

"All Things to All Men":  
The Life and Work of Monsignor Thomas J. Tobin,  
Priest of the Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon

by  
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## Abstract

This thesis is a biographical study of the life and work of Monsignor Thomas J. Tobin, a priest of the Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon. It covers his leadership in the labor movement during World War II, his participation in the Liturgical Movement, and his efforts to bring the Catholic Church in Oregon into ecumenical dialogue with other Christians. It culminates in his involvement in the Second Vatican Council. His activism can only be truly understood within the context of Oregon's vibrant progressive movement, a movement that carried disproportionate influence in a state that was in many ways politically conservative at the time. In the midst of the exigencies of the Second World War, Tobin's efforts were well-received in the world beyond the Church. However, after the war the public began to lose interest in the reform efforts he championed. At the same time, he enjoyed tremendous success as a reformer within the Catholic Church of Western Oregon.

## Acknowledgments

In one of my first days of graduate school, Michael Reardon suggested that I write on Monsignor Tobin. His tip saved me from hours in the archives looking for gaps in the historiography. Soon thereafter while I was contemplating whether to take Michael's suggestion, Dick Safranski encouraged me to pursue it. I'm glad I listened to both of them.

I would not have been able to write this thesis without the assistance of a number of librarians and archivists: Scott Daniels of the Oregon Historical Society; Bruce Tabb and Nathan Georgitis of Special Collections & University Archives at the University of Oregon; Brian Morin of the Mount Angel Abbey Library; Father Jeffrey Schneibel of the Archives at the University of Portland; and Shane MacDonald of the Catholic University of America Archives. Furthermore, at Tobin's former parish, All Saints, Father Paul Jeyamani and Barbara Custer gave me full access to their archive room.

I owe a particular debt to Joseph Schiwiek, archivist for the Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon. He helped me understand the history of Catholicism in Oregon and took an interest in this project from the start. I am grateful for his assistance and his friendship. Peter Kabele went into the archives at the University of Notre Dame on my behalf and sent me a long PDF with all his Tobin-related findings. Peter's work saved me a trip to Indiana and gave me invaluable insights into Tobin's time at Notre Dame and his involvement in the Liturgical Movement. Martin Winch, nephew of Monsignor Tobin, met with me over coffee a few days before Christmas of 2017 and at several junctures answered questions about Tobin family history.

I am especially grateful to David Johnson, my advisor at Portland State University. David gave me sage advice on research and writing and I appreciated his frequent encouragement.

And finally, Chelsea. She listened to me talk about Tobin day after day, month after month. She read every word of these pages multiple times, put up with my frequent musings on religion in America, and took on far more than her fair share of responsibilities around the house so that I could research and write. For these things and more, I am profoundly grateful.

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Figure 1: The photo of Tobin that went on the front page of *The Oregonian* (42)

## Introduction

On a chilly Rome morning in March of 1925, a newly-ordained American priest was to celebrate his first Mass at a catacomb chapel well outside the city. In attendance were a number of his close friends from seminary. As he and his religious superior climbed into a hired carriage for the trip, this young man asked whether the seminarians would have a carriage, as well. The seminarians would walk, replied the elder priest. It was not fitting that they ride. If they could not ride, replied the young priest, then neither would he. With that, he disembarked the carriage to make the long walk with his friends.<sup>1</sup> This man was Thomas J. Tobin, or Tom as his friends knew him, and this concern for those less privileged foreshadowed his lifelong concern for the laborer, the poor, and the downtrodden.

This thesis is a biographical study of Tobin's life and work. It covers his leadership in the labor movement during World War II, his participation in the Liturgical Movement, and his efforts to bring the Catholic Church in Oregon into ecumenical dialogue with other Christians; and it culminates with his involvement in the Second Vatican Council. Although much could be said about Tobin on a personal level—his eccentricities, his spiritual life, or his life-long love of Rome—this study concentrates on Tobin's intellectual life and his participation in public life. In many ways Tobin sensed where the Church was headed years before most of his fellow American Catholics.

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<sup>1</sup> James Tunstead Burtchaell, C.S.C., "Eulogy for the Funeral of The Right Reverend Monsignor Thomas J. Tobin" (eulogy, All Saints Parish, Portland, OR, November 10, 1978). The Archives of the Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon, Portland, Oregon.



Furthermore, I situate his activism in Oregon's vibrant progressive movement, a movement that carried disproportionate influence in a state that at that time was in many ways politically conservative. I contend that Tobin enjoyed success in the world beyond the Church due to the exigencies of the Second World War, but that after the war the public began to lose interest in the reform efforts he championed. I also argue that he enjoyed tremendous success as a reformer within the Catholic Church of Western Oregon.

Some scholars take a top-down approach to the field of religious history, focusing on priests, bishops, and the development of church institutions. In Patricia Brandt and Lillian Pereyra's *Adapting in Eden: Oregon's Catholic Minority, 1838-1986*, the authors relate the history of the Catholic Church in Oregon from its early missionary years to the late twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> Each chapter focuses on an archbishop and the developments in the local church during his tenure of office. The book devotes attention to the clergy, and the development of schools, parishes, and hospitals, examining each archbishop's influence on the life of the local church. Although Tobin was a highly-placed member of the Catholic Church's leadership in Portland and he was well-connected to the institutional Church beyond the archdiocese, this study does not primarily focus on his impact on the institutional Church. It does, however, discuss his involvement in the Second Vatican Council and speak to his impact on liturgical reform in the archdiocese.

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<sup>2</sup> Patricia Brandt and Lillian A Pereyra, *Adapting in Eden: Oregon's Catholic Minority, 1838-1986* (Pullman.: Washington State University Press, 2002).

At the opposite end of the spectrum, there is a body of religious history that focuses on the way that ordinary Catholics have practiced their faith through the centuries. For example, Robert Orsi's *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem* studies the devotional practices that Italian Catholics in East Harlem brought to America from the Old World and traces how these traditions changed as immigrants became a hyphenated community of Italian-Americans.<sup>3</sup> Orsi's study centers on the annual Marian festival that Harlem's Italians celebrated at their parish on 115<sup>th</sup> Street starting in the 1870s. Orsi argues that as these Italians gradually became more American, they toned their celebrations down: the parties became smaller, shorter, and less exuberant, and rather than the annual festival occurring at a place that happened to be a Catholic parish, the local church became the Catholic parish that hosted the annual Italian festival. Although Orsi's study focuses narrowly on one festival at a particular church in New York, it more broadly studies changes in Catholic devotional life as the Italian community assimilated to American culture.

Similarly, Colleen McDannell's *The Spirit of Vatican II: A History of Catholic Reform in America* traces the evolution of the religious practices of Catholic European immigrants from their arrival in America in the nineteenth century to the early twenty-first century.<sup>4</sup> Retelling this history through the lived experiences of the women of her own family, McDannell examines their experiences of parish life, weekly Mass, liturgical

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<sup>3</sup> Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> Colleen McDannell, *The Spirit of Vatican II: A History of Catholic Reform in America* (New York: Basic Books, 2011).

music, gender roles, rites of baptism and marriage, and personal devotions. Although the book incorporates the work of theologians and bishops, its main focus is the experience of ordinary believers. This study of Father Tobin draws some attention to the changes that scholars like Orsi and McDannell chronicle, but it does so with a greater stress upon the intellectual movements and institutional reforms that shaped the lived experiences of ordinary Catholics in the pews.

In addition to institutional and cultural religious histories, yet another subfield in religious history has stressed the development of ideas and an examination of how these ideas have shaped religious communities. A notable example of this is John McGreevy's magisterial *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History*.<sup>5</sup> In it, McGreevy examines what happened when American freedom collided with Catholic notions of hierarchy, obedience, and authority. His study examines how the friction that these often-opposed ideas gave rise to conflicts around topics like public education, slavery, birth control, patriotism, war, and abortion.

Similarly, Timothy Dolan's *Some Seed Fell on Good Ground: The Life of Edwin V. O'Hara* studies the intellectual convictions and activism of Edwin O'Hara, the Catholic priest and activist responsible for Oregon's minimum wage law for women, revisions to the Douay-Rheims translation of the Bible, and organization of ministry to rural Catholics.<sup>6</sup> Dolan asserts that O'Hara was a man ahead of his time, examining both

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<sup>5</sup> John T McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004).

<sup>6</sup> Timothy Michael Dolan, *Some Seed Fell on Good Ground: The Life of Edwin V. O'Hara* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1992).

his progressive ideas as well as how these ideas shaped his reform efforts. My study of Tobin seeks to do something similar to McGreevy's study of American Catholicism and Dolan's study of O'Hara insofar as I examine Tobin's ideas—ideas about economics, labor, liturgy, politics, and the good life—and unpack how these ideas manifested themselves in Tobin's public ministry. Despite O'Hara's ministering in Oregon for several years and his impact on the life of its Catholic population, Dolan's biography of O'Hara does not situate him in the strain of progressive politics that emerged in Oregon in the early twentieth century. In contrast, this thesis places Tobin into that conversation, a conversation that has resulted in biographies such as Michael Helquist's *Marie Equi: Radical Politics and Outlaw Passions* and Lawrence Lipin's *Eleanor Baldwin and the Woman's Point of View*, as well as Robert Johnston's *The Radical Middle Class: Populist Democracy and the Question of Capitalism in Progressive Era Portland, Oregon*.<sup>7</sup> This thesis adds to this literature by examining the Catholic contribution to progressive politics in Oregon.

However, this study of Tobin is no means the first study of religiously-motivated activism in the Pacific Northwest. Dale Soden's *Outsiders in a Promised Land: Religious Activists in Pacific Northwest History* examines the important role that religious activists have played in the history of the Pacific Northwest, a region known for its lack of

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<sup>7</sup> Michael Helquist, *Marie Equi: Radical Politics and Outlaw Passions* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2015); Lawrence M Lipin, *Eleanor Baldwin and the Woman's Point of View: New Thought Radicalism in Portland's Progressive Era* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2017); Robert D. Johnston, *The Radical Middle Class: Populist Democracy and the Question of Capitalism in Progressive Era Portland, Oregon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

religious affiliation.<sup>8</sup> One of Soden's central claims is that all religious people in the Northwest have been religious minorities, and as a result, a small number of activists have had an outsized influence on the region's political and cultural life. Soden's book is an important contribution to the literature on the Pacific Northwest and American religious history, and I add to it by writing about Tobin, an important but understudied figure who appears in Soden's book only briefly.

Beyond these studies of regional politics in the Pacific Northwest, a rich literature on the religious underpinnings of political activism in the broader United States has emerged in recent years. For example, Kevin Kruse's *One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America* argues that Americans in the mid-twentieth century came to believe the fictitious notion that the United States had been a Christian nation from the time of its founding.<sup>9</sup> Kruse argues that wealthy businessmen who opposed the New Deal collaborated with a number of high-profile Protestant ministers to promote the idea of "Christian Libertarianism." These businessmen feared that regulation and a welfare state would stifle the sanctity of individuals by making them dependent upon government handouts and wealth redistribution rather than inducing them to build character through hard work. These Christian libertarians also feared what regulation and higher taxes would do to their bottom lines. Kruse's thesis is a departure from the older arguments that the religiosity of the post-war era was a response to the

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<sup>8</sup> Dale Soden, *Outsiders in a Promised Land: Religious Activists in Pacific Northwest History* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2015).

<sup>9</sup> Kevin Kruse, *One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America* (New York: Basic Books, 2016).

threat of nuclear warfare and a coming together of theists against a godless communist Russia.

Similarly, John Turner's *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* situates the resurgence of evangelical Christian organizations on college campuses into the broader history of the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>10</sup> Turner connects the organization's history to the wider culture, including the hippie movement, Vietnam War protests, changing norms around gender, rock and roll, and a resurging of the Religious Right, examining the role that conservative religious convictions played in responding to and shaping that turbulent era.

In addition to Kruse and Turner's examinations of conservative religious activism, a similar strain of scholarship has emerged on religious liberals. For example, Sarah Griffith's monograph, *The Fight for Asian-American Civil Rights: Liberal Protestant Activism, 1900-1950*, places liberal Protestant activism on behalf of Asian Americans within the historiography of the long civil rights movement.<sup>11</sup> Her narrative begins at the turn of the twentieth century with American missionaries who sought to spread Christianity in Japan and help develop the industrializing Japanese economy. When these missionaries returned to the United States after World War I, they began a civil rights campaign on behalf of Asian Americans. They faced a variety of challenges in the interwar period, from housing and employment discrimination to legislation that

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<sup>10</sup> John G Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

<sup>11</sup> Sarah Marie Griffith, *The Fight for Asian American Civil Rights: Liberal Protestant Activism, 1900-1950* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2018).

limited Asian American immigration. They sought to combat these injustices through political mobilization and raising public awareness. At one point they even collaborated with social scientists to undertake a study that traced the welfare of Asian American immigrants and their descendants. Armed with data, liberal Protestant activists tried to demonstrate to politicians and the public that racism made it more difficult for Asian American to enter the American mainstream.

Relatedly, David Hollinger's essays in *After Cloven Tongues of Fire: Protestant Liberalism in Modern American History* seek to recover liberal Protestantism's important role in the civil rights, social gospel, and ecumenical movements.<sup>12</sup> A central theme in Hollinger's collection is the idea that, although mainline Protestants lost their cultural hegemony in the late twentieth century, many of their causes succeeded. In fact, the success of some of these causes likely contributed to mainline Protestantism's downfall. Hollinger makes this claim most explicit in the book's second chapter, where he argues that in the years after World War II, mainline Protestants' progressive views on civil rights, the Vietnam War, the feminist movement, contraception, and gay rights all eventually won the day in America, and that the children of mainline Protestants continued to support these causes even while they abandoned institutional Christianity. Hollinger also asserts that the loss of mainline Protestantism resulted in evangelicalism's increase in cultural capital.

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<sup>12</sup> David A. Hollinger, *After Cloven Tongues of Fire: Protestant Liberalism in Modern American History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

This thesis contributes to this burgeoning scholarship on religion and politics in America through a focus on the development of Father Tobin's ideas: ideas about economics, liturgy, and the reform of the Catholic Church.

Chapter One discusses Tobin's early years in turn-of-the-century Pittsburgh; his political activism for Irish independence and religious piety as a student at Notre Dame; his decision to become a priest in Oregon; his early years of priesthood; and his canon law studies in Rome in the mid-1930s, where he developed his vision for where the Catholic Church was headed. It argues that Tobin was an ethnically-conscious religious traditionalist until he encountered in Rome the progressive forces that ultimately gave rise to the Second Vatican Council.

Chapter Two covers Tobin's ministry from the mid-1930s until the early 1960s, the years when he was most active in Portland politics and at the height of his influence in the Oregon Church. It analyzes his work as mediator between labor and management during World War II; his brief foray into the politics of the Portland Housing Authority; and his work in the Liturgical Movement in Oregon. This chapter concludes that Tobin's activism outside of the Church was well-received during the War, but that his reforms fell out of favor in the city after the war ended. Finally, it argues that Tobin enjoyed success in the liturgical movement. Taken together, these findings help explain why Tobin gradually moved out of political activity outside of the Church and focused his energy within the Church in the final fifteen years of his ministry.



