 23.
reporting. While *U.S. News & World Report* calmly welcomed reform and recounted the transformation of a religious institution, the others championed the progressive cause, lampooned the conservative opposition, and generally portrayed a battle of ecclesiastical heroes and villains.

A natural outgrowth of these attitudes was a reportorial emphasis. True to its more narrow focus, *U.S. News & World Report* strongly noted the international aspects of Vatican actions whenever possible. Furthermore, when the diplomatic angle was missing, it stressed individual changes that would result from conciliar activity and the Popes' role in bringing about reform. While displaying a similar concern with papal leadership, *Time* and *Newsweek* exceeded this interest in change and accentuated what reforms could and should take place because of the council. Moreover, they noticed conflict within the church much more than their rival. Also they were acutely concerned with the power struggle between the Roman Curia versus the bishops of the world and the fight for intellectual freedom in the church by liberal theologians and educated lay-people. Likewise they demonstrated a marked interest in the ecumenical movement, the council's attitude toward Jews, and the document on religious liberty.

Generally the hopes for Catholic reform rose between 1959-1965; issues that were not even associated with the council in 1962, such as birth control, were made the benchmarks of Vatican II's success by 1965. Nonetheless the
publications evidenced expectations that were consistent with their attitudes and emphases. *U.S. News & World Report* had no independent expectations for reform and the judgments that it reported were mainly low-key. In contrast, *Time* and *Newsweek* adopted progressive expectations for the council and foretold—and at times demanded—a fundamental reformation of Roman Catholicism. When these hopes were not fully realized, they reacted violently and finally became resigned that evolution, not revolution, was happening in Rome.

Examining the periodical's quality of reporting spotlights another significant contrast. No journal gave a detailed study of Vatican II. There was little in-depth analysis of the council's sixteen documents and few attempts at systematically tracing the legislative history of renewal decrees.1 Basically the publications covered issues of major importance and identified the schemata with just a key idea or two. Yet there were differences in quality. *Time* and *Newsweek* developed a decided edge in understanding important issues, the reasoning behind reform, and the depth of the theological conflict at the Second Vatican Council. The ordinarily lower quality of *U.S. News & World Report* reflected a lesser degree of interest. It handled the obvious matters raised by the conclave but frequently conveyed only a vague comprehension about the significance of

1For a source that contains both a legislative history and an analysis of Vatican II's documents see Msgr. Vincent A. Yzermans, ed., *American Participation in the*
certain changes and the rationale behind them. But there was a paradox! *Time* and *Newsweek*, which appeared more informed about the council, forcefully projected the most distorted impression of the period. With the Myth of John, they established a false standard to judge the accomplishments of Pope Paul and the success of renewal, and thereby based their image of *aggiornamento* on an unsound premise. For its part, *U.S. News & World Report* did not refute this legend and seemingly accepted it, but the Lawrence journal was not blinded by its glow. Therefore, it saw less discontinuity between the policies of John and Paul, and recognized that Paul ultimately sanctioned Catholic renewal—an assessment that will likely pass the test of historical scrutiny.

The preceding summary and analysis raises the question: why is it necessary to delineate the images created by three news magazines? It is important for several reasons. The foremost is that these images mirror the nature of the periodicals as well as the event itself. A publication's attitude, emphases, expectations, and quality serve as a mold within which fluid occurrences are poured, then pressed, and finally disseminated for popular consumption. If this process distorts reality by glib generalizations, misleading labels, hasty judgments, or editorial bias, these errors are not merely mistakes on paper but are falsehoods.

that can shape public opinion and action. Yet these distortions do not necessarily indicate the conscious malevolence of opinion-makers. Rather they simply show the power of an observer's Weltanschauung to determine perception. Thus the cultivation of a healthy skepticism and a critical mind are crucial when reading weekly, digested news.

Specifically concerning Vatican II and the Roman Catholic Church, an examination of the council's coverage illuminates two important phenomena. The first is that a major image created about the council—namely, that Pope Paul pulled back from full-scale Catholic renewal as planned by John XXIII—needs drastic revision. A careful reading of the journals manifest that John died at the right time; he died when hopes were high and the problems of institutional change were unclear. Historian Richard Hofstadter noted a similar instance of a timely death enhancing a personality's reputation. Of President Franklin Roosevelt, he said:

... Roosevelt died in the midst of things, and it is still possible for those under his spell to believe that everything would have been different if only he had survived to set the world on the right path in the postwar period.1

This was equally true for John. He died after the unexpectedly lively first session, and it was possible for Catholic liberals and their friends to convince themselves that the council would have gone farther if he had lived. Secondly,

Catholicism's openness during this period had a Janus-faced effect for the church. On the one hand, this openness allowed the press and the world to learn more about the church and thereby earned world-wide respect and understanding. Yet for an authoritarian institution, it caused problems. The widely reported conciliar debates prompted an increasing questioning of church and papal authority in these magazines. Likewise the evolution of rising expectations about renewal produced hopes that were not realized and consequently laid the seeds for religious discontent.

But despite these problems, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* painted an extremely favorable portrait of the Roman Catholic Church as a result of the Second Vatican Council. And the hostile press coverage given to the First Vatican Council (1869-70) underlines this conclusion. During Vatican I the American secular press described the Catholic Church as a superstitious, repressive, medieval monster adamantly opposed to modern life.¹ Whereas during the age of aggiornamento, three prominent periodicals saw a reformed Catholicism—a living and growing religious tradition that sought better self-understanding, improved relations with former adversaries, and heightened service to humanity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

1. Collected Documents


2. Magazines


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1. Books


2. Articles


proposed "twofold celebration" would "lead to" and "accompany" a "modernization" of canon law which would "... crown these two efforts in the practical application of the rules of ecclesiastical discipline. ..." A vague reference to Christian unity appeared just at the end of the speech, and it seemed to indicate that John hoped a successful council would entice "... the faithful of the separated communities ..." to return to the Catholic Church in their search for unity and grace. Certainly John frequently expressed a desire that a successful council might serve as an invitation for non-Catholic Christians to return to the Roman Catholic Church, and he stated it more clearly to the representatives of Catholic universities on April 4:

... As you know, We have decided, for numerous most important reasons, to summon an Ecumenical Council. By giving an admirable view of the cohesion, unity, and concord of the holy Church of God, ... [the council] will, of itself, constitute an invitation to our separated brothers, who bear the honourable name of Christian, to return to the universal flock whose direction it was the changeless wish of Christ to confide to St. Peter.¹

But the press did not have access to John's January address until February 27, 1959 when Acta Apostolicae Sedis published the complete Italian text of the announcement.² So the first stories of Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report about the council were necessarily based on a


communique issued by L'Osservatore Romano on the same day as John's announcement
and a similar short article in its pages of January 26-27. The Vatican paper briefly reported what the Pope said about the state of the modern world and his plan for a Roman synod, general council, and a revision of canon law. In another paragraph this notice exceeded John's words, at least in emphasis, and revealed that:

... the purpose of the Council would be "not only the spiritual good of Christian people but equally an invitation to the separated communities to search for that unity towards which so many souls aspire." 

This statement caused a great deal of confusion. Newsweek in a short notice on John's announcement stressed the importance and unexpectedness of the event. Then blending the Pontiff's concern with the denial of freedom by some and his "invitation" to the separated communities, it saw the council as an all-Christian, anti-Communist event:

With other Christian churches invited, the meeting ... could become the most immense ecclesiastical gathering in history. Its purpose: to re-affirm Christianity's stand against Communism, particularly as it deals with the faithful behind the Iron Curtain, and in Red China.

Likewise U.S. News & World Report emphasized the importance and unexpectedness of John's plan, especially since some people considered John a "caretaker." The journal did

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1 Teville, pp. 226-227. 2 Hales, p. 97. 3 Ibid. 4 Religion, "Historic Announcement," Newsweek, February 2, 1959, p. 56. (Hereinafter Newsweek will be desig-
not foretell an overt anti-Communist meeting as did *Newsweek*,
but it did pick up the Christian unity theme: "The purpose:
to try to unify the world's Christian forces. It is an end,
the Pope said, 'which so many desire in all parts of the
world.'" And until the council, the publication predicted,
"... the Vatican will seek the co-operation of Protestant
groups in the West, Orthodox faiths in the East."¹

Without appearing surprised by the announcement, *Time*
boldly proclaimed its significance: "... the Pope
announced what may well be the most important 20th century
landmark in the history of the Roman Catholic Church: the
21st Ecumenical Council..." Like its two competitors,
it made the quest for Christian unity the purpose of the coun-
cil by stating that the "prime objective of the next council
will be 'to invite the separated religious communities... to
seek the unity of the church, desired by so many souls all
over the world'. ..." Then expounding on this theme, it
saw the Eastern Orthodox Churches as John's main target and
felt that he could expect some oriental warmthness because of
his twenty years of diplomatic experience in the Balkans and
Rome's support of the East against Moscow. Yet the period-
cical saw papal primacy as the big obstacle to union with not
only the Orthodox but also with Protestants, who both might
be asked to observe the council. Lastly, the magazine showed

¹People of the Week, "For Christianity: An Invitation
(Hereinafter *U.S. News & World Report* will be designated by
USN, and the date will be given numerically.)
the "calculated reserve" of a few Protestant leaders to the proposed conclave. These leaders expressed hopes for cooperation but also fears that Rome wanted to impose unity.¹

From these opening articles to December 1961, the coverage of the upcoming council was incomplete, fragmented, and confused. On February 23, 1959, Time still reported that Christian unity was the main matter for consideration at John's council and anticipated that Protestant observers might be invited. However, later that year it recognized that John's announcement was misunderstood and only Roman Catholic prelates would attend the council. Yet toward the end of 1961, the Luce publication again realized that non-Catholic observers might attend the council. It indirectly quoted the Most Rev. Arthur C. Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop of the U.S. Protestant Episcopal Church, who opined after a Vatican meeting with Pope John that the Pontiff would "... invite Protestant observers to the Catholic ecumenical council scheduled for late next year or early 1963."²

The question of whether Protestants would attend the council or not received more concentrated attention than any other aspect of the conclave in Time. It only once vaguely

¹Religion, "The 21st Council," Time, February 9, 1959, pp. 54-55. (Hereinafter Time will be designated by T, and the date will be given numerically.)

hinted at friction in the Roman Catholic hierarchy over the council by citing a statement to that effect by an unnamed priest.\(^1\) Also, on one occasion it recognized, without comment, John's desire that an ecumenical council would induce non-Catholic Christians to return to the Roman Catholic Church.\(^2\) Before December 1961 only one possible reform was linked to the upcoming assembly—"Putting St. Joseph's name next to Mary's in the prayers of the Mass."\(^3\) Meanwhile the journal ran an article on a report to the World Council of Churches' Commission on Religious Liberty that described a strong trend in contemporary Catholic thought toward accepting the idea of religious liberty, but this trend was not connected to the proposed council.\(^4\) Moreover, in stories concerning a minor change in the Index of Forbidden Books, the church's problems in Latin America, or the lack of international awareness among Catholics, Time did not recognize issues that either should or would be discussed at Vatican II.\(^5\)

\(^1\)Religion, "Reply to the Pope," \(T\), 2/23/59, p. 52.
\(^5\)Religion, "Off the Index," \(T\), 5/11/59, p. 68; Religion, "Lapsing Latin America," \(T\), 1/18/60, p. 50; and Religion, "Un-International Catholics?," \(T\), 2/15/60, p. 86.
Similarly *Newsweek*'s coverage of the council was far from comprehensive. On February 9, 1959, it briefly described other purposes for John's council while seeing Christian unity as "... the most spectacular--and least hopeful--concern of the 21st council. ..." Its article foretold that the ecumenical council would "... take a searching look at the whole life of the church ...," and "... grapple with the problem of the captive church and other desecrations of Communism and the cold war."\(^1\) Yet the periodical showed in May of 1959 that it still misunderstood why John called an ecumenical council. It stated that through this call for a council, John wanted to bring Christian churches together for a discussion of unity.\(^2\) For *Newsweek* this misunderstanding about the nature of the council was corrected by Domenico Cardinal Tardini, Vatican Secretary of State, who publicly rejected the idea that non-Catholics would get formal invitations to the council.\(^3\) Finally, in the middle of 1960, it realized what place non-Catholic Christians would likely have at the council by noting Vatican speculation that "... non-Catholic Christians will receive official invitations as council observers."\(^4\)

\(^1\)Religion, "To Warm Hearts ...," \(N\), 2/9/59, p. 82.