Chapter Three argues that the Catholic Church vindicated Tobin's progressive vision through the reforms of the Second Vatican Council, a council which Tobin attended as a theological expert and as the Portland Archdiocese's representative. It also details how Tobin, empowered by the Council, transmitted the reforms which he had already undertaken at his parish to the greater archdiocese. It closes with Tobin's retirement in 1970, a decision sparked in part by his feeling that the Oregon public had rejected his reform efforts.

In sum, as a young man Tobin glimpsed the direction that the Catholic Church was headed and sought to implement these changes in the Archdiocese of Portland and within Portland more broadly. Throughout his ministry, he exerted tremendous influence in the Oregon Catholic community. Furthermore, he successfully promoted a Catholic social vision to the Portland public during the 1940s. This vision ultimately fell out of favor with the public, leading Tobin to pursue reform within the Church in the concluding decades of his ministry.

## Chapter 1

### An Irish American's Early Years (1897–1936)

As devout Roman Catholics in a Protestant country, Father Tobin's parents, Thomas M. Tobin and his wife, Mary Emilie, were members of a religious minority. Their parents had emigrated from Europe—Thomas's from Ireland, Mary Emilie's from Germany—and settled in the eastern United States. When the couple wed in 1896, they settled in Pittsburgh, where Thomas worked as an iron engineer for a bridge building company.<sup>1</sup> Although they encountered non-Catholics in their neighborhoods and places of employment, like many Catholics of their time their social life likely revolved around the local parish and Catholic organizations. It is probable that their closest friends were coreligionists. Although records are scarce, *The Pittsburgh Catholic* mentioned Thomas as a member of the Young Men's Institute (YMI), a fraternal organization and mutual aid society for young men who were practicing Catholics.<sup>2</sup> YMI's mission was to offer a space where young men could grow in friendship with one another, and form them to be loyal to their Catholic faith and to their country. The organization also provided a death benefit for its members, which indicates that many members worked dangerous jobs with low pay.<sup>3</sup>

Catholic organizations like the YMI formed in the nineteenth century as a response to anti-Catholic bigotry. As historian Maura Jane Farrelly demonstrates, anti-

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<sup>1</sup> Martin Winch, Email with Author, January 15, 2019.

<sup>2</sup> "Y.M.I Reception," *Pittsburgh Catholic*, September 7, 1898.

<sup>3</sup> Francis Kierce and George Stanley. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 15. s.v. "The Young Men's Institute." (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912.)

Catholic animus has colored American politics and culture since the arrival of the Puritans in Massachusetts in the early seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup> This prejudice was a holdover from Europe, where Catholic-Protestant tensions had roiled the continent since the days of the Reformation. Furthermore, from the time of the signing of the Constitution, many American Protestants had insisted that Catholics could not be good Americans because they were loyal to a foreign power and could not think for themselves, both of which were prerequisites required for good citizenship in a republic. This anti-Catholicism flared in the mid-nineteenth century with the rise of the American Party, a semi-secret political party that quickly became known as “Know-Nothings.” The Know-Nothings formed as a reaction to the massive immigration of poor Irishmen who came to the United States fleeing the potato famine in the 1830s and 40s. The Know-Nothings’ political platform was anti-slavery, anti-immigrant, and anti-Catholic. Tobin’s paternal grandfather emigrated from Ireland in about 1861 as the Know-Nothings were being gradually absorbed by the newly-formed Republican Party. Despite the dwindling of the Know-Nothings, their anti-Catholic prejudice was not purged from American culture.<sup>5</sup>

At the institutional level, the Catholic Church in Rome reciprocated hostility. Since the creation of the United States, popes had denounced the liberalism and individualism that the United States espoused. Over time, the Reformation, Enlightenment, French Revolution, and rise of liberalism and communism had gradually

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<sup>4</sup> See Maura Jane Farrelly, *Anti-Catholicism in America, 1620–1860* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

<sup>5</sup> John T McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), 62.

eroded the Church's influence in public life, especially in Europe. The Church responded to these upheavals with condemnations of the modernity, centralization of authority, emphasis on clerical authority, and promotion of approved devotions.

The Council of Trent, which the Church convened from 1545–1563, was the first step in this direction and it loomed large in the piety and culture of Catholicism for the next several hundred years, including for much of Tobin's life. The Mass that the Council of Trent promulgated, the Tridentine Mass, was in Latin and was the standard liturgy worldwide.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the Church insisted that its intellectual life be uniform. At the First Vatican Council in 1869–1870, the Church mandated that Catholic theology and philosophy be rooted in neo-Thomism, a systematic philosophy based on Thomas Aquinas. Many bishops conferences promulgated catechisms that used neo-Thomistic philosophy in a rote question-and-answer format, including the bishops of the United States. In 1885, they issued the Baltimore Catechism, the catechism that Tobin would have learned as a boy. Tools like the Baltimore Catechism ensured that Catholics worldwide adhered to orthodox, albeit often trite and oversimplified, beliefs.

Tridentine Catholicism also promoted approved devotions and stressed clerical authority and lay obedience. Stories of martyrs and saints, iconography, and statues likely animated Tobin's childhood imagination. His prayer life likely featured memorized, Church-sanctioned prayers. Tobin also came of age in a world where the parish priest

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<sup>6</sup> Tridentine is the adjective form of Trent. In recognition of the Council of Trent's immense impact on the Church during this era and for the sake of simplicity, I refer to the liturgy, piety, and intellectual life of this period from the Council of Trent itself until the Second Vatican Council as "Tridentine Catholicism." In doing so, I do not mean to insinuate that there were no variations or developments during this time. Rather, I mean to illustrate the era in general terms, which of course runs the risk of glazing over particulars.

was a local hero and the bishop a revered figure in his diocese. In this world, the priest was often the most educated member of his community and, moreover, when the priest celebrated Mass, Catholics believed that his prayers made Jesus himself present in the Eucharist. These factors and the Vatican's stress on obedience created a world where the priest's word was law.<sup>7</sup>

Despite Tridentine Catholicism's suspicion of the United States and the liberal project and in turn Protestant Americans' suspicion of them, American Catholics like the Tobins were eager to demonstrate that they could be loyal to both their church and their country. As a result, American Catholics fought for the Union and the Confederacy in large numbers during the Civil War, participated in politics in the late nineteenth century to such a degree that they controlled the Democratic Party in some cities, and created a nationwide network of hospitals, schools, and orphanages that served both Catholics and non-Catholics. The Young Men's Institute's goal of forming its members as patriots was a quintessential example of this trend. From the ordinary Catholic immigrants who occupied the pews on Sunday to many in the American Church's hierarchy, good Catholics insisted that they could be good Americans. Writer Charles Morris aptly summarized the American Church at this time as "separatist, ethnically grounded, and

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<sup>7</sup> For a fascinating glimpse into this pre-Vatican II world in the United States, see Colleen McDannell, *The Spirit of Vatican II: A History of Catholic Reform in America* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), especially Chapter 1. In this chapter, McDannell also complicates the sometimes simplistic narrative of obedience to clerics.

hyper-patriotic all at the same time...*In* America, but decisively not *of* it, it was yet the most patriotic and nationalistic of churches.”<sup>8</sup>

This development gave the Vatican pause. Their concern was that American Catholics would embrace modernity and leave the Church like so many of their European coreligionists had. This culminated in an 1899 letter from Pope Leo XIII to Baltimore’s James Cardinal Gibbons, in which Leo coined and then condemned a heresy which he called “Americanism,” the assertion that the Catholic Church and the liberal project could coexist.<sup>9</sup> Although Leo’s condemnation generated attention, many American Catholics objected, dismissing it on the grounds that Leo had conflated American liberalism with the excesses of European nation states.

This was the milieu into which Thomas J. Tobin was born on October 26, 1897, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the first-born of Mary Emilie and Thomas Tobin. Although no one had any inkling of it at the time, Tobin would go on to have a significant impact on the Catholic Church and its environs in faraway Portland, Oregon. This chapter chronicles Tobin’s life from his childhood to his intellectual awakening in Rome in the 1930s. It focuses on Tobin’s Tridentine piety, his college and post-college activism for Irish independence, his decision to become a priest for the Archdiocese of Oregon City, and his forward-looking embrace of the developments in Catholic doctrine which culminated in the Second Vatican Council.

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<sup>8</sup> Charles R Morris, *American Catholic: The Saints and Sinners Who Built America’s Most Powerful Church* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), 110.

<sup>9</sup> Pope Leo XIII, “*Testem Benevolentiae Nostrae*,” Papal Encyclicals Online, January 22, 1899, Accessed February 1, 2019. <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/leo13/113teste.htm>.

Although few details of Tobin's childhood remain, his faith underwent two serious trials before he reached adulthood. In 1909, when Tobin was 12 or 13, his six year-old brother Richard became sick and died. Family records list the cause of death as a "misdiagnosis," which probably means that he fell ill, received an incorrect diagnosis, and by the time a doctor corrected the mistake it was too late. Shortly thereafter, Tobin's father was diagnosed with cancer on the right side of his face, a cancer that gradually suffocated him. After six months of suffering, he died in 1911 at the age of 45.<sup>10</sup> Soon thereafter, Mary Emilie and her three living children relocated to Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, where they had a house built. Although it is unclear why they moved, one possibility was that Canonsburg was a less expensive place to live. It is also possible that Thomas's company helped pay for the house.<sup>11</sup> During Tobin's years at the local public high school, someone must have seen promise in him and encouraged him to think about attending college. In 1916, Tobin became the first in his family to attend college when he enrolled at the University of Notre Dame, a small Catholic college for men with a good football team.

Tobin's years at Notre Dame reveal a talented young man whose worldview was typical of a young Catholic in his day. He was patriotic, conscious of his Irish identity, a budding activist, and religiously devout. Tobin began to write for the *Notre Dame Scholastic*, a student publication, late in his sophomore year. A consistent theme that ran through his writing was the cause of Irish independence from England. In one fiery piece,

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<sup>10</sup> Winch, Email with Author, January 15, 2019.

<sup>11</sup> Martin Winch, Email with Author, January 16, 2019.

he opined that the world needed to decide not whether “‘Has Ireland the right to be free?’ but ‘Has England a right to enslave her?’” He went on to describe four ways in which England could have laid legitimate claim to Ireland: “by conquest, by covenant, by the consent, express or tacit, of the Irish people, and by prescription.” He then struck down each possibility. His fiery conclusion was that England was guilty of “seven centuries of brutality, rapine and murder; a military despotism that has not failed to produce at least one armed rebellion every generation; a satrapy whose record for chicanery, fraud, and outrage is unparalleled in history.”<sup>12</sup> To Tobin, the answer to the question of whether Ireland had the right to be free was obvious.

Tobin’s zeal for Irish independence from England was part of a larger movement that had been afoot in Ireland and the United States since the 1840s. The southern, Catholic portion of Ireland wanted freedom from Protestant England, which had oppressed them for centuries and provided no aid during the potato famine of the 1830s and 1840s, leading millions to immigrate to places like the United States and millions of others to die of starvation in Ireland. As World War I drew to a close, many Irish Americans took President Woodrow Wilson’s assertion that the nations of Eastern Europe should have self-determination to heart and insisted that, in the same spirit, England should set Ireland free.<sup>13</sup>

Although Tobin wrote passionately and frequently about the Irish cause, he did not limit his zeal to the pages of journals. During his years as a student, he rose in the

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<sup>12</sup> Thomas J. Tobin, “Ireland -- A Nation,” *The Notre Dame Scholastic* LIII, no. 53 (March 20, 1920): 365–67.

<sup>13</sup> Jay P. Dolan, *The Irish Americans: A History* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2010), 202–3.



ranks of the local chapter of the Friends of Irish Freedom (F.O.I.F) to become its president. As the chapter's president, he networked with the national movement, attending a national F.O.I.F convention in Philadelphia, where he heard Cardinal Gibbons, the same prelate whom Leo XIII had warned of the heresy of Americanism, speak on the Irish cause.<sup>14</sup> He and his F.O.I.F chapter also collaborated with the American Commission on Irish Independence to help raise \$10 million in bonds for the newly-formed but still unrecognized Irish Republic. In the *Scholastic's* appeal, the writer explained that the bonds would not go toward political or military purposes, but that they “will enable the government of Ireland to reforest the country, to reclaim the waste lands, and to harness the water power of the Island, which at present is useless, because of the destructive policy of Great Britain.”<sup>15</sup> Tobin even hosted Irish revolutionary hero and President Eamon de Valera for a speaking event on campus.<sup>16</sup>

Tobin's college years reveal a young man conscious of his ethnic identity who wanted to right injustice in the world. It also demonstrated his activist bent, entrepreneurial spirit, and leadership abilities. At the same time, Tobin's activism also illustrated how parochial his concerns were. Rather than working on behalf of those who were not part of his ethnic group or having an understanding of himself as a member of a worldwide church that was composed of many countries and ethnicities, Tobin's vision was narrowly focused on the Irish cause.

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<sup>14</sup> Thomas J. Tobin, “The Irish Race Convention,” *The Notre Dame Scholastic* LII, no. 20 (March 15, 1919): 323–24.

<sup>15</sup> “Local News,” *The Notre Dame Scholastic* LIII, no. 10 (November 29, 1919): 156; J.J. Buckley, “Irish-Bond Campaign at Notre Dame.,” *The Notre Dame Scholastic* LIII, no. 16 (January 31, 1920): 257–58.

<sup>16</sup> Thomas J. Tobin, “De Valera—President of the Irish Republic.,” *The Notre Dame Scholastic* LIII, no. 3 (October 11, 1919): 39–40.

During Tobin's college years, one of the few areas that took precedence over the cause of Irish independence was his Catholic faith. In a letter of recommendation, one of the Holy Cross priests on the faculty stated that Tobin "represents the finest type of devout Catholic manhood" and disclosed that Tobin had been a daily communicant through his college years.<sup>17</sup> Those last details, that Tobin had attended Mass and received communion daily, are significant in two respects. First, during this era, Catholics were supposed to fast from food and water from midnight until they received communion. For this reason, Mass often happened early in the morning. Moreover, although Catholics were obliged to attend Mass every Sunday, in previous centuries most did not receive communion every week. In 1905, Pope Pius X had encouraged more frequent—even daily—reception of communion provided that one kept the fast and was in a "state of grace," or free from serious sin.<sup>18</sup> In order to be in a state of grace and receive communion, one needed to have attended confession recently. For Tobin to be a daily communicant meant that he fasted every night, woke up early enough to make it to Mass, and made confession frequently. Second, Tobin's devotion to daily Mass raises the possibility that he was considering the priesthood while in college. Tobin was indisputably devout.

During these years Tobin's Catholicism was Tridentine. His valedictory address to the Class of 1920 was written in the register of Tridentine Catholicism, a register that contained lengthy prayers replete with pious, sometimes florid platitudes. Tobin's address

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<sup>17</sup> Fr. James Burns C.S.C., *Fr. James Burns C.S.C. to Bishop Regis Canevin*, August 10, 1920, Monsignor Thomas J. Tobin Files, The Archives of the Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon, Portland, Oregon.

<sup>18</sup> James F. White, *Roman Catholic Worship: Trent to Today* (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1995), 84.

meditated on Notre Dame – both the university and the Virgin Mary. In his speech, Tobin implored that “your teachings, O Notre Dame, be ever with us. May we always remember your altruism, your virtue, and your beauty. May your unselfishness animate us in the morning and at the noontide of our lives... Then, may your matchless spirit be the loadstar [sic] which will guide us to the gates of Heaven and to eternity with God.”<sup>19</sup>

Tobin was a product of Tridentine Catholicism and a loyal son of Notre Dame in both senses of the term.

After graduating, Tobin accepted an offer to teach Latin and History at Columbia University, the high school and college that ultimately became the University of Portland in Portland, Oregon. The Congregation of Holy Cross, the religious community that ran both Columbia and Notre Dame, likely connected him to this job. It is possible that they offered him this position in part because they knew he was thinking about the priesthood. If he did pursue priesthood, perhaps they thought that he would be more likely to join their congregation if he was already working at one of their schools. During his year at Columbia, his activism for complete Irish independence continued as he helped form a chapter of the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic and attended the national convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, an Irish fraternal organization that at the time was advocating for Irish independence.<sup>20</sup>

It is likely that the Archdiocese of Oregon City’s charismatic archbishop,

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<sup>19</sup> Thomas J. Tobin, “Valedictory,” *The Notre Dame Scholastic* LIII, no. 32 (Commencement Number 1920): 530–31.

<sup>20</sup> “Columbia University Forms A.A.R. I. R. Branch,” *Catholic Sentinel*, March 17, 1921; “OREGON A. O. H. DELEGATES ON WAY TO DETROIT,” *Catholic Sentinel*, July 14, 1921; John Ridge, “Ancient Order of Hibernians,” in *The Encyclopedia of the Irish in America*, ed. Michael Glazier (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).

Alexander Christie, and the prospect of living in Oregon, a rugged land wrought with missionary potential, influenced Tobin's decision to stay in Oregon. At the end of his year at Columbia, 1921, instead of enrolling in seminary for his home diocese, the Diocese of Pittsburgh, Tobin became a seminarian with the Archdiocese of Oregon City. Oregon City's archbishop at the time was Alexander Christie, an avuncular, regal leader of a widespread, sparsely-populated Catholic community. Christie struggled to staff his churches and schools with vocations from the Oregon Catholic community. During his years as Oregon City's archbishop, he earned a reputation as a recruiter of priests and nuns, often drawing his recruits from east of the Rockies.<sup>21</sup> Few contemporaneous sources discuss why Tobin chose Oregon, but one account, composed in 1933, asserted that "the attractiveness of Oregon and [Tobin's] association with the clergy here caused him to apply to the former Archbishop for admission into the Archdiocese."<sup>22</sup> Similarly, a newspaper article written on the occasion of Tobin's fiftieth anniversary as a priest asserted that Christie's influence was one of the major reasons that Tobin decided to make Oregon his home.<sup>23</sup>

Catholics comprised about 8.5% of Oregon's population at the time of Tobin's arrival and they had been among the first people of European descent to settle in Oregon in the early nineteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Most of the early Catholic settlers were French Canadian fur trappers. As they settled with their Native American wives in the

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<sup>21</sup> Patricia Brandt and Lillian A Pereyra, *Adapting in Eden: Oregon's Catholic Minority, 1838-1986* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2002), 85.

<sup>22</sup> "Father Tobin To Study Canon Law In Rome," *Catholic Sentinel*, August 17, 1933.

<sup>23</sup> "Msgr. Tobin Near 50th Anniversary," *Catholic Sentinel*, August 1, 1975.

<sup>24</sup> Brandt and Pereyra, *Adapting in Eden*, 92.

Willamette Valley and around Fort Vancouver, Dr. John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of the Hudson Bay Company, requested that priests come to the area to minister to them. After unsuccessfully lobbying the bishop of St. Louis, Missouri, for missionary priests, in 1838 the bishop of Quebec sent French Canadian Jesuits Francis Blanchet and Modeste Demers.<sup>25</sup> In the ensuing years, Catholic priests and nuns were among the first to create schools, churches, and hospitals in the region. For example, Blanchet founded one of the regions first schools, St. Joseph's College, which was actually an elementary school, in 1844 near present-day St. Paul, Oregon.<sup>26</sup> More schools followed. About thirty years later in 1875, the Sisters of Charity of Providence founded the first hospital in the state of Oregon.<sup>27</sup>

By the early twentieth century, Oregon's Catholic population mostly came from families that had originally settled in the eastern United States and then migrated to the Pacific Northwest. Like their coreligionists in the east, many Oregon Catholics had roots in Southern and Eastern Europe. Like Tobin, there were also a significant number of Catholics with German or Irish heritage. As was the case nationwide, most Catholics in Oregon were blue collar workers, but a few had achieved local prominence in politics and business.<sup>28</sup>

Although in many ways Oregon was rife with possibility for a talented young man like Tobin, the state, which had always harbored nativism and anti-Catholicism, was in

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 3–4.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 89.

the midst of a surge of anti-Catholic bigotry. During the years after World War I, the Ku Klux Klan had arisen to prominence again, and the Klan had become especially influential in Oregon. Unlike the first iteration of the Klan, which arose in the South during Reconstruction and was anti-black, the second rising of the Klan was mostly anti-immigrant, anti-Semitic, and anti-Catholic. In 1922, Oregon voters approved the Oregon Compulsory Education Act, a law that forbade private schools. Although the law threatened all private schools, its primary target was the Catholic parochial school system.<sup>29</sup> In 1925, the United States Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional, but even so, anti-Catholic prejudice continued in more sinister ways. For example, in 1930, the Portland City Council tried to block Tobin's future parish, All Saints in Northeast Portland, from establishing a Catholic school by refusing to grant a building permit on the grounds that the area was only zoned for single-family dwellings. All Saints took the dispute to the courts, arguing that anti-Catholic animus was motivating the city's refusal to grant the permit. In 1932, All Saints went before the Oregon Supreme Court and won the right to build the school. The justice who wrote the majority opinion asserted that property holders have a right to use private property as they see fit so long as it does not hinder the public welfare. In this case, the city could not demonstrate that a school would be detrimental to the neighborhood.<sup>30</sup>

During the years of the conflict over the Compulsory Education Act, Tobin was

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<sup>29</sup> Brandt and Pereyra, 93. For more on the Klan's attack on parochial schools in Oregon, see Chapter 8 of Linda Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2018).

<sup>30</sup> Brandt and Pereyra, 107; Edward F. O'Meara, *Continue to Prosper: The History of The First Half Century of All Saints Parish, Portland, Oregon* (Unpublished Manuscript, n.d.), 13. "Parochial School May Now Be Built." *Catholic Sentinel*, October 20, 1932.

studying for the priesthood in Rome, where in 1925 he was ordained before returning to Portland. During the early years of his priesthood, he earned a reputation as a rising star in the local church. In 1926, Oregon City's newly-appointed Archbishop Edward Howard asked Tobin to be his secretary, a position that brought him into the inner circle of church politics and created a strong working relationship between the two that would last for decades. The new archbishop reportedly thought the world of the young priest.<sup>31</sup>

Seminary life in Rome and ordination no doubt had had an impact on Tobin's worldview, but even so, upon his return to the States his activism for Irish independence continued much as it had previous to his departure. From 1919–1921, Catholic Ireland had been at war with England and had demanded complete independence. With the signing of the 1921 Anglo-Irish treaty, much of the bloodshed ceased and the southern counties of Ireland became a quasi-independent polity with their own parliament, although still under British rule. For many Irish Americans like Tobin, this increased autonomy was a step in the right direction, but still unsatisfactory. In Oregon, Tobin became a widely sought-after speaker on the topic. In a 1928 St. Patrick's Day speech that he gave at the Catholic parish in Astoria, Oregon, Tobin reveled in Irish history and culture and the contribution of the Irish to civilization, asserting that "People who have struggled and suffered as the Irish have will never be satisfied with anything short of complete independence."<sup>32</sup> Tobin had seen Europe and become an Italophile, but loyalty

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<sup>31</sup> Eugene P. Burke CSC to John W. Cavanaugh CSC, July 18, 1927, Box 1, Folder 59, "Burke, Eugene P. CSC 1920-1933," John W. Cavanaugh Papers, University of Notre Dame Archives, Hesburgh Libraries, Notre Dame, Indiana. "ARCHBISHOP HOWARD HAS APPOINTED MSGR. HILLENBRAND AS VICAR-GENERAL," *Catholic Sentinel*, September 2, 1926. Brandt and Pereyra, 107.

<sup>32</sup> "St. Patrick's Day Observed," *Catholic Sentinel*, March 22, 1928.

to Ireland still dominated his concerns.

However, a major shift in Tobin's thinking happened when he returned to Rome in 1933 for three years to complete graduate studies in canon law (church law) at the Pontifical Gregorian University. These were the years that Tobin began to grasp the direction that the Catholic Church was heading, moving away from Tridentine Catholicism and toward engagement with the modern world.

In the years before Tobin's birth, the Church's stance toward modernity had begun a slow reorientation. Leo XIII agreed with his predecessors' condemnations of liberalism, but, according to historian Thomas Woods, he also wanted to "engage the world with vigor, and to demonstrate that the Church had more than condemnations for the modern errors he deplored – it had an inspiring and intellectually rigorous alternative."<sup>33</sup> Among other things, Leo believed that the Catholic Church had a compelling antidote to the problems that the industrial revolution had created. In his 1891 encyclical, or letter, *Rerum Novarum*, (Latin for "Of New Things")<sup>34</sup> Leo asserted the right to private property, but also insisted that prices be fair and laborers receive a living wage. Furthermore, he insisted that the economy work to uphold and ennoble the family, drew on the medieval trade unions in endorsing modern unions, and stressed that labor and management ought to cooperate and seek the common good. In 1931, two years before Tobin's return to Rome, Pope Pius XI had affirmed and developed the themes of *Rerum Novarum* in his own encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno* ("In the Fortieth Year," i.e.

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<sup>33</sup> Thomas Woods, *The Church Confronts Modernity: Catholic Intellectuals and the Progressive Era*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 123.

<sup>34</sup> Papal documents always receive their names from the first few words of the document.



in the forty years since the publication of *Rerum Novarum*). Taken together, these beliefs and others formed a natural law philosophy called “Catholic Social Teaching.” Catholic Social Teaching’s economic assertions were neither Marxist nor laissez-faire: it endorsed the market economy, but insisted that laborers and management work together to ensure just working conditions and compensation. The Church was drawing upon its intellectual tradition and engaging the issues of the modern world. But like most teachings in the Catholic Church, Catholic Social Teaching took time to trickle down to ordinary believers. Although *Rerum Novarum* was official teaching at the time of Tobin’s birth in 1897, it is unlikely that he would have been familiar with it as a youth. If he had been aware of it, his awareness would likely have been peripheral.<sup>35</sup>

In addition to the development of Catholic Social Teaching, in the nineteenth century a group of French and German scholars began to examine the liturgies of the early church. Their insights into how the first generations of Christians worshipped gave rise to a popular movement known as the Liturgical Movement, which aimed to make the liturgy something that ordinary people could understand and participate in. During the Tridentine Mass, the faithful did not actively participate in the liturgy. In fact, often they had only a vague sense of the activity up front because of the language barrier and

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<sup>35</sup> Given the American Catholic Church’s demographics, it is striking how little Catholic leaders initially did to encourage the formation of unions or fight labor abuse. The Church in America was in an awkward position because it had to negotiate between being a church that was ethnic, Catholic, and American. Many Catholic leaders were worried that if they were too vocal in support of unions, nativists would suspect that they were in league with the communists, but they also feared that they would lose some of their flock if Catholics fraternized too closely with Protestant progressives in unions. Furthermore, they worried that if they forbade unions the Vatican would accuse them of contradicting Catholic teaching and the nativists would criticize them for being too heavy-handed and controlling. For more information see: Joseph McShane, *Sufficiently Radical: Catholicism, Progressivism, and the Bishops’ Program of 1919* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1986).

because they did not participate in the dialogue of the Mass. Moreover, the priest celebrated the Mass facing the tabernacle, which meant that his back was to the congregation. The Liturgical Movement sought to reengage the laity by having the priest celebrate the Mass “versus populum,” or facing the people, for the language of the Mass to be in the vernacular, and for the congregation to participate in the responses.

Concurrently, Catholic intellectual life in Northern Europe was undergoing a transformation with the development and growth of a movement that came to be called the “nouvelle théologie” (French for “new theology”). In contrast to the intellectual style of nineteenth-century Catholicism, which drew upon neo-Thomism, scholars of the nouvelle théologie rooted their work in scriptural and patristic sources. This “ressourcement,” or return to the sources, among other things aimed at common ground between Catholics and Protestants and made ecumenical dialogue possible by emphasizing Christianity’s roots.

In the 1920s and 30s, the pontifical universities in Rome differed widely in their embrace of these movements. At one end, the Pontifical Lateran University, where Tobin completed seminary training from 1921–1925, was the most resistant to change, the most Tridentine. At the other end of the spectrum, the Pontifical Gregorian University and the Pontifical Biblical Institute were progressive and most friendly to modern developments.<sup>36</sup> Although it is unclear who specifically had an influence on Tobin during his time studying canon law in the mid-1930s, it is indisputable that these years at the

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<sup>36</sup> John W O’Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 89.

Gregorian radically shifted his vision and helped him to see where the Church was going. During these years, Tobin became the Rome correspondent for the *Catholic Sentinel*, Oregon's Catholic newspaper. Within months of his August 1933 arrival, Tobin began to report positively on the new developments in the Church, developments which were far from the experience of ordinary Catholics in the Pacific Northwest or, for that matter, from the experience of most Catholics in America.

In November 1933, just three months after Tobin had arrived in Rome, his *Sentinel* report to Catholic readers in Oregon discussed a work of fiction that was generating discussion in Rome. Written by the bishop of Geneva and entitled *After Four Hundred Years*, the book was a series of letters between a Catholic priest and a Protestant minister, each patriotic and proud of the unity of the Swiss people, but also saddened by the divisions that separated their churches. After briefly rehashing some of the substance of the narrative, Tobin concluded that "Both hope that eventually a way to unity will be found, over a road from which all obstacles will have been cleared."<sup>37</sup>

In his report just one week later, Tobin relayed the growing popularity of the use of missals during the Mass. These missals were little pamphlets that contained translations and explanations of the prayers and Scripture readings in the Sunday Mass to help ordinary Catholics participate in the liturgy. Missals were an outgrowth of the liturgical movement, and until as late as 1900, the Church had condemned them because they sought to put the sacred words of the Mass into the vernacular.<sup>38</sup> Tobin reported that around 230,000 copies of one version were in use across Italy and that Pius XI was

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<sup>37</sup> Rev. Thos. J. Tobin, "Roman Letter," *Catholic Sentinel*, November 23, 1933.