\(^2\)Religion, "Bumpy Road to Unity," \(N\), 5/4/59, p. 68.

\(^3\)Religion, "Bishops--And Hoosiers," \(N\), 11/9/59, p. 112.

Although *Newsweek* said that the council would examine the church and deal with Communism and the Cold War, it failed to carry stories detailing these themes. Instead the magazine ran articles on a proposal for married deacons in the church, Roman Catholic problems in Latin America, and some new ideas within the church on artificial contraception; but none of these topics were linked to the upcoming council.¹

Lastly, *U.S. News & World Report* evidenced a dearth of news about the future council from its opening article until the end of 1961. In December 1959 it implied that the purposes of the council were to promote Christian unity and stop Communism in Latin America and Africa.² Later in May 1960, the magazine demonstrated more realism concerning the council by saying that "the Ecumenical Council will deal essentially with Catholic Church matters . . ." as the church worked for better understanding with non-Catholic Christians.³ Like *Time* and *Newsweek*, it failed to detect specific issues for discussion at the Second Vatican Council before December 1961.

Even though the three publications reported little directly about the upcoming ecumenical council from its


²Francis B. Stevens, *"U.S. and the Vatican,"* *USN*, 12/14/59, p. 75.

announcement to December 1961, the coverage given the Roman Catholic Church during this period was significant. This coverage illuminates the major focus of each magazine, provides a needed basis from which to view the changing image of Catholicism during the years of aggiornamento, and furnishes grounds for seeing the different standards used by Time and Newsweek to judge Pope John and his successor, Pope Paul VI.

Between February 1959 and December 1961, Time's main concern in religion articles related to the Roman Catholic Church was with the idea of Christian unity.\(^1\) Its early reports displayed little optimism; the problems of union outweighed any hope for a united Christendom. Yet in the spring of 1960, the journal began to bloom with cheerful stories on this theme. One concerning the bright prospects for future Catholic-Protestant cooperation proclaimed: "On certain thin-aired uplands where theologians graze, it is growing increasingly difficult to tell a Protestant from a Roman Catholic."\(^2\) The periodical was not overly simplistic; it did not state or imply that union was near or easy to achieve. But numerous articles on this topic from May 1960

\(^1\)All three magazines ran articles on the Christian unity theme that were not closely related to the Roman Catholic Church. However, this paper will deal with just those stories that connected the Catholic Church and Christian unity or illustrated a journal's attitude toward Christian union generally.

to the end of 1961 strongly created the impression that there was a growing momentum bringing Christian churches together.¹

Time explicitly expressed this view in a cover story entitled "The Ecumenical Century."² The article reported a unifying second Reformation taking place for Christians in contrast to the divisive Reformation of the sixteenth century:

In the time of second Reformation, it is the scandalous disunity among Christians that has alienated men and cheapened the church. And in response to this, the scattered forces of the Christian faith are realigning and regrouping to make this the Ecumenical Century. The church scarred by centuries of suspicion and prideful rivalry and man's inhumanity to man, is newly mindful of Christ's command "that they all may be one."³

The magazine saw abundant evidence to support this claim. It reported that Orthodox churches were moving closer together; Catholicism was establishing new relations with Orthodoxy and Protestantism; and American Protestants were


³Ibid., p. 76.
uniting under the National Council of Churches as individual denominations explored organic union.

According to Time the impetus behind this drive toward unity was necessity, not Christian charity:

The new Christian cohesiveness is no sudden upsurge of agape in the hearts of men. As old enemies huddle together for warmth and protection in a raging storm, so the once proud and self-sufficient churches are being driven together by cold and whistling winds in a turbulent world.¹

The publication detailed the "raging storm" that Christianity faced. Internally, the Christian churches were losing their sense of purpose; externally, Christianity was challenged by militant forms of science, Communism, and cultural nationalism in the third world. These forces, the journal stated, were "... helping herd the scattered Christians into one corral."²

Newsweek expressed a similar concern with the idea of Christian unity, and its stories on this theme developed much like Time. From February 1959 until the summer of 1960, it related little that was hopeful about unity. In fact, one article foretold that Protestant-Catholic relations in the United States could possibly worsen during the 1960's over such issues as birth control, John Kennedy's campaign for the Presidency, aid to private schools, and Catholic emphasis on the "moral" qualities of modern communications.³

Although *Newsweek* was not as optimistic or articulate as *Time* concerning reunion, it displayed more sanguine reports on the relations between Christian churches from June 1960 to the end of 1961.¹

In contrast to *Time* and *Newsweek*, *U.S. News & World Report* showed little concern with the idea of Christian unity, yet it demonstrated some interest in Christian co-operation. In a story on the proposed visit of Geoffrey Francis Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope John, the magazine displayed its particular focus on the issue. It defined Christian cooperation in anti-Communist terms: "... to overcome suspicion between Christians so that they may meet the challenge of Communism more effectively."²

The specter of Communism haunted *U.S. News & World Report* during these years of the Cold War. Therefore, its deep-seated concern with the Roman Catholic Church's attitude toward Communism is not surprising. The periodical consistently presented the Catholic Church and Pope John as militantly anti-Communist;³ and it also reported the


³See People of the Week, "Pope John XXII--Ban on 'Fellow Travelers,'" USN, 4/27/59, p. 22; March of the News,
opposition of other important Catholics to Marxism in principle and practice from Boston's archbishop, Richard Cardinal Cushing, to prelates in Eastern Europe and the People's Republic of China. At times this publication pictured the Vatican as a virtual Cold War ally of the United States. In an item tracing America's diplomatic relations with the Vatican and describing President Dwight Eisenhower's meeting with Pope John on December 6, 1959, Francis B. Stevens, a member of the journal's Board of Editors, wrote:

... the visit serves to underline the common elements in Vatican and U.S. foreign policy, particularly the search for peace with justice and the unrelenting struggle against Communism.

... The Vatican can be a stanch ally in advancing the President's objectives of promoting peace and resisting the expansion of Communism. It is therefore possible that the question of resuming diplomatic relations with the Vatican will arise on his return to Washington.2

The Roman Catholic Church also appeared strongly anti-Communist in Time and Newsweek. Yet neither magazine handled this issue with the attention or concern of U.S. News & World Report in the years 1959 through 1961.3


2"U.S. and the Vatican," USN, 12/14/59, p. 75; see also People of the Week, "From Pope John: Indirect Praise of Ike's Trip," USN, 1/4/60, p. 15.

From the council's announcement to the end of 1961, the image of Pope John XXIII as a revolutionary Pontiff (an image that developed later) was not fully established nor was the direction of the Roman Catholic Church clear to the press. However, Pope John's personal warmth, wit, and kindness glowed in the pages of the three news magazines which often studded their reports with moving anecdotes such as:

... he was ushered into a special sector of the jail which had been cleared as "safe" for him. All around him were other, barred sectors filled with prisoners who had not been cleared. "Open up the gates. Don't bar me from them," he said immediately. Prison officials trembled. "Some of these men ..." began one man, looking down a corridor at convicted murderers and rapists. "They are all children of the Lord," said Pope John. "Open up the gates." And in he went. ... 1

Despite his call for a council, John did not present the image of an ecclesiastical liberal or innovator. In matters of church policy, the articles in Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report pictured the Pope as neither clearly liberal or conservative. They showed him internationalizing the College of Cardinals, calling for censorship of the press, advocating more use of the rosary, or insisting on the use of


Latin in Catholic liturgy. During these years, in contrast to later, such papal actions or appointments were rarely evaluated as to their conservative or liberal tendencies.

An exception to this general rule was an item in *Newsweek* during the spring of 1960 analyzing the policy and image of Pope John. In it religion editor Archer Speers and the publication's Rome bureau chief, Curtis G. Pepper, explained: "The figure of the Pope today seems harder to understand than ever." In brief, *Newsweek* contended that John's personal warmth was still present; but in the spring of 1959, there appeared a conservative trend at the Vatican that replaced the seeming liberality of John's first months in office. In this vein, the story noted a stern line taken by the Vatican on political cooperation with Communists or Communists supporters; the suppression by Rome of the worker priest movement, a liberal pastoral experiment in France; and a speech by the Pontiff to the Italian Union of Catholic Jurists that advocated censorship of the press.

Moreover, the magazine said, showing the effect of the press' earlier misunderstanding of John's announcement of a council: "... there was considerable disappointment

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in the Vatican's redefinition of the mission of the general council in relation to world Christian unity." Though obviously disappointed, the periodical refrained from harshly criticizing John. After suggesting that he might be controlled by or trying to quietly overcome powerful Vatican bureaucrats, it concluded:

... In all this controversy, three things remain indisputable: The idea for the general council was his alone; he gets full credit for expanding the College of Cardinals to include members of all races; and he is indeed a good shepherd to his flock.¹

In the approximately three years after the announcement of an ecumenical council, only one story in the three magazines reported the upcoming event with any depth or insight; and it appeared in Time at the end of 1961. Despite its flaws, this item exhibited a new and better understanding of the purpose of John's council and the topics to be discussed at it. The journal recognized that the council was "... frankly aimed at 'modernizing' the church ..." which "... lumbers along on a centuries-old collection of codes, rites and practices, many of which hinder ... its missionary objectives in the modern world." The issues that Time predicted, with fair accuracy, for discussion at

¹Special Religion Report, "The Pope Today," II, 4/18/60, pp. 75-78; see also "For Vatican--Old Problems, New Approach," USN, 5/30/60, pp. 70-72. Citing "leading scholars" and "Vatican sources," this article discerned a more realistic attitude, not a change in doctrine, taking place in the Catholic Church concerning its relations to other churches and civil authority.
the council were: the role and authority of bishops in the church; the desire of Northern European prelates to reform Catholic liturgical practice despite John's insistence on retaining Latin; a conflict in the church over a statement affirming religious liberty; and the possibility of certain revisions in ecclesiastical discipline. And although the article proclaimed that "perhaps nothing will concern the council more than the question of Christian unity . . . ," this theme was overshadowed by the idea of church renewal.¹

In 1962 Time continued to demonstrate this improved understanding. Until the eve of the Second Vatican Council, the magazine reported issues and people that would become significant at Vatican II. During the year such issues as greater lay participation in the church, reform of the Curia, more simple dress for the Roman Catholic hierarchy, increased autonomy for local bishops, possible lay election of bishops, and greater use of the vernacular in Catholic liturgy were favorably reported. Moreover, none of these articles pictured Pope John as originating or advocating reforms. At times, the aged Pontiff was presented as rebuking certain reformers; at other times he was seen as being evenhanded in doling out conciliar posts.²


An outstanding example of Time's coverage is a review of The Council, Reform and Reunion, a book by Father Hans Küng, a young professor of theology at the University of Tübingen. This review gave a highly accurate and favorable summary of Küng's proposals for the council's agenda: restore the Catholic episcopacy to its full power and responsibilities; allow local bishops with their diocesan synods to adapt the liturgy to local needs; reform or end the Index of Forbidden Books; increase the layman's role in the church; and ask forgiveness of Catholic sins in causing or perpetuating Christian disunity. During Vatican II, Father Küng appeared frequently in Time and Newsweek as a champion of reform. What apparently made Küng so attractive was the European theologian's ability to tie the ideas of Catholic reform to Christian reunion:

... if Catholics carry out Catholic reform and Protestants carry out Protestant reform, both according to the Gospel image, then, because the Gospel of Christ is but one, reunion need not remain a utopian dream. Reunion will then be neither a Protestant return nor a Catholic capitulation but a brotherly approach from both sides, with neither consciously calculating, on the other's behalf, which of them has more steps to take; an approach penetrated with love, and wholly determined by truth.