<sup>38</sup> White, *Roman Catholic Worship*, 84.

encouraging Catholics to use them. Tobin concluded by saying that from the “active participation by thousands of lay persons in the liturgy of the church, better understandings of the Mass and the Sacraments, more frequent Communions, conversions to the Church—there can be no doubt about the present value of the leaflet *Missal*.”<sup>39</sup>

Around the same time, Tobin began to embrace the Liturgical Movement’s vision for church art and architecture. In the “Roman Letter” that the *Sentinel* published on December 7, 1933, Tobin favorably described the renovations of the sanctuary in the Sistine Chapel, renovations that were “entirely simple and liturgical, and...much more beautiful in themselves than the somewhat baroque units which they replaced.”<sup>40</sup> A Victorian aesthetic had dominated Catholic churches of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The churches of this era were full of color, paintings, icons, statues, and flowers, giving the appearance of a stuffed Victorian parlor. In many ways, this aesthetic was consistent with Tridentine piety, where the faithful prayed the rosary and venerated statues during the Mass, saw the priest celebrating the liturgy from afar, and contemplated the mystery of the Eucharistic consecration with awe, but were not directly engaged with the action in the sanctuary.<sup>41</sup> By contrast, the Liturgical Movement’s aesthetic was simple but elegant. After all, the primary reason that the faithful gathered for Mass was to read the Scriptures and celebrate the Eucharist, activities that necessitated engagement with the activity of the priest up front. Devotions and statues,

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<sup>39</sup> Rev. Thos. J. Tobin, “Roman Letter,” *Catholic Sentinel*, November 30, 1933.

<sup>40</sup> Rev. Thos. J. Tobin, “Roman Letter,” *Catholic Sentinel*, December 7, 1933.

<sup>41</sup> McDannell, *The Spirit of Vatican II*, 18.

while good, were not the primary impetus behind the gathering. That Tobin and others in Rome favored refocusing the liturgy on lay participation—even at the ornate, stately Sistine Chapel—speaks volumes. These Roman Letters indicate that, after just three months in Rome, Tobin was already connected to the Church’s progressive circles and that he was convinced of the merits of ecumenism and the importance of liturgical reform.

In addition to affirming ecumenism and the liturgical movement, during these years Tobin began to advocate for the principles of Catholic Social Teaching. But unlike Leo and Pius XI, he defended the principles they put forward in the language of the Church Fathers. In a Roman Letter written in 1936, he asserted that Anthony and Basil, two important founders of Christian monasticism, had elevated manual labor from the work of slaves to a dignified, even godly calling. He closed by asserting that “labor should not forget that there is no logical foundation for the brotherhood of man except the fatherhood of God.”<sup>42</sup> This brief note indicates that Tobin was not only concerned with engaging the modern world on labor issues, but that he was rooting his case for the principles of Catholic Social Teaching in more ancient framework than the neo-Thomism of Leo XIII and Pius XI. Tobin was affirming the good things that had emerged from Tridentine Catholicism, but in going back to the ancient sources, he was trying to move the Church past Tridentinism and into a more robust, anciently-rooted engagement with the modern world.

In the mid-1930s when Tobin was in Rome, these developments in Catholic

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<sup>42</sup> Rev. Thos. J. Tobin, “Roman Letter,” *Catholic Sentinel*, May 14, 1936.

thought on ecumenism, liturgy, and economy had received various levels of approval from the magisterium. *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* had made the Church's stance on economic issues definitive and an official part of Catholic doctrine. The Liturgical Movement was slowly gaining the Vatican's approval and it had the advantage of being a reform movement rather than a novel introduction to Catholic teaching. Of the movements that Tobin embraced, the ecumenical movement was the furthest from receiving papal affirmation: After all, as recently as 1928 Pius XI had written an encyclical that condemned Protestants as "heretics" and insisted that they should return to Rome in order to be saved.<sup>43</sup> Tobin was eager to embrace all three movements, but throughout his career he remained theologically orthodox and respected Church authority.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps this helps explain why he immediately embraced labor causes and the Liturgical Movement when he returned to Portland in the summer of 1936 and why he waited until closer to the Second Vatican Council of the 1960s to engage in ecumenical work.

When Tobin returned to Portland in the summer of 1936, he returned not only with a doctorate in canon law, but with a vision for reform in the Church as well as hopes for the transformation of the broader society. His early years had been parochial, ethnically-conscious, and Tridentine. Although he never left his love for Ireland behind, he did leave Tridentine piety behind and his political vision became more expansive. By

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<sup>43</sup> Pope Pius XI, *Mortalium Animos* [Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on Religious Unity], Vatican Website, January 6, 1928, Accessed February 28, 2018, [http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-xi\\_enc\\_19280106\\_mortalium-animos.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19280106_mortalium-animos.html).

<sup>44</sup> After his three years of advanced study in Rome, Tobin returned to the United States in 1936 as a canon lawyer. This legal training would have given him a good sense for what was permissible.

the time of his return, Tobin understood where the global Catholic Church was headed in a way that few other Americans grasped. In the coming years, he would strive to move the Church and the broader culture in a new direction.

## Chapter 2

### At the Vanguard of Ecclesial and Political Reform (1936–1959)

When Tobin returned to Portland in 1936, he became the pastor of St. Francis of Assisi Church in inner Southeast Portland, a parish with a building problem. The church building, which had been built about twenty-five years earlier, was in poor condition and needed either costly repairs, to be torn down and have a temporary roof put over its foundation, or torn down and replaced. This issue was occurring in the middle of the Great Depression, and for Portland Catholics, money was tight. None of these options was ideal, but the Archbishop Howard needed to make a choice. After consulting with Tobin and his parishoners, Howard determined to tear the church down and, if the parish could raise \$10,000 in three months, build a new church on the old foundation. If the parish could not meet the goal, they would build a roof over the basement and hold Masses there until they could raise sufficient funds to rebuild.<sup>1</sup> The parish did meet its \$10,000 goal, and Tobin worked with the architect to design a church that wedded the best of the Liturgical Movement with frugality and durability.

In a 1940 article for the magazine *Liturgical Arts*, Tobin described the new church, a building that exemplified the ideals of the Liturgical Movement. He began his description with a quote from a plaque in the church which explained that this new church “represents a modest effort to conform to the liturgy of the Church as centered in the sublime Sacrifice of the Mass.” He went on to describe how they had arranged the

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<sup>1</sup>“PARISH BEGINS DRIVE TO RAISE \$10,000 FUND,” *Catholic Sentinel*, February 3, 1938.



church pews so that it would be easy for everyone to view the altar, an altar that was detached from the back wall, and therefore might be used to celebrate the Mass versus populum at some future time when the archbishop would permit it.<sup>2</sup> Although there was a crucifix in the sanctuary, Stations of the Cross in the nave, and stained glass windows throughout, all of these had simple designs, designs intended not to distract from the activity at the altar. Furthermore, Tobin noted that he had based this church on the designs of several ancient churches in Rome, a deliberate return to the architecture of the early Christianity.<sup>3</sup> This church building was a step away from the designs of the neo-Gothic style that dominated American Catholic Church architecture in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and, although Tobin's article did not note this, it was ahead of its time: in the United States, most churches that reflected the sensibilities of the Liturgical Movement as St. Francis did not emerge until after World War II.<sup>4</sup>

Having returned from Rome with a forward-looking vision for the Church and broader society, Tobin dedicated himself to reforming Oregon's Catholic community and local political life. His efforts at liturgical reform were well-received. Moreover, his work as a mediator between labor and management during World War II kept both parties united in the war effort, but after the war the public lost interest in his efforts to combat

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<sup>2</sup> On his retirement in 1970, Tobin asserted that he first began to celebrate Mass versus populum in 1942, stating, "It is a return to the beginnings of the Church... After all, the first Masses were celebrated with the priests with his face toward the people and not his back." Gorman Hogan, "Msgr. Tobin to Close Out Busy Career In Archdiocese," *Catholic Sentinel*, June 26, 1970.

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. Thomas J. Tobin, "Church of St. Francis of Assisi, Portland, Oregon," *Liturgical Arts*, October 1940, 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> James F. White, *Roman Catholic Worship: Trent to Today* (New York: Paulist Press, 1995), 74.

racism within local unions, expand public housing, and educate Catholic business and civic leaders in the principles of Catholic Social Teaching.

Progressive activism had roots in Oregon that preceded Tobin. Outside of the Catholic Church, activists like Abigail Scott Duniway played an instrumental role in Oregon's adoption of women's suffrage in 1912, seven years before the United States adopted the measure with the Nineteenth Amendment. Similarly, Marie Equi, a physician whose progressive stances on sexuality, reproduction, labor, and pacifism alienated her from more moderate progressives, advocated for laborers and causes like greater access to abortion and contraception.<sup>5</sup> Within the Catholic Church's ranks, several Oregon activists had been successful, too. For example, in the early twentieth century Father Edwin O'Hara and Caroline Gleason had collaborated to help pass a minimum wage for women in Oregon in 1913, the first law of its kind in the United States.<sup>6</sup> After the law passed, O'Hara led the Oregon Industrial Welfare Commission, the state agency responsible for protecting women and minors from labor exploitation.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Fr. George Thompson, whom Tobin had worked under as an assistant pastor at The Madeline

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<sup>5</sup> For a monograph on Equi, see Michael Helquist, *Marie Equi: Radical Politics and Outlaw Passions* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2015).

<sup>6</sup> For more on Gleason, see Janice Dilg, "For Working Women in Oregon': Caroline Gleason/Sister Miriam Theresa and Oregon's Minimum Wage Law," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 110, no. 1 (2009): 96–129.

<sup>7</sup> For more on O'Hara, see Timothy Michael Dolan, *Some Seed Fell on Good Ground: The Life of Edwin V. O'Hara* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1992).

Parish in Portland's Irvington neighborhood, was a prominent arbitrator between labor and management.<sup>8</sup>

Beyond the Pacific Northwest, Tobin was connected to a nationwide network of reform-minded Catholics. Notable was a Benedictine monk in Minnesota, Virgil Michel. As a young priest, Michel had studied in Rome and Louvain, where he became convinced of the *nouvelle théologie* and a proponent of the Liturgical Movement. When he returned to the United States in 1926, he founded what would become the flagship magazine of the Liturgical Movement, *Orate Fratres*. One of Michel's key contributions to the Liturgical Movement was his connection between liturgy and social action. Michel believed that if the faithful worshipped rightly in the Mass, it would form them into people who would go into the world and shape society along the principles of Catholic Social Teaching.<sup>9</sup> Reynold Hillenbrand, a priest-professor from Chicago, disseminated Michel's core insight during his years as rector of Chicago's Mundelein Seminary, where he had an enormous impact on a generation of Chicago's priests, including Monsignor George Higgins, who became a close friend of Tobin's.<sup>10</sup> Michel and Hillenbrand were instrumental in linking the liturgy with Catholic Social Teaching. However, although they were instrumental figures in the American Church before the Second Vatican Council, they were not the first in the United States to advocate encyclicals like *Rerum Novarum*. That distinction belonged to Monsignor John Ryan.

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<sup>8</sup> Patricia Brandt and Lillian A Pereyra, *Adapting in Eden: Oregon's Catholic Minority, 1838-1986* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2002), 90.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>10</sup> George G Higgins and William Bole, *Organized Labor and the Church: Reflections of a "Labor Priest"* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1993), 20.

Ryan, who was a generation older than Tobin, was a priest-professor, first at the University of St. Thomas in Minnesota and then the Catholic University of America. He emerged as an intellectual leader in American Catholicism when he published his 1905 doctoral dissertation, *A Living Wage*. *A Living Wage* interweaved the teachings of *Rerum Novarum*, neo-Thomistic philosophy, and modern economic theory to assert the ethical imperative of a living wage. In 1919, Ryan convinced the bishops of the United States to adopt a comprehensive, public platform that included government-funded housing, a living wage, unions, and comprehensive social insurance.<sup>11</sup> Many have credited Ryan as an inspiration for some of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal reforms.<sup>12</sup>

With official U.S. bishop and Vatican support for the social vision of *Rerum Novarum*, Catholics like Tobin became active in unions and social justice movements in industrial cities across the United States. In the first half of the twentieth century, Catholics worked alongside Protestants in unions, taught Catholic Social Teaching to ordinary laborers in evening classes, and organized national conferences to discuss Catholic teaching and labor issues. They firmly believed that the social vision promulgated by Leo XIII and Pius XI could ameliorate the social and economic problems that beset American life.<sup>13</sup> With Archbishop Howard's support, Tobin began to advocate on behalf of working people by mediating labor disputes, organizing worker pension

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<sup>11</sup> Thomas E. Woods, *The Church Confronts Modernity: Catholic Intellectuals and the Progressive Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 121.

<sup>12</sup> Francis L. Broderick, *The Right Reverend New Dealer: John A. Ryan*, (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963), 213-4.

<sup>13</sup> Kimball Baker's "*Go to the Worker*": *America's Labor Apostles* profiles a number of these influential labor leaders and documents their reform efforts in cities like Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York. Several of those whom Baker profiles were disciples of Hillenbrand. Kimball Baker, "*Go to the Worker*": *America's Labor Apostles* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2010).

plans, and advocating for women's rights. In these years, he was also instrumental in encouraging local banks to stay open until 5:00 to better serve working people.<sup>14</sup>

During the Great Depression, unions thrived and union membership grew. As Lizabeth Cohen demonstrates in her study of laborers in Chicago, in the 1920s laborers were largely disconnected from national politics and unions, but due to the Great Depression and the Roosevelt administration's New Deal programs, laborers across the country organized to protest layoffs and wage and hour cuts.<sup>15</sup> This trend extended to Portland.

Father Tobin's Portland presented a unique set of challenges for an ambitious young "labor priest." The regional city's economy relied on shipping, timber, and shipbuilding and, unlike many industrial cities in the United States, began to feel the brunt of the Great Depression several years before the stock market crash of 1929 due to an earlier slump in the timber industry.<sup>16</sup> In addition, in the first half of the twentieth century Portland city leaders, corporate executives, and union officials were notoriously corrupt and were profiting handsomely from the local vice scene.<sup>17</sup> In fact, while many Portlanders struggled economically during the Great Depression, the well-oiled Portland political machine actually grew *more* wealthy as the vice industry expanded and city

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<sup>14</sup> Brandt and Pereyra, *Adapting in Eden*, 109-110.

<sup>15</sup> Lizabeth Cohen: *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.)

<sup>16</sup> William H. Mullins, *The Depression and the Urban West Coast, 1929-1933* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 16.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Donnelly's *Dark Rose: Organized Crime and Corruption in Portland* recounts the findings of two investigative journalists for *The Oregonian* that uncovered corruption, embezzlement, and mob activity in a case that eventually came under the scrutiny of the United States Senate. Robert Donnelly, *Dark Rose: Organized Crime and Corruption in Portland* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015).

officials collected payoffs for not enforcing vice laws.<sup>18</sup> In this environment, Tobin sought to bring Catholic Social Teaching to bear on local civic life. He managed to succeed during the frenetic World War II years, but after the war his reform efforts fell out of favor due to the city's resistance to change. Tobin's direct involvement with unions also began during this period in 1936, when a bricklayer who was having difficulty with his local union came to Tobin for help.<sup>19</sup> In 1941, he attended and possibly helped organize a two-week conference of industrialists, union leaders, academics, and clergymen at the University of Portland. The goal was to have "a meeting of minds upon principles of ownership, property, labor, security, wages, and social order."<sup>20</sup> Beyond those things, there is little documentation of Tobin's early activity with unions, but it is clear that by the time the United States entered World War II in late 1941 he had earned a reputation as a mediator between unions and management.<sup>21</sup>

With the United States' entrance into the war, federal war projects infused a large amount of money into Portland's economy. During the war, local shipyards mobilized and manufactured more than a thousand vessels worth more than \$2.4 billion for the war effort. And after the passage of the Lend-Lease Act in 1941, Portland also began to manufacture ships for its wartime ally, the Soviet Union.<sup>22</sup> Laborers in the wartime industries earned far greater sums than locals who had worked in industry before the war.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>19</sup> A newspaper article written at Tobin's retirement many years later makes this assertion. I have not been able to corroborate this detail with more contemporaneous sources. "Msgr. Tobin To Close Out Busy Career in Archdiocese," *Catholic Sentinel*, June 26, 1970.