3Ibid., p. 72; see also Küng, p. 100.
Before the council, *Time* in 1962 retained its interest in the "Ecumenical Century." Again it would be unfair to accuse the publication of predicting a quick and easy Christian reunion. But its articles on inter-faith meetings; visits of non-Catholic religious leaders to the Pope; the council's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, headed by "this wise old Jesuit," Augustin Cardinal Bea; and Roman invitations to non-Catholic observers to attend Vatican II strongly projected the image that there was widespread movement by the different sects of Christianity toward eventual reunion.¹

Although lacking *Time's* relative depth or range of coverage, *Newsweek* demonstrated a better understanding of the council during the first nine months of 1962 than it exhibited previously. It realized that the primary purpose of Vatican II was "... the development of the Catholic faith and modernization of church practices."² Yet the journal did not detail this development or modernization much beyond a simple statement:

> The forthcoming council is expected to weigh such matters as canon law, ritual, church discipline,

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the "ministry of the layman," and the role of the church in the world's new nations and in Iron Curtain countries. 1

Also during this period, Newsweek manifested a continuing interest in Christian unity. Particularly evident were articles relating which major groups of non-Catholics accepted Vatican invitations to observe the council. 2 Even though it displayed less optimism than Time about unity, the periodical was certainly not negative on this theme. 3

Before October 1962 U.S. News & World Report carried just one significant article about the upcoming council. It briefly identified internal reform and the quest for Christian unity as the twin goals of the Second Vatican Council. 4

In October 1962 immediately before or just after the opening of Vatican II, each magazine carried an article that purported to explain the event. 5 In contrast to their


expectations in February 1959, these journals saw that *aggiornamento*, modernization, or updating was the aim of the Roman Catholic Church's general council. *Time* stressed this idea, but linked modernization to the idea of ultimate Christian reunion in the manner of Hans Küng:

The purpose of the Second Vatican Council is what His Holiness Pope John XXIII, who has the Catholic prelate's traditional wariness of words that suggest drastic change, calls an *aggiornamento*—a modernization. . . . It is the hope of Pope John, and of many of his bishops, that the Protestant and Orthodox churches will be favorably impressed, and that Catholicism may be pointed toward the far-distant goal of nearly all Christians: their ultimate unity in one church.1

*Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report* also identified modernization of the church to meet the challenges of the modern world as the council's goal. Yet at this time, neither magazine expressed much hope for Christian union; they talked more of inter-faith cooperation and understanding. In fact, *Newsweek* showed disappointment with John for supposedly changing the emphasis of the ecumenical council away from Christian unity: "Originally, the Council raised utopian hopes, and John had only himself to blame."2

With varying degrees of accuracy and depth, the publications foretold many of the important issues to be discussed at the council including: decentralization of church government; episcopal powers and responsibilities; liturgical reform; and religious liberty. *Time* and *U.S. News &

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World Report were especially clear in listing and predicting the outcome of issues while Newsweek wove its list of issues and predictions throughout the article.

Furthermore, all mentioned a possible liberal-conservative conflict at the council in generally vague terms. Newsweek and Time named some members of the opposing factions like conservative Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani, Secretary of the Holy Office, and liberal Bernard Cardinal Alfrink of Utrecht. Despite these identifications and a few generalizations about liberal-conservative positions on some issues, the origins and ideas of these contending factions remained obscure.

To the journals, factions were less important to the future of the council than the Pope. U.S. News & World Report simply detailed the Pope's absolute power over a council while Time and Newsweek directly stated that the future of the council and the Roman Catholic Church was squarely in the hands of Pope John XXIII. What direction would John take? U.S. News & World Report ignored the question; Newsweek implied that John would do something positive; and after calling the Pontiff "puzzling," Time gave the last word in its article to "Pope John's defenders among Catholic liberals. . . ." These liberals expressed the idea that even though John was no innovator, he would allow change if change was the will of the church.
Lastly, in these stories, *Time* was the only forceful advocate for change. After describing the problems that the church and the council faced, it said:

In trying to grapple with such problems, the council may disappointingly settle for a series of revised clubhouse rules, more cautious than venturesome. But millions of the church's faithful--and others, too--are praying that good men will be guided to a larger effort, a renewal of spirit rather than law.¹

These three articles clearly show the press' development in understanding Vatican II's purpose and the clarification of the council's image since February 1959. From reporting the proposed meeting as a Vatican attempt at Christian unity, *Time, Newsweek,* and *U.S. News & World Report* gradually recognized that the Second Vatican Council's main goal was to modernize the Roman Catholic Church.

Despite this development, the periodicals failed to describe adequately the roots and reasons behind the theological conflict that they vaguely foresaw. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Roman Catholic authority firmly embraced neo-scholasticism and adamantly opposed a theology of renewal which sprang largely from France and Germany. In France after World War II, this theology of renewal became especially vocal and articulate under the intellectual leadership of such theologians as Henri de Lubac, Jean Danielou, M. D. Chenu, and Yves Congar. Official reaction from Rome caused some of these men to be removed from teaching posts and prohibited from publishing. And until the council,

these forces of change occupied a precarious position in
the church.1

Vatican authorities basically saw religious truth as
a fixed system and the church's duty as the defense of this
objectively true and unchanging deposit of faith from all
error. In opposition, the theologians of renewal countered
with a three-pronged method. First, they stressed a return
to the biblical and patristic sources of Christianity to
clarify its original form and content and to show its later
evolution. Second, contact with non-Catholic theology was
stressed to gain the insights and research of other Christ-
ians. Third, these theologians advocated Catholic openness
to the world so the church could learn from new trends of
thought and respond to modern problems.2

Also the magazines did not perceive a related aspect
of the council--its conservative preparations. With few ex-
ceptions, Curial conservatives chaired the preparatory com-
missions and determined the character of documents presented
to the council.3 When the proposed drafts of the first seven

1The material for this description was drawn from
Mark Schoof, O.P., A Survey of Catholic Theology 1800-1970,
passim; George H. Tavard, The Pilgrim Church (New York:
Herder and Herder, 1967), pp. 15-41; Yves Congar, O.P., A
History of Theology, trans. and ed. Hunter Guthrie, S.J.
(Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968), pp. 7-15;
and Xavier Rynne, pseud., Letters From Vatican City

2The press' failure to understand this conflict is
mitigated by the probability that many of the prelates who
attended the council's first session were similarly ignorant
of modern trends in European theology (Tavard, p. 33).

3Rynne, Letters, pp. 42-50; and Hales, pp. 102-106.
schemata	extsuperscript{1} were sent to the Catholic hierarchy on July 13, 1962, they so agitated some progressives that the Dutch bishops commissioned a commentary on these documents by Father Edward Schillebeeckx, O.P., a professor of dogmatics at the Catholic University of Nijmegen. Schillebeeckx's anonymous commentary harshly criticized the proposed drafts, save a schema on the liturgy, and was widely distributed to council participants.\textsuperscript{2} The major consequence of this conservative preparation was negative; it forced the council, especially during the first session, to spend its time rejecting or drastically revising the preparatory work. In fact, only one of the prepared schemata was not rejected or returned to the appropriate committee for wholesale revision.\textsuperscript{3}

Thus this dual failure of not understanding the history of theological conflict in nineteenth and twentieth century Europe within the Roman Catholic Church and the conservative preparations for the council prevented these publications from anticipating at the beginning of Vatican II the storm of religious controversy that was about to rage on the floor of St. Peter's.

\textsuperscript{1}The word "schema" or its plural, "schemata," refers to ". . . any kind of a documentary draft, especially the drafts of conciliar decrees or constitutions" (Rynne, Letters, p. 84).


Chapter 3

IMAGE CHANGED AND MYTH CREATED

The first session of the Second Vatican Council solemnly opened on October 11, 1962 with 2,540 Catholic prelates in attendance. These prominent ecclesiastics along with thirty-five observer-delegates from seventeen Orthodox and Protestant denominations beheld a session marked by theological conflict. During the fall of 1962, heated debate raged between liberals and conservatives over such issues as liturgical reform, sources of revelation, communications, Christian unity, and the nature of the church. Despite the ordered secrecy on conciliar debates and bland bulletins issued by the council's press office, Time and Newsweek reported this dramatic clash of Catholic bishops in Rome while U.S. News & World Report gave virtually no attention to the opening session of Vatican II.

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2 For the difficulties that the press faced at the first session see Edward L. Heston, C.S.C., The Press and
The actions of Achille Cardinal Liénart during the First General Congregation on October 13, 1962 immediately impressed Time and Newsweek. Liénart, President of the French Episcopal Conference, interrupted the election of members to the ten council commissions with a request to postpone the vote so prelates could have more time to study the qualifications of the candidates for these posts. The request—in essence, a liberal stratagem devised by Joseph Cardinal Frings, President of the German Episcopal Conference, who seconded Liénart's motion—was granted; and the ensuing delay enabled liberals to organize effectively and gain a near parity with conservatives in these important commissions which submitted and amended the council's documents. Although the two magazines did not fully recognize Frings' role in this liberal maneuver, Newsweek rightly saw that this move would enhance the chance for a strong Northern European voice at the council. And Time, while displaying some factual errors regarding the motion, touted its significance: "The liberal minority was not going to be dominated by the

Vatican II (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967), pp. 25-30, 48-50; and Wiltgen, pp. 30-33. See also People of the Week, "Key Role In Rome for Five American Cardinals," U.S. News & World Report, October 29, 1962, p. 22. This brief article was the sole report that the magazine carried on the first session. (Hereinafter U.S. News & World Report will be designated by USN, and the date will be given numerically).

1Rynne, pp. 84-87; and Wiltgen, pp. 15-19.
Italian Curia. . . . Vatican II was clearly going to be a true parliament of the church."

*Newsweek* barely outlined this "power struggle" and simply described it as a battle between Northern Europeans and the Roman Curia for control of the council and the church.2

*Time*, not content with outlines, tried to give some background to the conflict in its reports during the first session. In an article entitled "The Loyal Opposition," it fashioned a highly favorable image of the council's progressives, who "... oppose the standpat Italians of the Roman Curia." With accuracy the journal pictured these progressives as a diverse, reform-minded coalition of churchmen led by Liénart, Frings, Julius Cardinal Döpfner of Munich, and Bernard Cardinal Alfrink of Utrecht. Besides naming liberal leaders, the story related their ideas favoring increased local autonomy for bishops, a pastoral revision of the hierarchical and juridical concept of the church, liturgical reform, and heightened Catholic emphasis on the Bible. While recounting liberal victories in the fight over the council's commissions and approval of a kindly "Message to Humanity,"

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1Religion, "Power Struggle," *Newsweek*, October 29, 1962, p. 56; and Religion, "The Council Opens," *Time*, October 19, 1962, p. 74. (Hereinafter *Newsweek* and *Time* will be designated by N and T, respectively, and the date will be given numerically).

the publication basically saw the rationale behind the reformers' program: "The liberals propose both revision to meet the modern world and reversions to an earlier church that they believe was closer to Christ."

In addition, *Time* spotlighted conservative and liberal personalities during the fall of 1962. A premature obituary on the conservative faction in the council pictured Cardinal Ottaviani, the "... undisputed leader of conservative opinion at the Second Vatican Council..." as meeting a series of defeats at the hands of Pope John and the council fathers. These defeats convinced the periodical that conservative resistance to change was "... a hopeless cause." Moreover, it made Ottaviani the conservative villain in the holy battle taking place in Rome while Father Karl Rahner, S.J., German theologian, was heralded as the progressive hero. *Time* described Rahner as the man "... whom many eminent Roman Catholic thinkers regard as the most profound and most exciting theologian their church has produced in the 20th century." More than a profound thinker, the item presented Rahner as the intellectual leader of the council's progressives and the victim of harrassment by the Holy Office and Ottaviani. At times, the magazine seemed to picture the council as a duel

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between the aged cardinal and the young German theologian.¹

Recognizing the publications' character, Time's and Newsweek's cursory coverage of the debate on the five documents discussed during the first session of Vatican II is understandable. Of the five drafts, only the schemata on liturgy and divine revelation received much attention.²

In the debate over liturgy, the two news magazines correctly reported that the main point of contention was over the introduction of vernacular into the Mass. Moreover, Newsweek saw that some Catholic prelates from the third world wanted liturgical reform so they could adapt church practice to local custom. And Time related the basic arguments of both liberals and conservatives on this issue and placed the debate in the wider context of local bishops fighting for autonomy versus the Roman Curia. Both periodicals displayed a favorable tone toward liturgical change with Time occasionally ridiculing the opposition. In this debate the Luce publication noted some irony at the conservatives' expense:

... In exquisite Latin, some prelates have been arguing for the introduction of the vernacular, while others--such as Cardinal McIntyre of Los Angeles--have in halting Latin painfully defended the ancient language.³


²For a description of these debates see Rynne, pp. 95-117 and 140-170; also Wiltgen, pp. 24-29 and 46-47.

The schema on divine revelation garnered less interest than the document on liturgy. Both journals vaguely recognized that conservatives at the council stressed church tradition as one source of divine revelation while liberals tended to underplay tradition and concentrate on the Bible as the sole source of revelation. The magazines were quick to point out the ecumenical consequences of this debate but failed to see that the defeat of the conservative schema on revelation was the crucial battle between neo-scholasticism and the theology of renewal during the first session.¹

Before the council, Time and Newsweek had demonstrated interest in what role non-Catholic Christians would play in the coming conclave. Thus during the fall of 1962, each publication carried stories that recounted the good treatment and free access to information that was available to the observer-delegates. Newsweek stressed that these non-Catholics were impressed with the lively, ecumenical discussions taking place in Rome and the debate between members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The journal contended that this freedom of discussion had led many Protestants to hope for a settlement of controversial issues between the two faiths like mixed marriage and religious freedom. Time showed more concern with personalities than issues. It

emphasized that Pope John made the observer-delegates feel at ease in the Vatican.\(^1\)

During the first session, the reports of *Time* and *Newsweek* dealt little with the role of Pope John at the council. In scattered references, *Newsweek* pictured John as both irritated and humbly philosophic about the frank discussion in St. Peter's. *Time* made a small attempt to present the Pope as an activist, but the main news about him concerned his failing health.\(^2\)

After the close of the first session on December 8, 1962, *Newsweek* in a December cover story and *Time* in a "Man of the Year" tribute to Pope John attempted to summarize and analyze the Second Vatican Council to date. These expansive articles clearly showed the significance that two news magazines attached to the proceedings and gave a strong, yet slightly different, image of aggiornamento after one session.

In "When the Council Reconvenes Will a 'New Church' Be Born?", *Newsweek* pictured the Roman Catholic Church as shaken to its foundations and pushed in new directions by


the council. The periodical realized that only a fraction of Vatican II's agenda had been discussed and no final action had been taken on any document, but it held "big news" had taken place in Rome because "... a dynamic new force is emerging in the church: a unified body of liberal-minded bishops who are unwilling to follow the ... conservative Curia." The basic issues in this struggle were the Curia's fetish for the status quo and centralization against the liberals' desire for modernization and local autonomy for bishops. The item further related that the practical defeat of the conservative draft on divine revelation was a crucial victory for liberals, who saw it as a happy portent for reform and the next session.

In this description, liberals from Northern Europe were heroes while Italian and Spanish conservatives in the Curia, symbolized by Cardinal Ottaviani, were villains. Newsweek was not bashful in pinpointing the flaws of the Curia. In short, it was too provincial, too old, and too Italian. Yet the article seemed ambivalent on who had the responsibility to reform it--Pope John or the council fathers? In contrast to its position on the council's eve, the publication finally placed this responsibility for church and Curia reform with the Catholic bishops, not the Pontiff; and the key to reform was identified as decentralization of church polity. Thus the journal quoted Hans Küng and unnamed bishops on the necessity of a redefinition of episcopal powers for Catholic reform and Christian reunion.
These prospects seemed bright as the cover story concluded on a note of hope and high expectation for future and fundamental Catholic change:

... For if the great historical truth of the Second Vatican Council's first session was the growing independence of bishops from Curia control, the great promise of the next session may well be found in the words of the Indonesian bishop who says proudly, "This is the new church." ¹

While Newsweek saw the import of Vatican II for the Catholic Church, Time proclaimed that the council's first session was the most significant event of 1962 even dwarfing the American-Soviet nuclear confrontation over Cuba. The council's long range consequences for the church, Christianity, and the world impressed the magazine greatly. Some of these consequences were: the smashing of Catholicism's image as a monolithic and absolutist system; the freedom of debate that took place among Catholic prelates; and the recognition by the world's bishops that they were, indeed, leaders of the church. Moreover, these events increased in significance to the periodical when placed against the backdrop of the historic, ubiquitous, and oppressive control by the Roman Curia of the church's intellectual and political life. Gladly it reported that the council liberals had shown their power over the Curia in the debates concerning liturgical

¹Religion, "When the Council Reconvenes Will a 'New Church' Be Born?," N, 12/17/62, pp. 54-60.
reform, divine revelation, and the nature of the church.¹

In contrast to Newsweek, Time gave the credit for this Catholic transformation to Pope John XXIII. Its "Man of the Year" article placed John in the journal's hall of fame inhabited by such famous and infamous personalities as Mohandas Gandhi (1930), Franklin Roosevelt (1932, 1934, 1941), and Adolf Hitler (1938).² Furthermore, the story planted the seeds of John's revolutionary image that would bear fruit at the Pontiff's death.

Time portrayed John as a man sensing that the church was ripe for internal reform, wanting his church to adapt to the "revolutionary changes" in modern life, making the Roman Catholic Church "... more Catholic and less Roman..." displaying deep-seated pastoral concern for the whole world, and moving Catholicism "... toward that distant and elusive goal, Christian unity." The publication failed to support this image with an analysis of John's actions or statements; instead it concentrated on the Pope's personality. Anecdotes recounting his humility, kindly humor, and personal warmth made John an adorable and attractive figure:

... When Jacqueline Kennedy came to visit, John asked his secretary how to address her. Replied the secretary: "'Mrs. Kennedy,' or just 'Madame' since she is of French origin and has lived in France." Waiting

¹For a summary of the debate on the nature of the church see Rynne, Letters, pp. 214-235.

in his private library, the Pope mumbled: "Mrs. Kennedy, Madame; Madame, Mrs. Kennedy." Then the doors opened on the U.S. First Lady and he stood up, extended his arms and cried: "Jacqueline!"

In conclusion, the publication projected a bleak picture of Christianity facing "a post Christian age" which had little direction and no sense of meaning. Yet *Time*'s laudatory article explained that this peasant Pontiff through his personal good will and firm actions toward reform and reunion had given the world "... a sense of its unity as the human family."\(^2\)

Following these two stories until John's death in June 1963, the major subject of concern regarding the Roman Catholic Church in *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* was the easing of the traditionally bitter relations between European Communism and the Vatican. The periodicals showed Pope John as actively promoting a policy of conciliation to which the Kremlin was responding. They stated that the Pope was encouraging this "thaw" for the welfare of Roman Catholics behind the Iron Curtain. Although not enthusiastic, these reports were basically favorable to John's opening to the East.\(^3\)

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2. Ibid., pp. 50-54 for full text of article.
In contrast to its interest in Roman Catholic diplomacy, U.S. News & World Report virtually ignored the topics of Catholic reform and Christian reunion. From the beginning of 1963 until John's death, the magazine just briefly mentioned a liberalization taking place in Catholicism; and unlike Time and Newsweek, it gave little attention to the liberal-conservative conflict evident within the church.¹

During the same period, Newsweek ran a few, scattered articles related to the reform and reunion theme. Yet despite favorable stories on such progressive champions as Hans Küng and Augustin Cardinal Bea, head of the Vatican's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, along with an insignificant report on a significant conference of German-speaking bishops in Munich, the periodical's interest in the ferment within the Catholic Church appeared to wane slightly in the first half of 1963.²


Not so *Time*. In separate items the Luce publication showed continuing interest in Catholic reform, reformers, and the possibilities for Christian unity.¹ Two articles highlighted this interest. In "Roman Catholics: Ecumenical Voices," the journal painted an extremely flattering portrait of Hans Küng and Cardinal Bea, who together symbolized the "... new mood of liberalism ... eddying through the Roman Catholic Church. ..." This report described lectures given in America by both men and stressed the enthusiastic Protestant reception given to these Catholic reformers. The other, "The Bible: The Catholic Scholars," detailed the dispute between progressive and conservative Catholics over methods of biblical criticism. This item clearly favored the progressive stress on historical scholarship as opposed to the conservative tendency toward the literal: "Yet at its best, scholarship not only clears up misinterpretation but strengthens belief." In addition, the magazine through well-chosen quotations emphasized that progressive Catholic scholarship won the respect of Protestant intellectuals and opened the door to Christian unity.²


With his death on June 3, 1963, Pope John XXIII, whose image in the press had frequently been hazy, became a legend. *Time* and *Newsweek* in cover stories and *U.S. News & World Report* in a full two-page article showed that an image of "Pope John as Revolutionary" had fully developed.¹ Strains of this myth had appeared previously in the journals, especially in *Time*; but it was not until the Pope's death that this legend took such a definite shape and powerful form.

In his short reign, Pope John had dramatic and significant impact on his church and the world unlike any modern Pontiff, the publications proclaimed. John, elected as a "caretaker," had flowered into a Roman Catholic innovator and reformer. The periodicals recounted numerous bold actions by John but dubbed the Second Vatican Council as the prime symbol of innovation. Although *Time* briefly recognized some of John's pre-council, conservative tendencies, it joined *Newsweek* in identifying John with the liberals and against the conservative Roman Curia at Vatican II. *U.S. News & World Report* did not align John with any faction, but it pictured him as aggressively pushing for a modernization of church dogma and practice.

Besides the image of Pope as reformer, the journals presented John as an ardent advocate of Christian unity and

an ice-breaker in the Cold War. U.S. News & World Report stated: "To encourage closer contacts between Catholics and non-Catholics and--eventually--Christian unity, Pope John broke many precedents."¹ And on the Pope's opening to the East, Time mused: "His was a politic based more on love than geopolitical realities."²

Yet John's brave deeds were only half of the papal mythology: the magazines also portrayed him as humble, humorous, and holy. Ultimately, the Pope was pictured as a good shepherd--a simple man holding a mighty office, but truly a servant of God's servants. Newsweek articulated this idea quite poignantly:

The man, perhaps above all else, was--open. He was open in arms and spirit and mind. He was open to men and to ideas, to old friends and to new strangers, to the children and to the aged, to West--and to East. And he gave all frowning critics fair warning of his intent, for he had worn the papal tiara barely three weeks when he told them: "I wish to meet everyone who wants to see me. No one is to be stopped at these doors."³

During June 1963, the publications exhibited a real sense of loss at the death of Pope John and a honest concern for the future of the Roman Catholic Church. They predicted that the election of the next Pope would pivot on the

acceptance or rejection by the College of Cardinals of John's policies--Catholic reform, Christian reunion, and dialogue with Communism. No magazine made a definite forecast on who would be the next Pontiff, but the two candidates mentioned most seriously were Giovanni Battista Cardinal Montini, Archbishop of Milan, recognized as the primary liberal candidate, and Giuseppe Cardinal Siri, Archbishop of Genoa, acknowledged as the leading conservative possibility. Also the periodicals indicated that an unexpected or compromise prelate might next occupy the Chair of Peter.¹

Would the next Pope follow the bold policies inaugurated by John? U.S. News & World Report, unlike Time or Newsweek, examined the question in some depth with an article entitled "Catholic Church--Which Way Now?." Concentrating heavily on the Vatican's opening to the East, the journal concluded that despite conservative opposition, John's policies of reform, reunion, and dialogue would basically continue because the new Pontiff would face the same problems that confronted John and the new expectations raised by his reign.²


New expectations, new images, and new myths were certainly created between October 1962 and June 1963. The fiery debate of Vatican II's first session shattered the image of the Roman Catholic Church as a monolithic institution and promised more conflict and change. Pope John's opening to the East and his encyclical *Pacem in Terris* presented the Catholic Church as moving away from its militant Cold War stance. And the image of John himself blossomed from a kindly, old, peasant Pope who did unexpected things to a revolutionary Pontiff who advocated church reform, Christian reunion, and co-existence with Communism.

Of these images, the myth of "Pope John as Revolutionary" proved vital for the future coverage of the Second Vatican Council. *Time* and *Newsweek* transformed this myth into a yardstick with which to measure John's successor and the success of the council. Yet this measure was not wholly true; it made John more of a reformer and a stronger advocate of Christian unity than he actually was.