<sup>20</sup> Very Rev. Thomas J. Tobin, "Sessions of Institute Concluded," *Catholic Sentinel*, July 17, 1941.

<sup>21</sup> Merlin Blais, "No Strikes: Labor, Industry Play Ball," *Oregonian*, December 12, 1943.

<sup>22</sup> Carl Abbott, *Portland: Planning, Politics, and Growth in a Twentieth-Century City*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 125-131.

In 1942, for example, the average shipyard worker earned over \$1,300 per year, more than twice the money locals who had done similar work in Portland for far longer.<sup>23</sup>

With the wartime growth in Portland's economy, the local population boomed as laborers from around the country flooded the Portland area for work in the shipyards. Between 1940 and 1944 the Portland metropolitan area grew from 501,000 to 661,000. The defense industries employed 140,000 workers; the Kaiser shipyards alone employed almost 92,000.<sup>24</sup> Not surprisingly, this influx strained local housing and public transit. Furthermore, many migrants were poor African Americans and white Southerners from places like Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas. Many locals did not appreciate this huge arrival of immigrants who were clogging the roads and earning more than them.<sup>25</sup>

Such changes were a recipe for social and political discord, especially between unskilled migrant labor and local management. While labor and management might have been able to tolerate acrimonious relations and the occasional strike in peacetime, any hold-up in production at home during a war portended disaster for soldiers abroad. For this reason President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9139 on April 18, 1942, which created the War Manpower Commission.<sup>26</sup> The War Manpower Commission's (WMC) responsibility was to make sure that wartime and essential civilian industries had the employees needed to fulfill their duties.

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<sup>23</sup> Abbott, *Portland*, 129.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 126-7.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>26</sup> Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Executive Order 9139 Establishing the War Manpower Commission." ucsb.edu. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=16248> (accessed February 10, 2018)

In Portland, the WMC's initial task was to halt the migration of shipyard workers from one yard to another. Transient workers cost companies money and reduced productivity. In order to slow this problem, the four major shipbuilders in the Portland area created a system in which each company could grant "clearance" to an employee who wanted to change shipyards. However, a worker could lose clearance for doing things like "loafing on the job, drunkenness, flagrant and unauthorized absence from work, early quitting, [or] willful violation of safety rules."<sup>27</sup> If an employee who did not have clearance wanted to switch yards and disagreed with his or her company's decision not to grant clearance, the employee could apply for redress to a joint appeals board that consisted of a representative from labor, another from management, and a non-partisan arbiter. This system, which could obviously put workers at a disadvantage, underscores how serious unions, management, and the WMC were about wartime productivity.

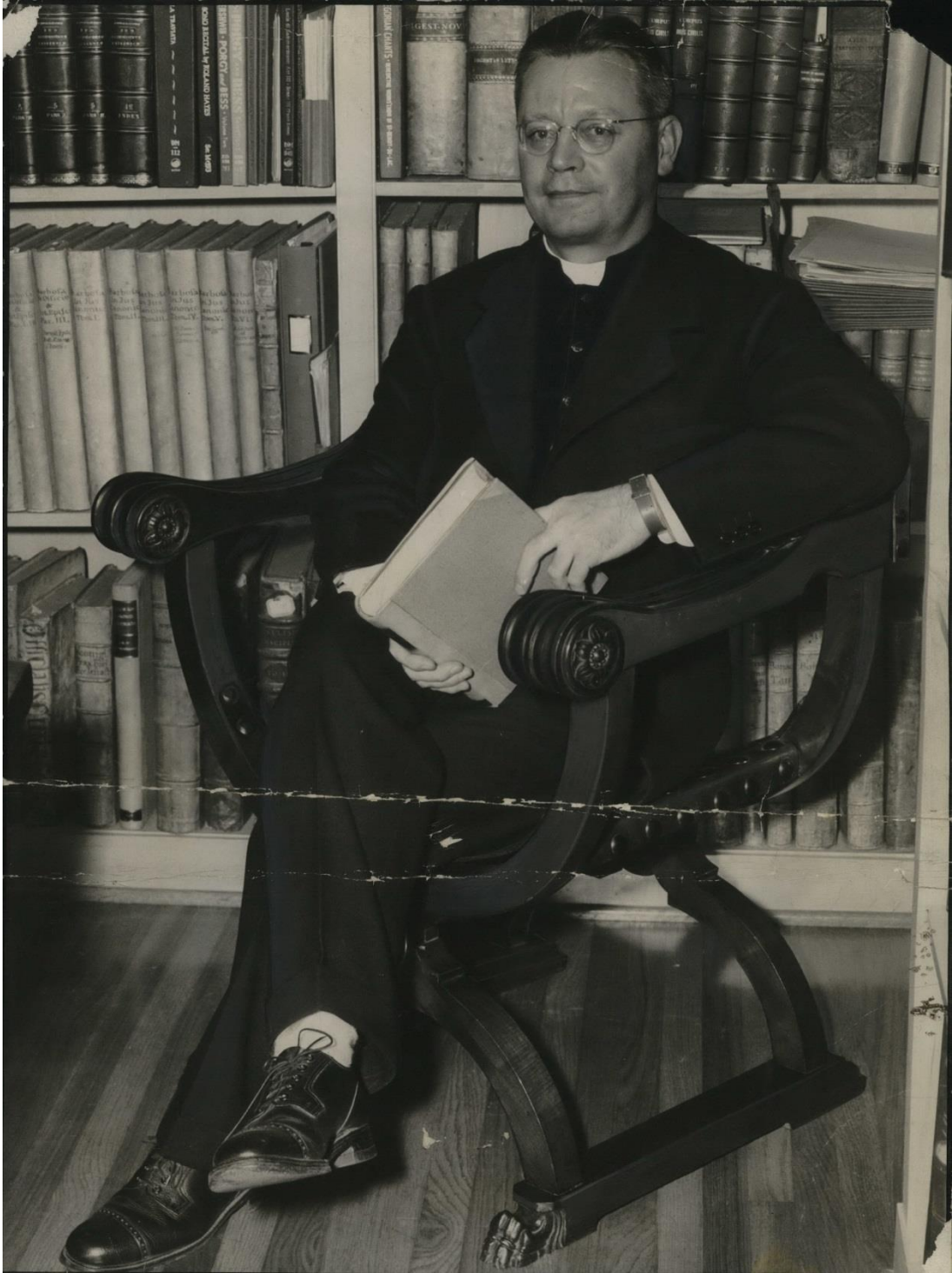
Father Tobin, who had earned a reputation as a fair mediator in labor-management disputes before the war, was a natural choice for the non-partisan chair. In addition to his experience in the labor movement, he also held a doctorate in canon law and had served the Archdiocese for some time on various ecclesiastical tribunals, so he was comfortable with the process of questioning a witness, weighing evidence, and reaching a just verdict. Unions and management both wanted him to be the third arbiter.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> "Stabilization Expense Split: Employers, Union Each to Pay Half," *Oregonian*, October 17, 1942.

<sup>28</sup> Brandt and Pereyra, *Adapting in Eden*, 114.





(Figure 1: The photo of Tobin that went on the front page of *The Oregonian*. Courtesy: Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon Archives)

Tobin proved to be an effective mediator. A year after his tenure on the appeals commission began, *The Oregonian*'s cover story on the Sunday edition featured a large photo of Tobin and a lengthy piece praising him for the role he had played in preventing strikes and resolving disputes without drawing on federal government intervention. The Portland wartime industries were an exceptional instance of cooperation between labor and management and Tobin was the glue that held them together. In his first year as the "Chief Justice" of the commission, the local WMC had handled 780 cases, in which it refused clearance 299 times and permitted it 190; it referred 70 cases to the unions and 62 to the companies; it granted 19 pay claims, while denying 19 others. The story reported that in the hearings Tobin "asks most of the questions. Intensely practical, the rapid-talking priest demands facts. Arguments and sentiment are brushed aside quickly." The writer also boasted of the expediency of justice: apparently, within 15 minutes "a shipyard or foundry man learns whether or not he can leave his job and take one in another plant."<sup>29</sup>

Furthermore, while this commission had begun as an agreement between shipyard management and the American Federation of Labor (A.F. of L.), over the past year *all of* Portland's wartime industries had voluntarily put themselves under its purview. The commission had jurisdiction of upwards of 150,000 workers in more than 100 war-related industries. Of course, Tobin was not solely responsible for the amiable cooperation of labor and management, but the relative peace as well as the way that other industries

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<sup>29</sup> Blais, "No Strikes."

voluntarily put themselves under the commission he chaired indicates that he must have been effective and well-regarded.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to mediating disputes over clearance, the appeals board that Tobin led also studied absenteeism. Experts estimated that the missed hours were “enough to build a Liberty ship every five days.”<sup>31</sup> Timothy Wood of Willamette Iron and Steel estimated that his company alone had 1,500 absentees every day.<sup>32</sup> Some officials feared that current wartime contracts with the federal government were on “thin ice” and that if Portland could not produce results, it might lose future contracts.<sup>33</sup>

The unions asserted that most of their problems stemmed from workers getting sick because management did not provide adequate health facilities or large enough break rooms for workers to warm themselves. They also complained that local banks, stores, and barbers closed before the yards’ shifts ended and consequently workers had to leave early to run errands. These assertions were consistent with Wood’s report that the problem was greatest with the day shift, presumably because night shift workers were not working during normal daytime business hours. Furthermore, union leaders claimed that some laborers were late for their shifts because of over-crowded public transportation.<sup>34</sup>

The study, which Tobin led, convinced companies to stagger their shift start times in half-hour increments so that public transit and roads could better handle the traffic,

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid. See also: “New Job Plan Takes Effect,” *Oregonian*, April 12, 1943.

<sup>31</sup> “Layoff Evil In Industry Gets Study: Group Authorized to Sift Cause and Recommend Cure,” *Oregonian*, February 13, 1943.

<sup>32</sup> War Contracts on Thin Ice Due to Plan ‘Absenteeism.’ *Oregonian*, February 26, 1943.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

persuaded banks and barbers to stay open later, and expanded break room and child care facilities.<sup>35</sup> For their part, Tobin and other priests held Masses early on Sunday mornings to accommodate workers in the wartime industries. Tobin's parish, All Saints in Northeast Portland, held its early Masses at 5:00 and 6:00 in the morning.<sup>36</sup>

As Allied victory prospects improved in 1944, thousands of workers began to abandon the shipyards. During the first four months of 1944 alone, the Vancouver-Portland wartime industries had hired 59,000 workers and lost around 75,000. Not only did these 59,000 new workers need training, the yards now had 16,000 employees fewer than they had had just four months earlier. Of the 16,000 who had quit, around 10,000 had departed the area.<sup>37</sup> Tobin insisted that this was not the time to stop working.

He and others associated with the WMC staffed a committee, the Manpower Citizens Committee (MCC), and mounted a six-month campaign to convince wartime industries workers to stay at their jobs. At the outset of the campaign, Tobin, the chairman of the MCC's executive committee, relayed a telegram message from Lt. Gen. Brehon Somervell, who explained how essential wartime production in Vancouver and Portland was to the overall war effort, asserting that, "We are not going to win until every farmer and every cook, every machinist and every draftsman, every timekeeper and every clerk, every foreman and every worker in every plant and every shipyard in America

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<sup>35</sup> Blais, "No Strikes."

<sup>36</sup> As a way to support the local war effort the local Catholic newspaper, *The Catholic Sentinel*, ran a public service announcement in its 1943 and 1944 issues that advertised the local churches that held early morning Masses. All Saints was always on that list. For one representative example, see "MASSES EARLIER THAN 7 A.M." *Catholic Sentinel*, December 2, 1943.

<sup>37</sup> "Workers Told to Keep Jobs," *Oregonian*, May 28 1944.

gives everything he's got to the only important job in the world.”<sup>38</sup> In a full-page ad that ran several times in *The Oregonian*, Tobin and other MCC officials affixed their name to a message in large, bold-faced type that read “WE PLEDGE YOU, GENERAL EISENHOWER, TO STAY ON THE JOB – TO HELP YOU FINISH THE JOB! We Realize That You Have To Have More of the Special War Materials That We Build Here.” Below the message, the ad included notes from General Eisenhower, President Roosevelt, Undersecretary of War Robert Patterson, and several high ranking military officials. Their messages were variations of the same sentiment: Stay in your jobs because the war effort still needs you.<sup>39</sup>

The campaign was well-received. After the full-page ad appeared in newspapers, the MCC received a deluge of requests from management and laborers for posters of the ad. Tobin and the MCC arranged to have 100,000 copies of the ad printed on a red, white, and blue background. The public interest in promoting the MCC's campaign and the initial number of copies that the committee made indicates that many rallied to their cause.<sup>40</sup> As 1944 drew to a close, the local war effort began to die down as shipyards launched some of their last ships and Tobin and others discussed how to reduce the labor force in a manner that was acceptable to both unions and management.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> WE PLEDGE YOU, GENERAL EISENHOWER, TO STAY ON THE JOB – TO HELP YOU FINISH THE JOB! We Realize That You Have To Have More of the Special War Materials That We Build Here” *Oregonian*, June 7, 1944.

<sup>40</sup> “Work Pledge Copies Made,” *Oregonian*, June 11, 1944.

<sup>41</sup> “Yard to End AP-5 Contract: Launching Slated for Last Vessel.” *Oregonian*, November 28, 1944; “Committee to Draft Policy As Guide in Labor Appeals” *Oregonian*, February 20, 1945.

During the war Tobin had managed to prevent strikes, keep work moving at full steam, and promote good relations between labor and management by applying the principles of Catholic Social Teaching. In the front page piece that *The Oregonian* ran in 1943, the writer noted that the federally-run War Manpower Commission had made an unusual exception for Portland. Whereas in most cities the federal government had directly overseen wartime industrial relations, in Portland the director of United States employment services, L.C. Stoll, had convinced his superiors in Washington D.C. to allow the voluntary cooperation agreement that the A.F. of L and shipyard management had reached to remain intact. Cities like San Francisco had tried a similar arrangement, but they had failed. By the end of the war, Portland was the national exception. Tobin's reputation for integrity and fairness had no doubt played a role in this success.<sup>42</sup> Tobin stressed how important this accomplishment was by using the language of subsidiarity, a principle of Catholic Social Teaching that asserts that, whenever possible, those closest to an issue should be the ones to solve it. Moreover, Tobin feared the consequences of massive federal government oversight. He warned that if Americans ceded too much authority to federal officials in peacetime, "it may be termed the American system, but it will be totalitarian nevertheless."<sup>43</sup>

Tobin's work in the war also drew from the principle of solidarity and the imperative to avoid strikes. Catholic Social Teaching repudiated the Marxist idea that the bourgeois and proletariat were in conflict. Rather, it asserted that all of society shared the

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<sup>42</sup> Blais, "No Strikes."