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1 *Pacem in Terris* was issued on April 11, 1963. In part, John stated that despite basic philosophical differences, Christians could still cooperate with Marxist on common goals. (The Staff of The Pope Speaks Magazine, eds., *The Encyclicals and Other Messages of John XXIII* [Washington, D.C.: TPS Press, 1964], pp. 327-373. [Hereinafter cited as TPS].)
in papal pronouncements on social justice and world order. During his reign, Catholic relations with other Christians dramatically warmed largely due to the Pope's efforts, and the Vatican ceased playing the Cold War's holy warrior. And finally, Pope John XXIII called the Second Vatican Council that made significant changes in the form and public image of Catholicism.¹

In this well-written and soundly documented book, Hales recognized the problem of identifying the historical John in the midst of so much fable, and he even acknowledged conflicting evidence to his thesis.² Yet in the end, the author held to the belief that the last two and a half years of John's pontificate marked a revolution in the Roman Catholic Church.³

Granting much of Hales' argument, the image of Pope John fashioned in the press at his death was still faulty.⁴ In contradiction to the impression given in Time, Newsweek, or U.S. News & World Report, John's record on church reform and


²Hales, pp. xi-xv and pp. 108-121. ³Ibid., p. 110.

natural text
Even more enlightening was the Pope's attitude toward a crucial feature of liturgical reform—introduction of vernacular into Catholic liturgy. In the pre-council period, Catholic liberals pressed for this reform.\(^1\) And John responded in an Apostolic Constitution dated February 22, 1962, \textit{Vetenum Sapientia}. In this constitution, John said of Latin:

\begin{quote}
... we also therefore intend with firm determination that the study and use of this language, restored to its dignity, should be promoted and put into effect in an ever-greater measure.

And since in our times the use of Latin is contested in many places, and since many ask what is the thought of the Apostolic See in this matter, We have decided. ... that the ancient and uninterrupted use of Latin be maintained and, where it has been almost completely abandoned, that it be completely re-established.\(^2\)
\end{quote}

In addition, the Pontiff ordered Catholic bishops and superior generals of religious communities to:

\begin{quote}
... see to it with paternal concern that none of their subjects, moved by an inordinate desire for novelty, writes against the use of Latin either in the teaching of the sacred disciplines or in the sacred rites of the liturgy. ...\(^3\)
\end{quote}

Despite this papal warning, some use of the vernacular was discussed and given preliminary approval at the council's first session without any interference from the Pope. But during the recess after the session, John wrote a letter to

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{For example, see the list of proposed reforms in Hans Küng, \textit{The Council, Reform and Reunion}, trans. Cecily Hastings (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961), pp. 175-188.}
\footnote{Ibid.}
\end{footnotes}
Less clearly and consistently defined unity in terms of a
emphasized the positive in communal relations, he neverthe-
Christian sects. This was plainly not true. Although John
the Pope was unaconcerned with the differences between the
desire for Christian union created the strong impression that
Reformation, religious and notional report. Even to John's
All Christians, now all people. Yet during this period, the
everyone displayed a genuine concern and good-will toward
 spoke but half the truth. The Pontiff in this message and
Christian unity? The image of John as an advocate of reunion
Likewise this myth of John misrepresented the Pope on
the purpose. I
provided and time-honored forms are perfectly adequate for
It is not in the least necessary to introduce new and
Catholic world of forms of prayer advocated to the part-
They are inherent in the wide distribution through the
Existing people are constantly advocating and introducing the
There are some well-established and accepted rituals

In this section adaptation:
Verencounter into the Library and appearance any other form of
decrees, John politely said "no" to the introduction of the
after determining papal powers concerning a council and the
of the bishops before the second session. More importantly,
how the council's documents would be reviewed with the help
as his bishops dated January 6, 1963. This article explained
return of the separated Christians to the Roman Catholic Church:

We address Ourselves now to all of you who are separated from this Apostolic See. May this wonderful spectacle of unity [unity of doctrine, unity of organization, and unity of worship], by which the Catholic Church is set apart and distinguished, as well as the prayers and entreaties with which she begs God for unity, stir your hearts and awaken you to what is really in your best interest.

May We, in fond anticipation, address you as sons and brethren? May We hope with a father's love for your return? ¹

This understandable and frequent stress on return was absent in the mythology surrounding John after his death. This omission coupled with the inflated image of John as reformer provided Time and Newsweek with a false standard for judging the actions of John's successor—Pope Paul VI.²

¹Ibid., p. 40. See also a selection of John's messages and encyclicals from October 1958 to October 1962: TPS, pp. 11-14, 24-56, 140-159, 386-396, 397-408; and Anderson, pp. 18-21, and 25-29.

²Although U.S. News & World Report accepted the myth of John, it failed to use it against Pope Paul.
Chapter 4

REFORM CONTINUED OR REVOLUTION ABORTED?

Giovanni Battista Cardinal Montini, Archbishop of Milan, ascended the Chair of Peter and took the name of Paul VI on June 21, 1963. The new Pontiff faced not only a church in transition, but a press filled with deep affection for the late Pope and high expectations for change in the Roman Catholic Church. How well Paul fulfilled these journalistic hopes largely determined the papal and conciliar image until the end of the third session in December 1964.

In similar cover stories on his election, Time and Newsweek displayed an ambivalent attitude toward Pope Paul and gave him an unflattering personal image. They favorably reported that the new Pope was competent, basically accepted Johannine policies, and had a history of animosity with the conservatives of the Roman Curia. But the magazines also presented the strange, complex, intellectual, and baffling Paul as personally unattractive when compared to the simple, open, warm, peasant Pope of Bergamo. Praise for Paul was

1Religion, "The Papacy: The Path to Follow," Time, June 28, 1963, pp. 40-47; and Religion, "We Have a Pope" Paul VI: Baffling, Brilliant," Newsweek, July 1, 1963, pp. 42-45. (Hereinafter Time and Newsweek will be designated by T and N, respectively, and the date will be given numerically.)
frequently undercut with unfavorable comparisons to John:

From his words and acts, it was clear that the new Pope had *aperturismo*—the sense of openness to the world. But Paul's *aperturismo* would not be John's. Angelo Roncalli was a warm and intuitive man, with a fatherly love of men rather than ideas. The new Pope, says one Spanish Catholic layman who has worked with him, "is a Gothic priest not only in physical appearance but in spiritual formation."1

The journals pointed out that the new Pontiff's critics called him a "Hamlet" and conveyed the impression that this might be true. Yet both articles concluded on a note of hope concerning Catholicism's new leader: they said that despite his flaws, Pope Paul could be the type of leader that the church needed.

In contrast to its rivals, *U.S. News & World Report* projected an uncomplicated image of the new Pope. Showing special interest in Rome's opening to the East and position in the third world, it held that Paul was an ardent liberal who would continue "... the policy of striking change begun by the late Pope John XXIII. ..." Where *Time* and *Newsweek* described Montini as a melancholy, Milanese moderate, the Lawrence publication painted him as a clear-cut progressive and a seasoned Catholic diplomat with thirty years of outstanding experience in the Vatican's Secretariat of State. Moreover, its comparisons of Paul and John recognized differences between the two prelates without being unfavorable to either. The periodical described Pope Paul as

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"... less robust and down-to-earth than Pope John..." but unafraid "... to mingle with people and talk plainly on all kinds of problems."1

Before the eve of the second session, the three news magazines said little about specific reforms expected from Vatican II. Newsweek carried brief items on the confusion surrounding a possible council statement on anti-Semitism and the probability that the issue of cremation would be "a prime topic" for discussion at the next session. And along with U.S. News & World Report, it gave an indication that there was some change taking place in Catholic thinking regarding birth control. In this vein Newsweek stated, "... there is evidence that the church's position is gradually becoming more 'modern.'" Furthermore, even Time ran just one story on reform. In "Roman Catholics: Revolution in Worship," it forcefully advocated liturgical reform and confidently predicted its enactment by the council. The article clearly demonstrated that Time would campaign for progressive programs, ridicule conservative positions, and tie the idea of Catholic reform to Christian reunion.2

1"The Tasks of Pope Paul VI," U.S. News & World Report, July 1, 1963, pp. 43-44. (Hereinafter U.S. News & World Report will be designated by USN, and the date will be given numerically.)

During these months, Time and Newsweek briefly related two liberal-conservative skirmishes.\(^1\) Time projected an heroic picture of Hans Küng confronting Curial repression because he dared to espouse reform of that Roman institution. For its part, Newsweek described a debate over the possible beatification of Pope Pius IX (1846-1878), a symbol of clerical reaction to the journal. It told that conservatives wanted to use immediate beatification as a tactical weapon to discredit reform at the council. In addition, the story displayed two significant features. First, it showed that Newsweek, like Time, would ridicule conservatives or conservative positions. The item presented Monsignor Alberto Canestri, the main supporter of Pius' beatification, as "... an 81-year-old prelate emeritus of the notoriously conservative Sacred Rota. Canestri's devotion to Pio Nono extends to preserving his calcified entrails in a glass jar. ..." Second, it exhibited an inclination, found also in Time, to dismiss seemingly conservative attitudes of John. In August 1962 before the opening of the council, Time quoted an announcement by Pope John saying that he would like to proclaim the beatification of Pius IX during the council and that this "admirable shepherd" was a fitting symbol of Vatican II's goals.\(^2\) But in this September 1963 article,

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\(^1\)Religion, "Roman Catholics: Clear It With the Vatican," T, 9/20/63, p. 72; and Religion, "No to Pio Nono?" N, 9/2/63, p. 74.

Newsweek stated that John had favored Pius' beatification
"... though not with any sense of haste, and solely because of his personal virtues."

Another issue covered by Time and Newsweek prior to the second session was the steady movement of Christians toward unity. The publications demonstrated their ongoing interest in this topic and repeatedly projected the image of a uniting Christendom in stories on ecumenical conferences, Protestant praise for Catholic renewal, and the effort to establish a common Bible.¹ In "Images of Unity," Newsweek clearly articulated this unity theme in words that were strikingly similar to Time's proclamation of a Second Reformation in December 1961:

Church historians of the future may well look back at the mid-twentieth century as a time as full of religious ferment as the early sixteenth century. Just as the spirit of the Reformation was working to splinter Christianity into the more than 200 denominations that exist today, a similarly strong force is now at work in the opposite direction.²

Before his speech to the Roman Curia on the eve of the second session, Pope Paul's image in Time and Newsweek improved slightly while U.S. News & World Report remained


constant in its portrayal of Paul as a man of action. *Time* appeared impressed with the Pontiff's desire to improve relations with non-Catholic Christians and his public audiences even though they were not as warm as John's. *Newsweek* was more bullish than *Time* on the new Pope and applauded his appointments, the curtailing of ecclesiastical ceremony, and Paul's plan to reconvene the council in late September. While admiring many of the same actions, *U.S. News & World Report* emphasized that Pope Paul showed a willingness to play an active role in world affairs.¹

Then Pope Paul's speech to the Roman Curia on September 21, 1963 gave him a definite progressive image and helped to raise expectations for the second session. In a subtly composed address, Paul told the Curia that it must reform itself—simplify its procedures, decentralize its power, and diversify its membership. In reaction to this speech and other "liberal" actions by the Pope, *Time* and *Newsweek* temporarily discarded the "Hamlet Pope" caricature of Paul and joined *U.S. News & World Report* in praising him. And despite the papal call for self-reform, the magazines saw drastic changes coming to the administrative arm of the church. Moreover, *Newsweek* stated explicitly what was implied in the other

journals; it foretold that the next session of Vatican II could be "spectacular" for Catholic reform.¹

When the Second Vatican Council re-opened on September 29, 1963, the press had freer access to the debates on the floor of St. Peter's than during the first session. Under Pope Paul, a new press policy had developed that abolished the rule of secrecy for conciliar debates and allowed official bulletins to print all that transpired in the General Congregations.² During October the council considered an important schema—De Ecclesia or the "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church." In short, the document tried to define the nature of the church and consequently provoked sharp exchanges between liberals and conservatives. Its key concept concerned "collegiality" which attempted to define the origin and proper function of episcopal power. This idea posed numerous questions to the council fathers:

... first, whether Christ had intended that alongside the universal teaching and governing authority of the Pope, there should exist in the Church another body endowed with universal teaching and governing authority—namely, the body of bishops—as successors of the Apostles, according to the constant teaching of the Church; second, if the answer was "yes," whether all


²Edward L. Heston, C.S.C., The Press and Vatican II
bishops constituted this collegial authority, or only those with dioceses of their own; third, the conditions under which such collegial authority functioned; fourth, the relation between the collegial authority of the bishops and the personal authority proper to the Roman Pontiff.¹

Yet the debate over episcopal authority produced little hard news in October. *Time* was silent while *U.S. News & World Report* briefly noted the progress of the liturgical decree. *Newsweek* gladly recognized that "... the now dominant liberals are remaking the church without any strong opposition from the conservative wing." But in two articles, the periodical just barely mentioned liturgical reform, the debate on collegiality, and the possibility of a decree against anti-Semitism.²

*Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report* compensated for the lack of hard news with two extensive features. In "Catholicism in America: The Renewal," *Newsweek* described recent and expected changes in the American Catholic Church. The publication saw that Catholics were entering American society by leaving their cultural ghetto; and at the same time, they were publicly asserting their independence within the church.