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

goal of seeking the common good, a concept called “solidarity.” As Tobin explained, solidarity was rooted in the concept of “orders” in society. He said, “The shipyard worker, for instance, is, first of all, a man belonging to that ‘order’ which builds ships. He and management bend their efforts toward the common goal of turning out ships. The differences arising between management and labor are secondary to the principal shipbuilding purpose.”<sup>44</sup> An outgrowth of that imperative was the notion that he expressed in a talk some years later: “The strike is a form of industrial warfare and it must be avoided at all costs.”<sup>45</sup>

As the war was winding down, Tobin hoped that he could build on the WMC’s success and continue to build a local culture along the principles of Catholic Social Teaching. In 1944, Archbishop Howard gave him approval to organize a local Catholic Conference on Industrial Relations. Meetings like this occurred in industrial cities all over the country during the mid-twentieth century.<sup>46</sup> The meetings featured leaders from business, government, unions, the Catholic Church, and professors who sought to collaborate and address local social and economic problems. For example, in 1945 the conference featured the presidents of Reed College and the University of Portland, a representative from the U.S. Department of Labor, presidents of local unions, the president of Portland’s First National Bank, the leader of the Portland Urban League, and

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<sup>44</sup> Blais, “No Strikes.”

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Tobin, “In Search of Meaning-- An Honest Day's Work,” a lecture by Monsignor Thomas J. Tobin, 1963, University Archives sound recording collection, UA 180, Box 11, Item 445, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, Oregon.

<sup>46</sup> Baker, “*Go to the Worker*”, 33.

a representative from the U.S. Bishops in Washington D.C.<sup>47</sup> The predominant theme in that year's conference was how to prevent massive unemployment in the Portland area as the wartime industries slowed to a halt. In his talk, Tobin warned of the dangers of extensive federal intervention in the Portland economy, but he also attacked local monopolies, corrupt unions, and local corruption as a source of local poverty and unemployment: "Such concentrations of wealth and economic power are the chief barriers to present day economic progress. We cannot attain our ultimate objective as long as these abuses remain. The underlying purpose of business is to serve people."<sup>48</sup>

Although these annual meetings lasted into the 1960s, they became less effective at uniting labor and management as time went on. The problem, according to Catholic politician Leo Smith, was that while labor was always happy to participate in plenary discussions, when management disagreed, it remained quiet. Furthermore, even when the conference would reach some level of consensus, "It was awful hard to put [the ideas] into action."<sup>49</sup> Eventually, management stopped attending altogether. Perhaps the best thing that came of these conferences was that even though they never attracted large audiences, they did bring media publicity to the Catholic Church's social teaching.<sup>50</sup>

In addition to hosting an annual Catholic Conference on Industrial Relations, Tobin also played an instrumental role in Portland's hosting the National Liturgical

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<sup>47</sup> Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems pamphlet, A2001-074, City of Portland (OR) Archives.

<sup>48</sup> Ernest W. Peterson, "Hitler-Stalin Solution Held Faced by America" *Oregon Journal*, November 8, 1945.

<sup>49</sup> Oral history interview with Leo Smith, by Kay Reid, April 17–June 22, 1998, Tape 3 Side 2, Oregon Historical Society Research Library, Portland, Oregon.

<sup>50</sup> Brandt and Pereyra, *Adapting in Eden*, 122-123.



Conference of 1947, a conference that the Liturgical Movement in the United States had begun in 1940.<sup>51</sup> The conference's speakers included important figures of the American Liturgical Movement like Hillenbrand and Godfrey Diekmann, a Benedictine monk who had taken over as editor of *Orate, Fratres* after Virgil Michel died in 1938.<sup>52</sup> In addition to being a member of the conference's national committee, on one morning of the conference Tobin led a well-attended dialogue Mass.<sup>53</sup> The dialogue Mass was an innovation of the Liturgical Movement in which the congregation participated in some of the Latin responses, responses that only the altar boys would have voiced in the Tridentine Mass. Years later, Tobin proudly claimed that this dialogue Mass was also the first Mass celebrated versus populum at a Liturgical Conference.<sup>54</sup> The Portland Liturgical Conference drew positive coverage from local media and brought together 1,300 registrants from 28 states and several foreign countries.<sup>55</sup>

Later that year, Tobin and the Liturgical Movement received tentative affirmation from the current pope, Pius XII, with his encyclical, *Mediator Dei. Mediator Dei* affirmed the value of Missals, asserted the importance of lay participation in the Liturgy, and gave credence to the notion that the Liturgy evolves over time. But Pius XII's affirmation also included cautions: Pius defended the sacredness and the integrity of the Tridentine Mass, warned against favoring the liturgical practices of the early church only

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<sup>51</sup> White, *Roman Catholic Worship*, 81.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>53</sup> "Registration Reaches 1300 for Liturgical Conference," *Oregonian*, August 20, 1947.

<sup>54</sup> Thomas J. Tobin to Maurice Lavanoux, January 4, 1965, Box 44 Folder 04, Liturgical Arts Society Records, University of Notre Dame Archives, Hesburgh Libraries, Notre Dame, Indiana.

<sup>55</sup> "Program for EIGHTH NATIONAL LITURGICAL WEEK," *Catholic Sentinel*, July 17, 1947. "Registration Reaches 1300 for Liturgical Conference."

on the grounds that they were older, and exhorted the faithful to be on guard against reformers who would make “dangerous and imprudent innovations” to the liturgy.<sup>56</sup> This encyclical, which did not fully affirm all the goals of the Liturgical Movement, at the very least confirmed that Tobin and others were leading the Church in a positive direction.

In the midst of the Liturgical Movement’s progress, Tobin was working teaching the principles of Catholic Social Teaching to local Catholic leaders. Many Catholic parishes in the United States had discussion groups like this at the time, but most church discussion groups in the Portland area were places where “people would say nice things and various things like that,” but “there was really not much in-depth to them.”<sup>57</sup> Tobin’s group, by contrast, “was born in the locker room of the Multnomah [Athletic] Club” in the late 1920s.<sup>58</sup> Most of the members had attended Notre Dame, Georgetown, Gonzaga, or the University of Portland, and most were local leaders in management, unions, law, and politics. Although few details are known of the topics that the group discussed in the early years, by the 1940s Tobin was trying to teach this group the principles of Catholic Social Teaching in the hope that they would bring their formation to bear on the various sectors of society where they held influence. In hindsight, some members of this group believed that the positive relations between labor and management that had characterized the war effort in Portland were an outgrowth of the relationships that labor and

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<sup>56</sup> Pope Pius XII, *Mediator Dei* [Encyclical of Pope Pius XII on The Sacred Liturgy], Vatican Website, November 20, 1947, Sec. 57, Accessed February 28, 2019, [http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-xii\\_enc\\_20111947\\_mediator-dei.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_20111947_mediator-dei.html).

<sup>57</sup> Interview with Smith, Tape 3 Side 2.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*; Blais, “No Strikes.”

management had formed in Tobin's discussion club, although Tobin disagreed with that notion.<sup>59</sup>

In these meetings, everyone would come having spent some time studying the week's topic, usually a reading on some aspect of Catholic Social Teaching, and Tobin would facilitate a conversation about it. Smith most clearly recalls studying *Rerum Novarum* and the other significant encyclical on labor, *Quadragesimo Anno*, though other sources attest that the club also discussed other more "in-house" Catholic issues like the possibility of married priests, the morality of birth control, and the teaching authority of the Church.<sup>60</sup>

The robust discussions that had characterized the Discussion Club before the War did not last. Tobin eventually grew frustrated and quit the group around 1945 or 1946 because the men around the table, some of whom were con-men, decided that union shops were immoral.<sup>61</sup> According to Smith, when the group sent him to try to convince Tobin to return, Tobin said, "Here we are discussing labor relations, the viewpoint of the two popes [Leo XIII and Pius XI], the Catholicism embedded in labor unions, and they come in with a report that what the Holy Father told them to do was immoral...I'm beginning to feel that it's a waste of time to talk to you fellows."<sup>62</sup> He felt "as though these fellows are more interested in the material things in life than to follow the teachings

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<sup>59</sup> Blais, "No Strikes."

<sup>60</sup> Brandt and Pereyra, *Adapting in Eden*, 123.

<sup>61</sup> Interview with Smith, Tape 3 Side 2. Smith did not specify why the group decided that union shops were immoral. For more on corruption in Portland, see Donnelly's *Dark Rose*.

<sup>62</sup> Interview with Smith, Tape 3 Side 2.

of the Church.”<sup>63</sup> Eventually, Tobin relented and returned to the Discussion Club, though he never exhibited the same zeal that he had earlier.

In addition to the difficulties he encountered with the discussion club, Tobin also faced racism within the newly-empowered unions. After the war, many African American wartime laborers stayed in the area. In a 1947 interview with the *New York Times*, Tobin related that after the war a number of local leaders, including himself, had come together to discuss easing the employment and housing shortage that these newcomers faced. Instead of working proactively to find solutions, Tobin found that most of the group hoped that these people would just return home. When many of the workers stayed, the CIO, the AFL, and a number of employers discriminated against African Americans and Asian Americans in hiring. In Portland, it was difficult for these minorities to obtain even menial work, and gaining positions in skilled labor was out the question. Tobin was furious about the injustice of this situation, accusing the unions of acting as “private clubs” and not working with the common good in mind. He had hoped that the meetings, which had begun late in the war, would address the problem, but instead he now feared that this bigotry might escalate into something even more serious.<sup>64</sup>

With his list of frustrations growing and the goal of helping Portland’s wartime transplants, Tobin joined the board of The Portland Housing Authority (PHA) in 1949 at the invitation of newly-elected Mayor Dorothy McCullough Lee. McCullough Lee had won the 1948 mayoral election promising to shut down vice operations, end corruption in

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> George Streator, “Hiring of Negroes, Orientals Urged,” *New York Times*, May 20, 1947.

civic government, and place ordinary people first. Her predecessor, Earl Riley, had stacked the PHA with opponents of public housing. In response, Lee persuaded the state legislature to expand the PHA board from five to seven spots so that she could appoint people like Tobin who were in favor of public housing.<sup>65</sup>

In 1949 several factors converged that made the construction of public housing in Portland necessary and tenable. The Portland economy had roared during the war and in the several years after, but by 1949 it had slowed considerably and more people needed public assistance.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, a May 1948 flood destroyed homes of blue collar laborers in the nearby wartime city of Vanport, and the overflow of people into Portland had stretched Portland's housing market. Moreover, in 1949 the Truman Administration had passed the Housing Act, which offered grants to municipalities to level slums and replace them with low-income housing.

However optimistic Lee was about public housing, she had badly misjudged her constituents. Most Portlanders associated public housing with unruly immigrant laborers and African Americans, neither of which were welcome in the city.<sup>67</sup> In his assessment of the politics of the time, historian Carl Abbott even went so far as to declare that “except for the victims, many of whom were blacks, few Portlanders were upset on Memorial Day, 1948, when high waters on the Columbia backed up the Columbia Slough, breached the Denver Avenue embankment, and swept away Vanport's flimsy buildings.”<sup>68</sup> When

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<sup>65</sup> Abbott, *Portland*, 157.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 148-9.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

in 1950 Lee and PHA officials, including Tobin, tried to pass a referendum to build 2,000 federally-funded housing units, Portlanders overwhelmingly voted ‘no’ and killed the ballot measure.<sup>69</sup>

Tobin enthusiastically supported Lee’s proposal, rooting his support once again in Catholic Social Teaching. In a speech about the measure, he accused those who opposed the bill as being “guilty of immoral action.” Like food, water, and clothing, decent housing was a natural right. Furthermore, Tobin insisted that a decent family life was not possible in substandard housing, and that it was entirely appropriate for government to intervene when private industry failed to provide people’s basic needs.<sup>70</sup> These statements were not-so-subtle echoes of *Rerum Novarum*, which asserted that “if a family finds itself in exceeding distress, utterly deprived of the counsel of friends, and without any prospect of extricating itself, it is right that extreme necessity be met by public aid, since each family is a part of the commonwealth.”<sup>71</sup>

Soon after the 1950 referendum, Tobin and other city leaders put forward a proposal for the redevelopment of public housing on Vaughan Street in Northwest Portland. If approved, the project would replace dilapidated, crowded wartime housing with higher quality low-income housing as well as make room for light industry in the area. In the fall of 1952 when the city council proposed issuing \$2,000,000 in bonds for

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>70</sup> “Three Speakers Rap Foes Of Low-Rent Housing Plan,” *Oregonian*, April 20, 1950.

<sup>71</sup> Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum* [Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on Capital and Labor], Vatican Website, May 15, 1891, Sec. 14, Accessed February 28, 2018, [http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_l-xiii\\_enc\\_15051891\\_rerum-novarum.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum.html)

the plan, voters struck the measure down.<sup>72</sup> The PHA tried to revive the project twice more, but both times conservative politicians and voters who opposed public housing killed the proposals.<sup>73</sup>

In the midst of the PHA's intractable difficulties, Mayor Lee lost the 1953 election to public housing opponent Fred Peterson, a special injury to Tobin. Soon thereafter, Tobin resigned his post at the PHA, stating that "the trend in both legislation and appointments is making it practically impossible for the housing authority to carry out its statutory and moral obligations" and that "The need for housing for extremely low income families continues here, but recent developments are against carrying out the church's social teachings on this score."<sup>74</sup> From this time forward a disheartened Father Tobin began to withdraw from public life outside of the church.

These disappointments accompanied changes in Tobin's demeanor. Longtime friend Leo Smith recalled that as a younger man Tobin was "a very efflorescent fellow, and he would go out of his way to make friends with people. Never compromise or lower himself, but just show an outgoing love and personality for them." Sometime in the 1950s, Smith noticed that Tobin was becoming "kind of half disillusioned as to how people were accepting Catholicism, and he became more stringent."<sup>75</sup> Father Joseph

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<sup>72</sup> Abbott, *Portland*, 161-2.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>74</sup> "Tobin Leaves Housing Post, Hits Shackles," *Oregonian*, April 16, 1953.

<sup>75</sup> Interview with Smith, Tape 3 Side 2.

Jacobberger, who grew up in Tobin's parish and whose parents were longtime friends of Tobin's, recalled that his mother had noticed the same transformation.<sup>76</sup>

In a 1963 talk on Catholicism and the labor movement at the University of Oregon, Tobin lamented that "labor at the present time is at probably at its lowest ebb since the days when unionization became general precisely because it hasn't any philosophy." The implication of his statement was that Catholic Social Teaching provided a robust philosophy that could inform labor-management relations, but by this point the public had largely rejected it. He went on to bemoan that young people entering the unions these days were so materialistic and apathetic about labor unions.<sup>77</sup> He had sought to reform public life, but the public was largely unresponsive.

Tobin initially had an impact on Portland, but because of changes in the times his impact did not last. During the war, he was a figure who Portlanders believed could bring people together and stability for an uncertain future. The combination of Tobin's good reputation and the teamwork required to defeat a common enemy enabled Tobin to bring Catholic Social Teaching to bear on public life. However, when the war ended, the city's municipal corruption, materialism, and prejudice against the poor, especially poor minorities, surged, crushing Father Tobin's hopes for social justice.

From the mid-1950s onward, Tobin continued to host the Portland Catholic Conference on Industrial Relations and at times he travelled out of town to give talks on

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<sup>76</sup> Oral history interview with Joseph Jacobberger, by Kay Reid, November 6–13, 1998, Tape 1 Side 1, Oregon Historical Society Research Library, Portland, Oregon.

<sup>77</sup> Tobin, "In Search of Meaning."



labor, but much of his activity during his last fifteen years of ministry was in-house: administration of the Archdiocese, running All Saints parish and school, ecumenical dialogue with other Christians, and the Liturgical Movement. In addition to not finding a receptive audience outside of the Church, he was getting older. But one important chapter was yet to come in Tobin's career with the creation and implementation of the Second Vatican Council.

### Chapter 3 A Reformer Receives Vindication (1959–1970)

The January 1960 issue of the nationally-circulated *St. Joseph's Magazine* ran a cover story on Father Tobin's parish titled "Sunday at All Saints." The article explained that a Catholic goes to Mass not only out of a sense of duty, but to "pay his respects to the Almighty." The problem, the article stated, was that it seemed that in many cases the priests and the altar boys up front participated in the worship, but the "layman in the pews feels left out, ignored." The article then observed that things were changing, that across the world there were increasing opportunities for the average churchgoer to participate actively in the Mass and that Father Tobin's All Saints parish in Portland, Oregon was at the vanguard. There the priest faced the congregation rather than the tabernacle, and the entire congregation participated in the dialogue of the Mass. While the Mass was still in Latin and not yet in the vernacular, the parish's grade school instructed junior high students in Latin, and the parish taught interested adults basic Latin in evening classes.<sup>1</sup>

A year earlier, in January of 1959, Pope John XXIII had announced that he would be convening a council of bishops, cardinals, and theologians in what would become known as the Second Vatican Council, or Vatican II. John declared that one of the key ideas underlying this particular council would be "aggiornamento," Italian for "opening up a window." John intended to bring fresh air into the Church, so to speak, by bringing it

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<sup>1</sup> Albert Rev. Bauman O.S.B., "Sunday at All Saints," *St. Joseph Magazine*, January 1960.

into conversation with the modern world. This chapter argues that the Second Vatican Council, which Tobin attended as a “peritus,” or theological advisor, vindicated his progressive vision.

The Second Vatican Council differed in many respects from the twenty councils that the Church had convened over the preceding two millennia. Past councils had been addressed specific crises affecting the Church. For example, in 325 the Roman Emperor Constantine convened the Council of Nicaea in response to the growing popularity of the teachings of Arius, who taught that Jesus was not divine. Similarly, Pope Paul III convened the Council of Trent in the mid-sixteenth century to address the rise of Protestantism and institute reforms in the Catholic Church. By contrast, in 1959, when John XXIII called for a council, the Church in America and in many other parts of the world seemed healthy: young men and women were flocking to seminaries and convents in record numbers; Catholic educational institutions from primary schools to colleges were flourishing; the average layman in Europe and North America understood his faith far better than his predecessors had; and missionaries from Europe and North America were reporting a huge number of conversions on the continents of Africa and Asia.

What made the Council even more surprising was the man who called it. At the time that his fellow cardinals elected him to the papacy in late October of 1958, Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli was 76 years old, an advanced age for someone beginning his papacy. Many expected that he would serve as a bridge, someone who could keep the Church

running smoothly for a few years with little drama.<sup>2</sup> John shocked the world when, just three months later, he announced that he would be convening an ecumenical, or church-wide, council. No one, including possibly John himself, knew what exactly this massive undertaking would accomplish.<sup>3</sup>

John resolved this question at the opening session of the Council in October 1962 with his opening address, which has come to be known by its opening words, “Gaudet Mater Ecclesia” (“Mother Church Rejoices”). His goal for the Council: the Church needed to deemphasize its adversarial stance toward the modern world. Instead of condemnation, the church should affirm those things in the world that were good. Critically, John also clarified that this would be a pastoral council, not a council that would promulgate new doctrine. The goal was to articulate what the Church taught in a manner that would engage the modern world.<sup>4</sup>

One of the first items of business was the reform of the liturgy. Among the Council Fathers, there was consensus that the liturgy needed reform. Despite general enthusiasm, discussions at the Council seemed to drag on endlessly. Church officials discussed and argued about liturgical reform for over three weeks with little progress. Although speakers were only allowed to have the floor for ten minutes each, many spoke

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<sup>2</sup> Colleen McDannell, *The Spirit of Vatican II: A History of Catholic Reform in America* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 56.

<sup>3</sup> John W O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 17.

<sup>4</sup> John XXIII, “Allocutio in Sollemni SS. Concilii Inauguratione, d. 11 m. Octobris a. 1962, Ioannes PP.XXIII | Ioannes XXIII,” accessed October 20, 2018, [https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/la/speeches/1962/documents/hf\\_j-xxiii\\_spe\\_19621011\\_opening-council.html](https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/la/speeches/1962/documents/hf_j-xxiii_spe_19621011_opening-council.html).

well beyond their allotted time.<sup>5</sup> Interestingly enough, some of the most vocal opponents to liturgical reform were American prelates, especially figures like James Cardinal McIntyre of Los Angeles.<sup>6</sup> However, eventually John XXIII intervened and the assembly took an initial vote on whether to allow the Mass in the vernacular, pending revisions to the document. The result was a landslide victory with 2,162 in favor, 46 opposed. Although it is difficult to know just what Tobin experienced during these proceedings, one can imagine his thrill at the final result. In the following session in 1963, when the Council Fathers put forward a vote on the revised version, results were even more lopsided: 2,147 in favor, 4 opposed.<sup>7</sup> The newly-elected Pope Paul VI asked the bishops to implement these changes “swiftly.”<sup>8</sup>

Although it would ultimately be up to the United States’ National Bishops Conference and the Vatican to promulgate an official translation of the Mass into English, bishops had the latitude to implement some changes in their dioceses before then. Starting on the first Sunday of Advent in late November of 1964, the National Bishops Conference permitted parishes to incorporate English into the teaching and petitionary parts of the Mass as well as simplify some of the rituals. In the United States, reception to the changes was uneven at best. In places like the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, prelates like Cardinal McIntyre were not thrilled with the changes, and while

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<sup>5</sup> When one Cardinal rambled for well beyond his allotted ten minutes, the moderator interrupted and informed him that he needed to draw things to a close. Caught off guard, he exclaimed, “I’m finished! I’m finished! I’m finished!” The assembly, thrilled that his intervention had come to a close, erupted into applause. O’Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 138.

<sup>6</sup> McDannell, *The Spirit of Vatican II*, 79.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Fr. Edward Zenner, “New Directory to Insure Uniformity In Implementing Liturgical Decrees,” *Catholic Sentinel*, October 2, 1964.

McIntyre permitted priests to reform the liturgy at local churches, he did little to directly oversee reform efforts himself. By contrast, other bishops were enthusiastic about the reforms, but they preferred to give local pastors some freedom to experiment.<sup>9</sup> Still others like Archbishop Howard in Portland created liturgical commissions to help oversee and standardize the reform process across the archdiocese before the changes would go into effect. On January 7, 1964, Howard created a commission of eight clergymen to help carry out the task in the Portland province, which included not only the Archdiocese of Portland, but also the Dioceses of Baker; Boise, Idaho; Great Falls, Montana; and Helena, Montana. Howard made Tobin the commission's chairman. At long last, Tobin would have an opportunity to implement his and his Church's vision for liturgical reform on a platform much larger than All Saints.

On February 25, this commission met in Portland with the provincial bishops. The group resolved to avoid confusion and uneven implementation of the liturgical reforms and decided to collaborate on a common plan. As they departed, each bishop agreed to take this conversation back to his home diocese and consult with his own liturgical commission. The bishops decided that, when they reconvened, they would create a document and then seek approval from their fellow United States bishops and the Vatican. It is difficult to know exactly what Tobin's role in all of this was, but as the committee's chairman and right-hand man of Archbishop Howard, it is reasonable to conclude that he played a significant role in guiding the planning.

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<sup>9</sup> McDannell, *The Spirit of Vatican II*, 121–22.

The completed provincial document emphasized that it was essential for the congregation to participate fully at every Mass. It also provided uniform postures for “sitting standing or kneeling [sic] at every church in the archdiocese.”<sup>10</sup> In early April, the United States bishops met and approved the document. Now all that remained was approval from the Vatican. On May 19, the Archdiocesan commission reconvened and Tobin had the honor of reading the Vatican’s official verdict: approval.<sup>11</sup>

Now that their document had approval, the group decided that they needed to address three major areas quickly: training the clergy in all the changes through the creation of an institute; encouraging every church to host a fall lecture series to explain the reasons behind the changes in the Mass to the laity; and the creation of a booklet based on the document that would clarify the new responsibilities of everyone involved in the Mass.<sup>12</sup>

Over the summer, commission members led three retreats with different groups of priests in the Archdiocese to explain what, why, and how the liturgy would change.<sup>13</sup> On September 3, with just a few months before the changes were to go into effect, Archbishop Howard and Bishop Francis Leipzig of Baker published their booklet, which they titled “Pastoral Directory on the Sacred Liturgy.” The booklet paraphrased the Council’s Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (“Sacred Council”), and supplemented it with specific directions for how the priest, congregation,

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<sup>10</sup> Fr. Edward Zenner, “Plans Made to Introduce English Texts in Mass,” *Catholic Sentinel*, May 22, 1964.

<sup>11</sup> Zenner, “New Directory.”

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> “Commission Plans Liturgy Changes,” *Catholic Sentinel*, July 10, 1964.

choir, altar servers, and others should conduct themselves.<sup>14</sup> Howard instructed his clergymen to follow the booklet faithfully and to spend the next few months gradually introducing the changes to local congregations. He asserted that “much more is involved in the transmission from Latin into English than training in choral recitation.” In order that the faithful might understand the changes, he recommended that clergymen do things like explain the significance of the Creed and then have everyone recite it in an approved English translation. He also mandated that each Sunday sermon during November focus on the liturgical changes.<sup>15</sup> Tobin, who by this time had gone to Rome for the third session of the Council, circulated the finalized booklet in the Vatican, where it garnered high praise.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, at some point during the month of October, Tobin was even able to give a copy to the pope himself at a private audience.<sup>17</sup>

Tobin was thrilled with how far liturgical reform had come. In a January 1965 letter to a friend in the liturgical movement, he stated, “We must all rejoice in the progress which has been made in the Liturgy. I, myself, am astounded at the rate we have been progressing.” He then related how many years earlier he had told a priest friend who was disappointed in how slowly liturgical changes were happening that “if in a hundred years we could have some of the things we wanted we should be quite satisfied.”<sup>18</sup> The

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<sup>14</sup> Edward D. Howard, “Pastoral Directory on the Sacred Liturgy,” Archbishop Edward D. Howard Files, Box 1. Folder “Church: Diocesan Commission on Sacred Liturgy, Sacred Music and Art: Pastoral Directories.” The Archives of the Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon, Portland, Oregon.

<sup>15</sup> “Archbishop Allows Gradual Change To English in Mass,” *Catholic Sentinel*, October 2, 1964.

<sup>16</sup> Zenner, “New Directory.”

<sup>17</sup> *Msgr. Tobin with Pope Paul VI*, photograph, *Catholic Sentinel*, October 30, 1964.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas J. Tobin to Maurice Lavanoux, January 4, 1965, Box 44 Folder 04, Liturgical Arts Society Records, University of Notre Dame Archives, Hesburgh Libraries, Notre Dame, Indiana.



Second Vatican Council had vindicated his drive for liturgical reform, and it had happened far more quickly than he had anticipated.

Changes were also in the works in the ecumenical movement. During the 1964 Council session where Tobin had met with the Pope, a primary topic of conversation had been ecumenism. Catholic bishops and theologians were warming to the idea. Given the history of Protestant-Catholic relations, these developments were noteworthy. Since the Protestant Reformation, Catholics had for the most part adopted an aggressive, adversarial stance toward Protestantism. Even as recently as 35 years before the Council, papal pronouncements and encyclicals condemned both Protestantism and the ecumenical movement. Popes consistently spoke of Protestants as “heretics” and “schismatics” and stressed that, unless they came home to Rome, Protestants’ prospects of salvation were murky at best.<sup>19</sup> However, these condemnations were beginning to change.

In addition to the increased openness to ecumenism that had been stirring in European intellectual circles, in the United States many Catholics had come to a deeper appreciation for how much they had in common with Protestants after serving alongside them in the military and in the war industries during World War II. This contact with one another as well as a common enemy in the Axis Powers gave them common cause. During the years after the war, many Catholics had left their ethnic neighborhoods, attended college on the GI Bill, and gradually begun to join the middle and upper classes.

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<sup>19</sup> Pope Pius XI, *Mortalium Animos* [Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on Religious Unity], Vatican Website, January 6, 1928, Accessed February 28, 2018, [http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-xi\\_enc\\_19280106\\_mortalium-animos.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19280106_mortalium-animos.html). This encyclical even forbade Catholics from attending Protestant religious services, including weddings and funerals.

These developments started to fade the anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic prejudices which had kept Protestants and Catholics apart.<sup>20</sup> This grassroots ecumenism became more normative during the 1940s and 50s, but in places like the American West, it had actually predated the national trend. In the West, where religious institutions were often the longest and best established institutions, religious leaders had regularly collaborated to address the needs of their local communities.<sup>21</sup> This collaboration almost certainly had the effect of breaking barriers between estranged groups. For example, in Portland, Archbishop Howard had spoken alongside a Protestant minister and a Jewish rabbi at a disarmament rally as early as 1932, long before most of the Catholic world would have thought of such a thing.<sup>22</sup> In 1945, Tobin had collaborated with Jewish and Protestant leaders to help Portland's Japanese community reclaim their homes and businesses after the United States government had interned them during World War II.<sup>23</sup>

American Catholic intellectuals took a variety of stances on ecumenism during the post-World War II era. At one extreme, Boston priest Leonard Feeney condemned all non-Catholics, interpreting the patristic assertion that "There is no salvation outside of Rome" to mean that all who were not in communion with the Catholic Church, the true

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<sup>20</sup> McDannell, *The Spirit of Vatican II*, 30.

<sup>21</sup> Ferenc Morton Szasz, *Religion in the Modern American West* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000), 100.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Albright, "'Grass Roots Ecumenism' Leads to Plans for Neighborhood 'Living Room Dialogues' This Fall," *Catholic Sentinel*, August 12, 1966.

<sup>23</sup> Dale Soden, *Outsiders in a Promised Land: Religious Activists in Pacific Northwest History* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2015), 131. It is regrettable that there are few records of Tobin's involvement in this endeavor.

Church of Christ, could expect eternal damnation.<sup>24</sup> Most Catholic intellectuals of the time and probably most Catholics in the pews took a more moderate stance like that of Fathers Francis J. Connell and John Courtney Murray, who both thought that theologians of the different traditions should be in dialogue and that, given the crises that the modern world faced, ordinary Catholics and Protestants ought to prioritize cooperation to build a better society. Both hoped for ultimate reunification, but Connell in particular thought that reunification would require that Protestants return to Rome.<sup>25</sup> But the most progressive public voice for ecumenism on the American Catholic scene was Father George Tavard, a French émigré and student of the nouvelle théologie. Like many of his peers, Tavard hoped for the ultimate reunification of Christians, but he thought that requiring Protestants to return to Rome was unrealistic and only hindered progress in ecumenical dialogue.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, he believed that the greatest good that could be done for ecumenism in his day was to do away with prejudices and misunderstandings by fostering dialogue between Protestants and Catholics. Tavard did not want these dialogues to foster bland indifference. Rather, he wanted Protestants and Catholics to embrace a “a legitimate theological pluralism,” a “genuine convergence that required the hard work of research into the sources of unity and division, of dialoguing and listening to each other, and of interpreting each other’s sources without a hermeneutic of

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<sup>24</sup> For a fascinating study of Feeney and 1950s American Catholicism, See “Boundary Maintenance: Leonard Feeney, the Boston Heresy Case, and the Postwar Culture,” in Mark Massa, *Catholics and American Culture*. (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 2002), 21–37.