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Moreover, it predicted that this process of change would continue: "... the prevailing direction of the winds appears established. The 'changeless' Catholic Church is changing in ways that would affect almost everything that U.S. Catholics do. ..." The story openly favored the new spirit of aggiornamento and equated change with reform and reform with an increase in personal freedom for American Catholics. U.S. News & World Report in a laudatory article on Pope Paul strongly projected a dynamic image of him as a practical man of reform guiding the Roman Catholic Church toward Johannine goals. It stressed that Paul had the talent and experience to transform the dreams of John into reality.¹

After the discussion on De Ecclesia ended on October 31, the council debated two other documents until the end of the session on December 4. One draft, "On Bishops and the Government of Dioceses," raised the question of collegiality again, but this time the prelates dealt with the political consequences of the idea for the church, not its theological definition. The general topic of the other schema was ecumenism, yet chapters four and five of this proposal on religious liberty and the Jews attracted most of the council's interest even though they were not debated at the second session.²


²Rynne, Second Session, pp. 172-280 passim.
The second session with the council's cumbersome machinery got off its feet at last. The item gave a break, yet the second session of Vatican Council II face and finally presented that with a tentative vote accepted. The move of "showed expression with the session's slow at the council. Time in art article, "Roman Catholic" and other issues during the last half of the session, the news message.

A majority of the prelates are opposed to the idea, even.

Many of the prelates are opposed to the idea, even.

of episcopal power, the continuation in the description language or episcopal power, the continuation in the description language of the council's phrases.

"...Moreover, a report on the "Conservative" position. After expressing that "...a large majority of the conservative World Report gave a fair description of the conservative summary of liberal views on the issue, but only U.S. News & World Report also reported the provisional acceptance of college.

The second session with the council's cumbersome machinery got off its feet at last. The item gave a break, yet the second session of Vatican Council II face and finally presented that with a tentative vote accepted. The move of "showed expression with the session's slow at the council. Time in art article, "Roman Catholic" and other issues during the last half of the session, the news message.
Besides collegiality, the three journals covered other issues. *Time* and *Newsweek* expressed interest in possible council statements supporting religious liberty and condemning anti-Semitism. *Newsweek* evidenced special concern with the role of the laity in the church; and for ecumenical reasons, it applauded the inclusion of a chapter on Mary into *De Ecclesia* rather than making the mother of Jesus the subject of a separate schema. In "New Image for Catholic Church," *U.S. News & World Report* related the contours of Catholicism's public transfiguration and held the Second Vatican Council responsible for the change.¹

By December 1963 two distinct images of aggiornamento had developed. *Time* and *Newsweek* portrayed the second session as a dismal failure and stated that the Roman Catholic revolution was in trouble. In contrast, *U.S. News & World Report* projected an impression that Catholic reform was continuing apace.


a council that promised to bring about a sweeping inner renewal of Roman Catholicism, Vatican II has become a parliament of stalemate, compromise and delay." The publication effectively used the myth of John against Pope Paul and blamed the new Pope for the session's failure. It held that John was an intuitive reformer who at the first session, "... quietly but effectively sided with the forces for change." And even though no definite actions were taken in 1962, the road to reform was cleared. Yet despite the promulgation of two documents, the tentative acceptance of collegiality, and more, the periodical saw the accomplishments of the second session as superficial. The article made plain Time's desire to see Curial power at the council broken and showed resentment toward Paul when it was not. It said that Paul was a "Hamlet Pope" who aided reformers with only "half-measures." For example, the magazine chastised him for only increasing the number of prelates on the council commissions instead of removing the "roadblocking Curia officials" who headed these committees. Importantly, the story left unstated that Pope John had appointed these officials to help administer his council and personally opposed a significant reform that the journal by then had taken for granted (liturgical reform). Consequently, it pessimistically implied that Catholic reform might well be stopped by a recalcitrant Curia and a weak-willed Pontiff. 1

1Religion, "The Vatican Council: What Went Wrong?," T, 12/6/63, pp. 52 and 57; see also Religion, "Roman
Newsweek painted a similar picture of the second session's failure and the danger to Catholic reform. It stated that the achievements of the recent session were slim, Curia resistance was obstructing church renewal, and Paul did nothing effective to overcome this resistance. Yet the publication did not attack the Pope, nor compare him unfavorably to John. Instead, in the words of an unnamed European cardinal, it presented Pope Paul as "an organizational man" trying to hold an ancient and complex institution together. Nonetheless the periodical still feared that the "crisis" in Catholicism would not be resolved in favor of reform and "... that the great reforms promised by the Council may finally be recorded as fondly remembered hopes. ..."

U.S. News & World Report countered the image of moribund reform in an article entitled "New Era in the Catholic Church." The story emphasized that the Roman Catholic Church was changing and seemed impressed with the record of the second session. And although the magazine recognized the strong, conservative opposition to renewal, it stressed that significant change had actually occurred in the church and inferred that the prospects for future reform at the next Catholics Modernizing the Mass," T, 12/13/63, p. 80. The latter item stated that liturgical reform was "... the most predictable outcome of the council. ..." Religion, "Breaking the Walls," N, 12/16/63, pp. 80-81.
session were bright.  

At the end of the second session, Pope Paul received mixed reviews which placed the future of Catholic renewal in doubt. But with his trip to the Holy Land in January 1964, the Pontiff temporarily refurbished his image and gave Time and Newsweek the impression that the Roman Catholic Church was still on the move.  

The initial reactions to Paul's announcement reflected the attitudes of the individual publications toward the second session. While displaying little enthusiasm, Time and Newsweek recognized the historical significance of the first papal trek back to the roots of Christianity. In contrast, U.S. News & World Report not only saw its precedent-breaking aspects but marked the Holy Land trip as a symbol of past and future change in the church. In addition, it implied that the Pope's journey would certainly aid the progressive cause at the Second Vatican Council.  

1 "New Era in the Catholic Church," USN, 12/16/63, p. 100.


Then Time in its reports during and after Paul's pilgrimage explained that the Pontiff had finally emerged from the shadow of John and established his own "impressive character." The Pope's patience, humility, and courage impressed the periodical, but nothing affected it more than the ecumenical aspect of the trip. In the Holy Land, Paul held friendly meetings with Orthodox leaders; and in these conferences, Time saw an important landmark in its "Ecumenical Century." And although the magazine related the problems that blocked Roman and Orthodox union, it nevertheless rhapsodized on the importance of Paul's trip:

For something had happened there: a moment of love and unity after 900 years of suspicion and separation. Ending the schism would take perhaps centuries more, but the seed of renewal had been planted. Its growth could be slowed--but not stopped forever.¹

Newsweek and U.S. News & World Report also said that Paul's trip and meetings with Orthodox leaders--especially Athenagoras I, Patriarch of Constantinople--had inaugurated a new and hopeful era of Christian reconciliation. In more muted tones, Newsweek expressed other ideas similar to Time. And for its part, U.S. News & World Report continued to

¹Religion, "Ecumenism: A Seed Planted," T, 1/17/64, pp. 36-41. Moreover, the article contained four full pages of color pictures on Paul's trip. See also Religion, "The Papacy: Ordeal of a Pilgrim," T, 1/10/64, pp. 38-39; and Religion, "Orthodoxy: Descendant of St. Andrew," T, 1/10/64, p. 39.
project an image of Paul as a dynamic Pontiff leading the church into the modern world. It stated:

It was Patriarch Athenagoras who said after his meeting with the Pope: "From now on, we mean business." But the phrase also is being used to describe Pope Paul's concept of the Papacy, and the mood of the new era opened up by his dramatic visit to the Holy Land.¹

After Paul's trip to the Holy Land until the opening of the third session in September 1964, the ideal of Christian unity remained news to Time and Newsweek. They reported the sometimes shaky progress of Protestant denominations toward organic union and the increase in ecumenical cooperation. At times, the journals tended to confuse the ideas of Christian unity and ecumenical cooperation. Yet both related that reforms were taking place within Christendom which moved Protestants and Catholics closer together. For example, in "Luther and the Catholics," Newsweek virtually canonized Martin Luther as the patron saint of Vatican II because it perceived an affinity between the views of the great reformer and progressives at the council on such issues as "... Scriptural theology, the inviolability of individual conscience, decentralized church authority, vernacular worship, and reform of the liturgy and the Roman Curia..." Another new and important point made by the publications was that the desire for unity, once the dream of a vanguard, was taking root

¹Religion, "Pilgrimage," N., 1/13/64, p. 48; Religion, "The Kiss of Peace," N., 1/20/64, p. 76; and People of the Week, "Ahead: A New Era in Religious Unity?," USN, 1/20/64, p. 16.
among the common people. *Time* aggressively promoted this idea in an article entitled "Churches: Ecumen In."¹

Also before the third session, the renewal within the Roman Catholic Church remained news. All three news magazines showed interest in the implementation of liturgical reforms stemming from the council's "Dogmatic Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy." Moreover, *Time* and *Newsweek* not only demonstrated a basically favorable attitude toward the changes in Catholic worship; but they ridiculed the Latin Mass and confidently predicted far-reaching liturgical alterations for the future.²

Generally in 1964, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* carried few stories on specific reforms expected from the council. In scattered items, *Time* and *Newsweek* showed a keen concern with a proposed conciliar statement


that absolved the Jews for the death of Jesus and condemned anti-Semitism, and they also displayed a mild curiosity with the topic of married priests. But *Time* continued to champion the progressive cause with a series of articles that favorably spotlighted liberal personalities and groups such as Julius Cardinal Döpfner of Munich; the newly appointed archbishop of Recife, Brazil, Helder Câmara; Dutch Catholics; Archbishop Thomas d'Esterre Roberts; Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston; and the American "renewal elite."²

Despite the dearth of issue-oriented reporting, the topic of birth control captured the attention of all three periodicals. While *U.S. News & World Report* matter-of-factly related that the Catholic ban against artificial birth

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Except for Cardinal Döpfner and the Dutch, *Time*’s list did not focus on the prime movers behind Catholic reform at Vatican II. For a description of the crucial role that the prelates from Northern Europe, especially the German hierarchy, played at the council see Wiltgen, passim.
control was under reexamination, *Time* and *Newsweek* strongly supported the church's acceptance of oral contraception and made such a change seem likely. And even though the two journals expressed similar sentiments on this subject, *Newsweek* appeared especially vocal in its cover story, "Birth Control: the Pill and the Church." The article, apparently an attempt by the publication to present the birth control debate "... dispassionately and fairly ...," later won the Albert Lasker Medical Journalism Award for its author Matt Clark. But although it detailed the contending positions in the controversy, the essay clearly favored the progressives' desire for reform and discredited the "... intractable voices that demand no retreat." *Newsweek*, as did *Time*, projected the image that the Roman opposition to the pill was doomed because an aroused Catholic laity and some of the church's best theologians wanted a change. In conclusion, its item plainly demonstrated a bias toward change and stated the opinion that the conflict over birth control was just the beginning:

... the larger issues it represents undoubtedly will continue. The spectacle of the church leadership following its flock and responding to pressures from below cannot soon be forgotten. ... In every aspect of the church's life—liturgy, unification, education—the winds of renewal and reform blow strong.

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1March of the News, "Birth Control: New Rule Coming For Catholics?," USN, 6/8/64, p. 8; People of the Week, "Birth Control—Catholics Take A New Look," USN, 7/6/64, p. 14; Religion, "Roman Catholics: A New View on Birth Control," T, 4/10/64, pp. 59-60; Religion, "Roman Catholics: Answer on
But the strongest pressure comes from the millions of rank-and-file married laymen who are pounding on the door of doctrine, anxious to take their long-forgotten seats among popes, bishops, and theologians as rightful participants in the church's magisterium.