<sup>25</sup> Patrick W. Carey, “American Catholic Ecumenism on the Eve of Vatican II, 1940–1962,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 28, no. 2 (July 2010): 6–7.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

suspicion.”<sup>27</sup> Tvard made the radical assertion that each of these denominations and theological schools expressed a unique manifestation of the Christian experience, a variety which was consonant with the pluralism of experiences on display in the Christian communities of the New Testament.<sup>28</sup>

For many Catholics of the preconciliar era, these assertions would have been a bridge too far. But Tobin, who had been involved in the intellectual conversation about ecumenism as a young graduate student Rome in the 1930s and who had been working alongside Protestants in social justice causes for decades in Portland, Tvard’s ideas resonated. He sensed that the global church was moving in Tvard’s and the *nouvelle théologie*’s direction. Attuned to the theological trends of the day and with his practical experience in grassroots ecumenism, Tobin was uniquely ready for these developments at the Council.

From the start, John XXIII had made relations with other Christians a priority of the Second Vatican Council. He had invited Protestant and Orthodox observers and given them front row seats to the proceedings, provided them with translators, and created the Secretariat for Christian Unity, an organization initially tasked with hosting Protestant and Orthodox guests that quickly emerged as an influential voice for ecumenism during the Council. Tobin was excited by the possibilities. In an update to the readers of the *Catholic Sentinel*, he related an encounter with a French Protestant where they discussed an appropriate name for Christians who were not Catholic. After discussing the merits of

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

“non-Catholic,” “separated brethren,” “brethren in Christ,” they settled on “our brother Christians.” As Tobin put it, “This seems to me to be an excellent phrase.”<sup>29</sup>

After discussing ecumenism in the 1962 and 1963 sessions, during the 1964 session Pope Paul VI promulgated *Unitatis Redintegratio*, more commonly known as the Decree on Ecumenism, which declared in its opening line that “The restoration of unity among all Christians is one of the principal concerns of the Second Vatican Council.” The document went on to declare that the division of Christians was scandalous and far from what Christ had intended for his followers. Significantly, the document also moved away from condemnation of other Christians and, like Tobin and his interlocutor, referred to them as “brothers.”<sup>30</sup> In just a few years, Tavard and the *nouvelle théologie*’s ideas went from radical to having the official endorsement of the Holy See.

Tobin returned to Portland at the end of the first session as a newly-empowered man, and he began to promote ecumenism in the Portland area more boldly. At a February 1963 talk on the Second Vatican Council to the priests of the Archdiocese, he urged his brother priests “to further charity and understanding between us and our brother Christians” and to become involved in the ecumenical movement. He encouraged them to foster ecumenical consciousness among their parishioners, to invite Protestant leaders to speak at their churches, and to be ready to accept invitations to speak about the Catholic

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<sup>29</sup> Thomas J. Tobin, “Nov. 20-21 ‘History-Making’ Days At Council, Msgr. Tobin Writes,” *Catholic Sentinel*, November 29, 1962.

<sup>30</sup> Pope Paul VI, *Unitatis Redintegratio* [Decree on Ecumenism], Vatican Website, November 21, 1964, Accessed February 28, 2018, [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_decree\\_19641121\\_unitatis-redintegratio\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19641121_unitatis-redintegratio_en.html).

faith at non-Catholic venues.<sup>31</sup> In the spirit of Father Tavard and the *nouvelle théologie*, another of Tobin's early initiatives was a weekly ecumenical meeting on Wednesday nights at All Saints. This group had initially formed to discuss the changes of the Second Vatican Council, but early on began to focus almost exclusively on ecumenism, taking on the name "Dialogue for Unity."<sup>32</sup> Seventy five to eighty people attended these meetings every week and often leaders of the local Protestant, Orthodox, and Jewish communities presented on some aspect of their tradition followed by a question-and-answer session and discussion. The meetings even occasionally featured less "conventional" ecumenical interlocutors from Mormons, Seventh Day Adventists, and the Baha'i World Faith. A few years into the program, Tobin quipped, "We've had everybody but the Jehovah's Witnesses – and we've asked them."<sup>33</sup>

The immediate goal of these meetings was for ordinary believers, both Catholic and non-Catholic, to understand one another's faiths, particularly the areas where the groups agreed. Dr. William Cate, a Protestant minister and president of the Greater Portland Council of Churches, hoped that these conversations and the relationships that developed around them would lead to common action. Tobin's hopes were far grander: Like Tavard, he hoped that conversations like this would help lead to "reintegration in unity....that there be in the western church, as there is now in the eastern Church, different rites – recognition of a Lutheran rite, a Presbyterian rite, with their own

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<sup>31</sup> "Priests Hear Msgr. Tobin Speak on Vatican Council," *Catholic Sentinel*, February 28, 1963.

<sup>32</sup> Albright, "Grass Roots Ecumenism."

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

traditions, their own rites, and without celibacy.”<sup>34</sup> Tobin hoped that separated Christian communities could come into communion with the Catholic Church, but still be able to retain their structure and traditions.<sup>35</sup> This hope that Christians in the West would again become one also drove the two conversation topics that he regularly introduced, the theology of the Eucharist and papal authority. These were the two major stumbling blocks that Protestants would need to overcome in order to be able to reestablish unity with Rome.<sup>36</sup>

Tobin’s program of ecumenical dialogue took off across the city. After All Saints and several other Catholic parishes in Portland had joined the Greater Portland Council of Churches, Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox began to gather by neighborhood in one another’s homes for conversation about their respective traditions. Some groups tightly structured their conversations, assigning readings beforehand for discussion and following a “living room dialogue” handbook that guided the conversation. Most, however, were more informal gatherings.<sup>37</sup> After several months of these gatherings in late 1966 and early 1967, the Executive Secretary of the Greater Portland Council of Churches, William Cate, estimated that about 3,000 lay Catholics, Protestants, and

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> This vision actually came to fruition in the United States in 2012 with a group of Anglicans known as the Personal Ordinariate of the Chair of St. Peter, who are more colloquially known as the Anglican Ordinariate. The Anglican Ordinariate is in communion with Rome and functions like a non-geographic diocese. It retains many of the traditions of Anglicanism, including the Book of Common Prayer. Similar groups to the Personal Ordinariate of the Chair of St. Peter exist in Wales, England, and Australia. This is yet another instance of Tobin’s thinking being well ahead of the times. <https://ordinariate.net/>

<sup>36</sup> Albright, “Grass Roots Ecumenism.”

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

Orthodox had participated in the program, making it a success.<sup>38</sup> When a reporter for *The Oregonian* interviewed several participants about this new grassroots ecumenism, several referred to Tobin as the Laurelhurst neighborhood's "catalyst" for ecumenical conversation.<sup>39</sup> Ecumenical dialogue was progressing in Portland.

Ecumenical dialogue at the institutional level also continued apace in the years after the Council. While he was in Rome during the summer of 1967, Tobin wrote to his parishioners in the church's weekly bulletin that the Orthodox Armenian patriarch had just visited the Pope, a meeting the likes of which had not happened in centuries. Tobin also reported that many in the Vatican believed that the new Patriarch of Athens would be friendlier to ecumenism and that Catholic relations with the Church of England, the Protestant church whose leadership structure and liturgy were already similar to Catholicism in many ways, were warming.<sup>40</sup> During this same visit to Rome, Tobin introduced Cate to Paul VI, who expressed interest in and, at least according to Tobin, seemed to approve of the developments in Portland.<sup>41</sup>

The Council had been momentous and its decrees had set Roman Catholicism on a dramatic path of reform. At All Saints in Portland, Tobin sought to better educate his parishioners on the changes that had just taken place and the reasons behind those changes. One of the ways he sought to accomplish this goal was through a September

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<sup>38</sup> William B. Cate, "Report of the Executive Secretary" (Portland, Oregon: Greater Portland Council of Churches, April 11, 1967), Church of All Saints Parish Archive, Portland, Oregon.

<sup>39</sup> Marvin D. Callaway, "Liberated Laymen Feel Religion Not Confined to Denominations," *Oregonian*, April 4, 1966.

<sup>40</sup> "Church of All Saints Bulletin," June 4, 1967, Church of All Saints Parish Archive, Portland, Oregon.

<sup>41</sup> "Msgr. Tobin Finds Progress in Rome," *Catholic Sentinel*, July 7, 1967.



1967 “parish mission,” a week of evening Masses followed by a talk from a featured speaker. After trying unsuccessfully to bring in Redemptorist Fathers Thomas Coyle and F.X. Murphy as speakers, both of whom had attended the Council, Holy Cross Father Edward Heston accepted Tobin’s invitation. Heston was an American and a well-connected Vatican official who had been a member of the Council’s Preparatory Commission on Religious, a peritus, and a Vatican liaison to the English-speaking press. In Tobin’s correspondence with Heston leading up to the event, Tobin requested that Heston especially focus on the Council’s declarations on the laity, divine revelation, and Scripture, “emphasizing that spirituality must be based upon the Scriptures and the Liturgy.”<sup>42</sup> In keeping with its ecumenical mission, All Saints also invited the Protestant ministers, rabbis, and laity who had been participating in the ecumenical dialogue to attend.<sup>43</sup> In addition to speaking to the adults of the parish in the evening, Heston also spoke to the children of All Saints School about the Council and vocations to the priesthood and religious life.<sup>44</sup>

Heston’s visit to All Saints was just the beginning of Tobin’s program to help the changes of the Council come alive for his parishoners. In 1968, the newly-formed parish council suggested that Tobin and the other priests periodically substitute their traditional homily with a “dialogue homily.”<sup>45</sup> This new practice garnered the attention of the

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<sup>42</sup> Thomas Tobin to Edward Heston, March 29, 1967, Folder: Spiritual Exercises -- 1967, Church of All Saints Parish Archive, Portland, Oregon.

<sup>43</sup> “Office Memo,” July 24, 1967, Folder: Spiritual Exercises -- 1967, Church of All Saints Parish Archive, Portland, Oregon.

<sup>44</sup> Tobin to Heston, March 29, 1967.

<sup>45</sup> The parish council was itself an innovation of the Second Vatican Council and an outgrowth of the Council’s call for increased participation of the laity. The parish council was an advisory body comprised

Associated Press, who published a nationally-syndicated piece on Tobin's church.<sup>46</sup> Dialogue homilies, which occurred at the Sunday noon Mass, consisted of one of the parish priests' briefly introducing a topic and then passing a microphone and allowing parishioners to have the opportunity to provide their input and ask questions. Homily topics came from parishioner suggestions and ranged from "The Obligations of Voting" to "What is Real Prayer."<sup>47</sup> The goal was to help the laity better understand their faith as well as play a more active role in the liturgy. According to the Associated Press' report, the initial results were strong: after two months, large numbers of both Catholics and non-Catholics were attending these Masses. Tobin also claimed that the dialogue homilies brought a number of lapsed Catholics back into the Church and thus far had led to two individuals reporting interest in converting.<sup>48</sup> By all accounts, it seems that his work in the closing years of his ministry was successful.

When Tobin retired in 1970, he moved to Rome and worked part-time for the Vatican's Congregation of the Sacraments, the office responsible for ensuring that sacraments and liturgy are celebrated appropriately. With the advent of commercial air travel, he had regularly been taking trips to Rome. In addition to attending the four sessions of the Council, he had gone to the Vatican several times to conduct business for the Archdiocese. He also took these trips because he wanted to stay connected to the

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mostly of lay men and women whose task it was to advise the pastor. One anomalous aspect of All Saints' council was the presence of two non-Catholic members, one of whom was the council president. Ed Grosswiler, "All Saints Mass Involves Laity; Dialogue Replaces Noon Sermon," *Associated Press*, November 23, 1968.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

latest developments at the Vatican. No less, since his days as a seminarian he had been a lover of all things Italian.

Despite the Council's vindication and the American Church's gradual embrace of the causes he had advocated for decades, by 1970 Tobin was a tired, disillusioned man. In many ways, his public impact outside of the Church had failed. He initially had had an impact on social justice issues in Portland, but it did not last. During the war, he was a figure who Portlanders believed could bring people together. The combination of Tobin's good reputation and the teamwork required to defeat a common enemy enabled him to bring Catholic Social Teaching to bear on public life. However, after the war, the city's materialism, greed, and prejudice against the poor, especially poor minorities, proved enduring and discouraging to Father Tobin. Within the Church, he had found an audience that was far more receptive to reform: his work to return the liturgy closer to its ancient roots and his ecumenical efforts had been well-received. But many of the Catholic leaders in the discussion club had dismissed his ideas and some of his fellow clergymen considered him too rigid and stern.<sup>49</sup> By 1970, he was ready to leave.

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<sup>49</sup> Oral history interview with Leo Smith, by Kay Reid, April 17–June 22, 1998, Tape 3 Side 2, Oregon Historical Society Research Library, Portland, Oregon.

## Conclusion: Final Years (1970–1978)

During the initial years of his retirement, life in Rome seemed to be going well for Tobin: he had an apartment near the Vatican, he worked part-time with the Congregation of the Sacraments, he reconnected with old friends, and he wrote updates from the Vatican for the *Catholic Sentinel*. But after several years, his health declined. His sisters returned him to the States in early 1976, where they oversaw his care. After being confined to a nursing home in Beaverton, Oregon for two and a half years, he died on November 7, 1978.

In his nationally-syndicated column of December 18, 1978, Monsignor George Higgins, a nationally-known “labor priest” who had attended Portland labor conferences with Tobin over the years, eulogized him, asserting that Tobin was a priest who had become “all things to all men.” Higgins drew on St. Paul, who asserted that

I have made myself a slave to all so as to win over as many as possible. To the Jews I became like a Jew to win over Jews; to those under the law I became like one under the law—though I myself am not under the law—to win over those under the law. To those outside the law I became like one outside the law—though I am not outside God’s law but within the law of Christ—to win over those outside the law. To the weak I became weak, to win over the weak. I have become all things to all [men], to save at least some.<sup>1</sup>

Higgins admitted that he often found himself wondering how Tobin, who had come of age in such a conservative Church, could possibly have both seen where the Church was

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. 9:19-22 (New American Bible). More recent translations of this passage, including the translation above, translate verse 22b as “all things to all people” or “all things to all.” However, older translations—including the one Higgins cites—translate the line as “all things to all men.”

headed and then embraced it decades ahead of most everyone else. He concluded that it must have been his vision of the universality of the Church as well as his youthful openness to ideas.<sup>2</sup>

Tobin had remained theologically orthodox, but he was always eager to find new ways to preach the Gospel. Whether it meant reforming the liturgy, advocating for the poor and oppressed, fostering ecumenism, or seeking to reform the economy along the lines of Catholic Social Teaching, Tobin—like St. Paul—had sought to become “all things to all men” so that in doing so, he might save some.

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<sup>2</sup> Msgr. George Higgins, “Msgr. Thomas J. Tobin, *The Yardstick*, December 18, 1978.

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