After his successful trip to the Holy Land until August 1964, Pope Paul received little direct attention. Only U.S. News & World Report ran a story specifically on him. In "After a Year as Pope—How Paul Is Changing Things," the magazine stressed that Paul was continuing John's policy of striking change. But as the third session approached, the Pope issued his first encyclical, Eccelesiam Suam, and gave the publications another opportunity to assess the character and policy of John's successor. Time tersely described the encyclical as ambivalent and pictured the Pontiff as an "intellectual" who ". . . has difficulty in making up his mind." Newsweek, on the other hand, recognized criticism of Paul but stated that his message clearly revealed ". . . that Paul is in fact very much in the progressive mainstream." Moreover, it seemed particularly pleased that the Pope showed a reticence to make unilateral pronouncements on issues under consideration by the council and chided non-Catholic critics.

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of the encyclical for urging a display of papal power that they "... have long refused to recognize." Yet *Newsweek* also portrayed the Pope as a man unsure of where to lead his church. Finally, Paul did not appear indecisive in *U.S. News & World Report*. The Lawrence journal pictured Paul as a bold administrator who in *Ecclesiam Suam* established necessary guidelines for Catholic renewal and Christian reunion "... so as to avoid misunderstanding. ...\(^1\)

The Second Vatican Council re-opened on September 14, 1964. *U.S. News & World Report* refrained from expressing special expectations for the council in mid-September, yet the periodical's opinion about the continuing reform in the Roman Catholic Church had remained constant. In contrast, *Time* and *Newsweek* carried similar articles that detailed their hopes for the third session. Both magazines demonstrated impatience with the first two meetings of Vatican II, and *Time* stated what *Newsweek* implied that the 1964 conclave promised "... to be the most productive in accomplishment."

Also, the publications accurately saw the basic issues on the council's busy agenda. In addition, they stressed the

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\(^1\)People of the Week, "After a Year as Pope--How Paul Is Changing Things," USN, 6/1/64, p. 14; Religion, "The Papacy: His Church," T, 8/21/64, p. 35; Religion, "'His Church,'" N, 8/24/64, p. 76; and Where Pope Paul Is Leading His Church," USN, 8/24/64, pp. 42-43. In this encyclical, Paul accepted aggiornamento but warned against excesses in both church renewal and dialogue with the outside world: "Ecclesiam Suam," *The Pope Speaks*, X, No. 3 (1965), 253-292.
importance of collegiality for Catholic renewal, and Newsweek showed special concern that a statement on the Jews was weakened during the recess. Would the current session or the council itself successfully carry out "... the church renewal begun under Pope John XXIII ..."? The periodicals did not know but gave the responsibility for renewal to Paul. Despite its variable attitude toward the Pope, Time saw that he would continue to promote "prudent change." Newsweek again blamed Paul for the do-nothing second session but offered hope that the Pontiff might still lead the church toward reform.

The fall of 1964 was, indeed, a busy and dramatic time for the council. From September 14 to November 21, Vatican II considered fourteen documents—almost doubling the total number of texts discussed at the first two sessions. Moreover, the council fathers debated explosive topics such as birth control, religious liberty, and the guilt of Jews for the death of Jesus. Also at the third session, the Pope promulgated three conciliar statements including the all-important "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church," which accepted the concept of episcopal collegiality. Finally, the session witnessed heated clashes between the progressive

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1Religion, "Act Three," N, 9/21/64, p. 75.
2Ibid., pp. 75-76; and Religion, "The Vatican Council: Speedup," T, 9/18/64, p. 70.
majority and conservative minority in Rome.¹

Until the end, Time carried sanguine reports on the progress of the third session. Its "express-train pace" impressed the publication and prompted it to state: "In the eyes of many observers, the council seems finally to be coming to fruition."² The magazine recognized numerous reasons for this development, but it stressed that a progressive, theological consensus had emerged among a Catholic episcopate newly aware of its responsibility and power. Also the optimistic reports on the bright outlook for progressive documents, the ability of liberals to foil conservative plots, and the willingness of the Pope to acquiesce to the council's desires created the impression that the tide of reform was running strong in St. Peter's.³

More than optimistic, Time again clearly demonstrated its pro-progressive bias. Reformist positions were either lauded or presented without editorial rebuttal while conservative arguments were frequently discredited. For example,


²Religion, "The Right to Worship According to One's Conscience," T, 10/2/64, p. 90.

after detailing liberal and conservative positions on a statement concerning the Jews, the journal pictured conservative arguments as "irrelevant" in the opinion of "most observers." And at times, this strong predilection for renewal made the periodical overly-optimistic about future change. Thus it treated the acceptance of married deacons by the council as an opening-wedge to a married priesthood despite the clear intention of the council to the contrary.¹

Despite some minor exceptions, Newsweek's coverage of the third session resembled Time's. Like its rival, Newsweek approvingly related the success of the progressive program at Vatican II and expressed optimistic judgments on the council's progress: "The council's action brought the church one step closer to the renewal the progressives now seem certain to achieve at Vatican II."² In addition, the publication displayed a tendency to overstate the possibilities for future reform and evidenced a pro-progressive slant in its articles.³

While generally less a zealot than Time, Newsweek appeared more concerned about one issue--birth control. Time

¹Religion, "Roman Catholics: A Test of Good Will," T, 10/9/64, pp. 63 and 65. The article is a good, but by no means the sole, example of the flaws of booster journalism.

²Religion, "Married Deacons," N, 10/12/64, p. 72.

covered the possible change in Catholic teaching, but Newsweek proclaimed that it was "the most vexing problem facing Catholic laymen..." Moreover, it gave more space to the issue, advocated a change more forcefully, and suggested that a new position was coming with more certainty than Time. For example, after favorably reviewing three books that were critical of the church's ban against artificial contraception, the magazine summarized its position and expectation quite well:

New formulations on sex and marriage are in fact expected from a commission of specialists appointed last June by Pope Paul. Then, perhaps the revelation of the latent religious significance of sex, so eloquently captured in these books, may at last dispel the church's historical distrust of redeemed flesh.1

Like Time and Newsweek, U.S. News & World Report recognized the basic topics debated at the third session and portrayed Catholicism as a religion on the move: "The Roman Catholic Church now is moving more rapidly than ever along the road of 'renewal' first charted by the late Pope John XXIII."2 Yet in continuing contrast to the other magazines, U.S. News & World Report remained relatively neutral in the battle between Catholic liberals and conservatives in Vatican City. But despite its freedom from bias, the periodical demonstrated a different problem in covering the council. Sometimes it showed a failure to understand the rationale

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1Religion, "Most Vexing Problem," N, 10/19/64, p. 71; see also Religion, "A New Approach," N, 11/9/64, p. 86.

2"The Winds of Change in the Catholic Church," USN, 11/2/64, p. 54.
behind renewal. In short, the journal spied novelty while Catholic liberals advocated most reform in terms of a "return to the sources" or reviving authentic tradition. Therefore, when Vatican II moved to restore the permanent deaconate, the Lawrence publication noted "a departure from tradition" and "a new tool."¹

During the third session, all three news magazines gave the impression that the Roman Catholic Church was moving surely toward full reform. But Pope Paul took three actions in the waning days of the session that shattered this consensus. First, he refused to contradict a ruling by Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, President of the Council Presidency, that postponed the vote on the religious liberty schema until the fourth session. Second, the Pope added nearly a score of last-minute amendments to the "Decree on Ecumenism." And third, in his closing address, Paul proclaimed Mary "Mother of the Church"--a title that the council considered but did not bestow on her. Debates raged over the Pontiff's intentions for these moves; but in their context, there was no doubt that they pleased the conservatives at Vatican II.²

¹March of the News, "Will Catholics Ease Ban on Marriage of Priests?" USN, 9/21/64, p. 10; March of the News, "Jewish Issue: How U.S. Catholic Bishops Voted," USN, 9/28/64, p. 10; March of the News, "New Roles For Deacons in the Catholic Church," USN, 10/12/64, p. 20, and "The Winds of Change in the Catholic Church," USN, 11/2/64, pp. 54-55.

²For different views of Paul's actions see Rynne, Third Session, pp. 254-268; and Wiltgen, pp. 234-243. Rynne criticized Paul for placating the conservatives at the council, and Wiltgen justified the Pope's actions. Also, for
Conservatives might be pleased, but the ending of the third session deeply disappointed *Time* and *Newsweek*. Their articles on the council's closing told that Pope Paul and a handful of conservative ecclesiastics had jeopardized "... the aggiornamento begun by John XXIII..." The journals were particularly galled that Paul had ignored the wishes of the council's majority in all three actions and thereby betrayed the doctrine of episcopal collegiality enacted at the end of the session. This sentiment reflected the publications' tendency to overstate rather than a papal breach of collegiality. As defined by Vatican II, this doctrine put no restriction on papal power while recognizing the collegial authority of bishops. And even though their sense of betrayal was based on a faulty understanding of papal and episcopal power, it was nonetheless real and fired resentment for Paul.2

The jeremiads of *Time* and *Newsweek* contrasted sharply with the almost flippant report found in *U.S. News & World Report*. Its item failed to describe Paul's actions and the

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tensions that accompanied the closing of the third session. While stressing the activity of American prelates at the session, the periodical summarized the progress of aggiornamento this way: "Reform wave started by the late Pope John is going strong..." and "Not all reforms... voted yet, but the reformers appear to have the stand-patters on the run."¹

Reform continued or revolution aborted? U.S. News & World Report gave a much different answer than Time or Newsweek. Since the election of Paul, it saw a steady, practical drive toward reform whereas Time and Newsweek vacillated between heralding the remaking of Catholicism and lamenting the death of a revolution.

¹Worldgram, USN, 11/30/64, p. 64.
Chapter 5

"REFORMATION ROMAN STYLE"

The dramatic conclusion of the third session was a watershed for *Time* and *Newsweek*. After briefly reassessing the prospects for church renewal in December 1964, they evidenced throughout 1965 more sober expectations about Catholic change than at any time since the first session. For its part, *U.S. News & World Report* ignored the controversial ending of the session and showed a characteristically mild interest in *aggiornamento* between conciliar meetings.¹

*Newsweek* analyzed the future of Catholic reform in an article written by Emmet John Hughes. The author identified two problems facing renewal: Pope Paul VI and the Roman Curia. He stated that Paul placed the legitimate successes of Vatican II and prospects for reform in doubt because his equivocal leadership allowed two council sessions to stalemate. Then turning to the Roman Curia, the item unfavorably contrasted its members to liberal church leaders, "... men of rather rare courage and sure competence . . .," and pictured these

Romans as intransigently clinging to their positions of privilege and power. Even though Hughes recognized obstacles to further change, he stressed that when viewed from a hundred years perspective, the old Roman Catholic Church had perished:

You weigh all this wondering, like any witness, if you see authentic signs of "a new spring."
You can feel no certainty: there are too many dilemmas and snares ahead.
You know only one thing: a long church season of complacency and conformity--a season of imperious isolation--is now as dead as an old spring.¹

Not content with the Catholic Church, Time surveyed the future of Christian renewal in a cover story entitled "Christianity: The Servant Church." The magazine disregarded problems confronting reformers and proclaimed church renewal as the spirit of the age. More importantly, it stated that this reformation was "... most spectacular in Rome, where the Second Vatican Council has unleashed a passion for aggiornamento in the most tradition-encrusted of churches." The journal neglected to realistically appraise the council's prospects but saw this vital spirit in Catholicism's "new liturgy" and the drive of church liberals "... for more reforms of outdated rules (clerical celibacy, for example), institutions (the Index of Forbidden Books) and teachings (birth control)." Throughout, the article

¹Emmet John Hughes, Religion, "Vatican II: Striving for a New Spring," Newsweek, December 14, 1964, pp. 55-57. (Hereinafter Newsweek will be designated by N, and the date will be given numerically.)
favorably reported the ideas of numerous Catholic and Protestant progressives from Hans Küng to Harvey Cox on the necessity of a radical transformation of Christianity. *Time* detailed several specific areas to be reformed and, finally, justified the forces of renewal by associating them with the greats from Christian tradition.¹

In short, while Hughes looked to the past for assurance that the church had really changed, *Time*—looking toward the future—made an act of faith and heralded the dawn of a renewed Christianity. Yet during 1965 before the fourth session, *Time* and *Newsweek* appeared less confident about the present.

While still sympathetic to the goal of Christian unity, *Time* and *Newsweek* did not project the picture of a unifying Christendom into 1965. The image of Christian cooperation and dialogue overshadowed the illusion of organic union. *Time*, in contrast to its optimism of 1964, stated that grass roots opposition to unity was blocking large-scale mergers; it realized that cooperation, not unity, was well-received at the congregational level.² Both publications reported evidence of friendly ecumenical contacts, but *Newsweek* clearly showed that the focus of the two periodicals toward this new era of

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¹Religion, "Christianity: The Servant Church," *Time*, December 25, 1964, pp. 45-49. (Hereinafter *Time* will be designated by *T*, and the date will be given numerically.)

inter-faith relations had shifted. In "Selma, Civil Rights, and the Church Militant," the magazine said:

... there may be a new reformation going on, too—one that may bring the churches closer together rather than tear them apart. In the age of Martin Luther, the churches discovered the individual conscience. In the age of Martin Luther King, the churches may be discovering how to put the individual conscience to work.1

Also Time and Newsweek continued to cover renewal-generated tension in the Roman Catholic Church. When Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, warned the American episcopacy to await norms approved by the Holy See before implementing the "Decree on Ecumenism," the journals again had the opportunity to portray the, by then, commonplace image of conspiratorial Curial conservatives obstructing aggiornamento. In addition, Time spotlighted another aspect of friction within the church in "Roman Catholics: Authority Under Fire." The story favorably detailed an increasing restlessness by priests, religious, and laypeople toward ecclesiastical authority, but it countered claims that Catholicism faced a crisis of disobedience: "What is being questioned is not authority as such, but how it is exercised; not the concept of obedience, but what it means in

the modern world of free men." Lastly, before the final session, both publications recognized the emergence of a traditionalist movement among Catholics. Before 1965, they generally pictured resistance to renewal as coming from a few high-placed Romans and their conservative, episcopal allies. Yet between the third and fourth sessions, the periodicals reported actions by Catholic traditionalists, especially in America and France. On the whole, the American movement, led by Fr. Gommar DePauw, was seen as insignificant. Newsweek stated: "... in fact, there is some evidence that it consisted largely of DePauw and a post-office box."1 But Time appeared to take the French backlash seriously. Its item, "Roman Catholics: Eldest Daughter in Turmoil," conveyed the impression that the church in France faced either an open or "silent schism."2

In 1965 before the fourth session, Catholicism's stance on birth control remained an important issue in the press. Consistent with earlier views, Time and Newsweek described this issue as crucial and favored the church's acceptance of the pill. For example, Time approvingly reviewed a book that "... conclusively proves that Catholic doctrine has

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consistently anathematized contraception—yet also suggests that there are good reasons why the traditional stand can change." The review forcefully presented the author's case and failed to express opposing arguments. Yet despite this advocacy and their former expectations, both magazines recognized that a change in the church's teaching regarding birth control might not come because the papal commission studying the problem was deeply and bitterly divided. In contrast, U.S. News & World Report, whose expectations were normally more moderate than its competitors, carried an article which stated that "many observers" saw some Catholic "adjustment" on this issue coming soon.2

Other possible reforms received secondary attention. Time and Newsweek ran scattered reports on a number of issues concerning renewal, but these stories were basically insignificant.3 Yet Time again demonstrated a sharp interest in reform with items on Jesuit philosopher Bernard Lonergan,

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1Religion, "Theology: The Church & Birth Control: From Genesis to Genetics," T, 7/16/65, p. 73.


progressive questioning of transubstantiation, and a Catholic movement away from private confession. The articles clearly showed the journal's relentless advocacy of liberal ideas; furthermore, they contained two interesting features. First, "Roman Catholics: Beyond Transubstantiation--New Theory of the Real Presence" exemplified how the periodical subtly used the Myth of John to purpose fundamental change within the church:

The questioning spirit of aggiornamento begun by Pope John, having opened up discussion on such long-settled issues as clerical celibacy and birth control, is now turning toward another and even more central teaching of the Roman Catholic Church: the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

Second, all three items illustrated the publication's more sober expectations for Vatican II because none of the reforms mentioned appeared imminent. For its part, U.S. News & World Report ran a brief story which stressed that Pope Paul intended to press for Curia reform.

Until the eve of the fourth session, there was little direct coverage of Pope Paul. But when he created twenty-seven new cardinals in February, the news magazines reported

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the announcement; and *Time* and *Newsweek* utilized this event to briefly analyze the Pope. They pictured Paul's appointments as a calculated political move to foster consensus by honoring "... almost every shade of opinion in the church."\(^1\)

In addition, *Time* saw this action as another example of a Pauline half-step toward reform. It mistakenly interpreted the expansion of the College of Cardinals as a sign that Paul would not establish a senate of bishops, as desired by progressives at the council, but rather enlarge and internationalize the college.\(^2\) However, neither journal harshly criticized him. In fact, the publications favorably recounted the curtailing of ecclesiastical pomp during the consistory that later elevated the Pontiff's nominees. Moreover, the periodicals were impressed that Paul co-celebrated Mass with the new cardinals. They recognized the gesture as a symbolic acceptance of collegiality, a doctrine that they vaguely defined as some type of "sharing" of papal or church power.\(^3\)

As the fourth session approached or immediately after its opening on September 14, *Time* and *Newsweek* expressed

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\(^1\) *Religion*, "Roman Catholics: 27 More Cardinals," *T*, 2/5/65, p. 56. This opinion was shared by both *Time* and *Newsweek*.


expectations for the council's final meeting. Besides more modest hopes, the magazines demonstrated an ongoing concern with papal leadership and an ability to effectively employ the Myth of John against Paul.

Displaying resentment over "... the shattering climax of the third session ...," *Time* seemed doubtful about the success of *aggiornamento* on the eve of Vatican II's last meeting. It reported that the eleven documents on the council's agenda stood a good chance of passage, but the journal lamented that some of the schemata like the ones on revelation, religious liberty, and the church in the modern world were in part ambiguous and compromising. Furthermore, citing liberal theologian Hans Kün, the article continued that the important question facing Catholic renewal was what would happen to reform after the council's closing? In answer, the publication allowed the progressive scholar to reply that to safeguard renewal the Roman Catholic Church needed to internationalize and decentralize the Curia, while establishing a senate of bishops to help the Pope govern the church. The periodical obviously approved Kün's program but felt that its implementation was uncertain because "... the always enigmatic aims and purposes of Pope Paul remain the

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*U.S. News & World Report* briefly reported the naming of twenty-seven new cardinals but did not use the occasion to analyze Paul. (People of the Week, "Another U.S. Cardinal: 27 Named, 1 an American," USN, 2/8/65, p. 16.)
key to the direction and drama of the fourth session—and after. 1

Two weeks later in a cover story entitled "The Papacy: Reluctant Revolutionary," Time apparently solved the Pauline puzzle and described the nature of Catholic renewal. The magazine abandoned its often hyper-hopes for radical change and accepted the judgment of Protestant theologian Albert Outler that, in essence, Vatican II was "... a 'Reformation Roman style.'" The journal explained:

... Unlike Luther's drastic break with the medieval past, it is a reformation in which change is often so subtle that it sometimes does not seem like change at all. It is a reformation in which continuity receives as much emphasis as novelty, in which new ways are inevitably coupled with warnings against imprudent excess. It is a reformation not of acts but of attitudes, whose distant goal is the ultimate reconciliation of the church with other faiths and with the modern world. 2

Moreover, the publication stated that this moderate reform was "... precisely suited to the temper of the lonely, sensitive, cautious and puzzling man who guides it." Basically the article concentrated on analyzing Pope Paul. It portrayed him as a man struggling to achieve consensus within the church, but it also showed him as prone to ambiguity and uncertainty, "... settling for surface rather than substance." The item slightly modified this criticism

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by recognizing that Paul faced difficult problems such as an unprecedented ferment in the church and the popularity of his predecessor. Yet emphasizing the conservative nature of his Italian heritage, the periodical basically held Paul's equivocal leadership responsible for the moderation of aggiornamento.¹ This indictment was sharpened with unfavorable comparisons to the Myth of John. In brief, the magazine pictured the current Pontiff—for the sake of Catholic order—diluting the "... goals set by John XXIII." But according to Time, the Pope's actions did not really matter:

... even if Paul were to decide ultimately in favor of conservation rather than reformation, it seems unlikely that this would forestall even more radical change for long. ... Paul may or may not choose to be a truly post-conciliar Pope. But whatever he chooses, the impetus to complete the reformation is already there in the records of Vatican II, waiting for another council, or another John. Or another Luther.²

In a similar vein, Newsweek columnist Emmet John Hughes cast a "cloud of gloom" over the council. He saw bleak prospects for progressive conciliar action because a cautious Pope and unyielding conservatives had either compromised or seemed likely to block important reform. The major impression given in the editorial was that Paul's reign


on statements concerning religious liberty, Jews, and Catholicism's relation to the modern world; stressed the importance of the post-conciliar commissions; and pictured Paul as "enigmatic." Unlike Time, the publication saw the fourth session as the "test" for renewal and held out hope that the Pope might revise the church's absolute opposition to oral contraception. But in their pro-progressive attitude and ability to use the Myth of John to justify reform, the two magazines continued to closely resemble each other. Newsweek concluded:

... The need to pass eleven sound, progressive documents this session is clear. More than that, if Vatican II is to be faithful to the dream of John XXIII, it must create a truly international church government.¹

U.S. News & World Report expressed expectations for the council's final session in "Pope Paul: 'Liberal,' 'Conservative'--or Compromiser?" The article represented the periodical's first recognition that there were serious doubts concerning Pope Paul's leadership. It briefly related both liberal and conservative grievances against the Pope. And after listing numerous topics for discussion at the council, the journal repeated its constant image of Paul as the practical man of reform:

The Pope's role in the early stages of the Council's last session suggests that he sees himself as the mediator who is confronted with the job of translating Pope John's idealistic program into reality.

Thus, the outlook appears to be for more practical compromise between "progressive" and "conservative" elements of the Catholic Church.¹

The fourth and final session of the Second Vatican Council opened on September 14 and closed on December 8. During this period, Pope Paul's trip to New York City and address to the United Nations on October 4 briefly eclipsed news of the council. Before the event, the three publications carried routine reports on Paul's expected agenda and expressed their interpretations of the first papal journey to the New World. Time described the visit as symbolic of the Pontiff's ambiguous manner and questioned whether Paul had anything significant to say to the United Nations. While Emmet John Hughes saw the trip as an undesirable display of papal power, Newsweek in another article credited the Pope's interest in world affairs as "... a natural outgrowth of the legacy he received from Pope John XXIII ...," but the item quickly noted that "... Paul VI apparently has seen fit to curb the speed, without altering the direction of John's drive for aggiornamento [sic]." Lastly, U.S. News & World Report emphasized that Paul's desire for world peace prompted his trek.²

¹People of the Week, "Pope Paul: 'Liberal,' 'Conservative'--or Compromiser?," USN, 9/27/65, p. 19.

was a "labyrinthine rebuttal" to the halcyon days of Pope John. The author, without evidence, identified John with the progressive desire to limit the Papacy and revamp the Curia while Paul was pictured as disfiguring renewal by stressing papal power. Moreover, he even implied—contrary to fact—that the late Pontiff favored a change in the Catholic ban on artificial contraception: "The torment over birth control perhaps most pithly (sic) presents the need for aggiornamento glimpsed by John XXIII." Yet in fact, John had dismissed the writer's argument that over-population created a need for birth control; in his famous encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*, John cautioned:

> . . . the resources which God in His goodness and wisdom has implanted in Nature are well-nigh inexhaustible, and He has at the same time given man the intelligence to discover ways and means of exploiting these resources for his own advantage and his own livelihood. Hence, the real solution of the problem is not to be found in expedients which offend against the divinely established moral order and which attack human life at its very source, but in a renewed scientific and technical effort on man's part to deepen and extend his dominion over Nature. 

In the same issue, *Newsweek* carried a story which expressed many other ideas similar to *Time*. The journal showed that it was still bitter about the conclusion of the third session; detailed the council's agenda with emphasis

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