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Review Essay: Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen: A Still and Quiet Conscience

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John A. McCoy. *A Still and Quiet Conscience, The Archbishop Who Challenged a Pope, a President, and a Church*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2015, paper xv + 344 pp., ISBN: 978-1-62698-117-1.

“We must take special responsibility for what is in our own backyard. I say with deep consciousness of these words that Trident is the Auschwitz of Puget Sound.” Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen (1921–2018) of Seattle made this provocative declaration on June 12, 1981, at Pacific Lutheran University in Tacoma, WA, before a Northwest Synod gathering of 600 Lutheran pastors and church leaders. He went on with an even more provocative exhortation. Asking how his hearers might take up the non-violent cross of Christ, he proposed mass civil disobedience. “The teaching of Jesus tells us to render to a nuclear-armed Caesar what the Caesar deserves – tax resistance” (McCoy, pp. 22–23). Hunthausen urged all Washington residents to consider refusing to pay 50% of their taxes.

His espousal of tax resistance made Hunthausen a national figure. The archbishop acknowledged that his speech was part of his own struggle with his response as a Christian to the nuclear armed Trident submarine’s presence in his archdiocese, and that he was not yet withholding his own taxes. Less than a year later, in a letter to area Catholics, addressed to “Dear People of God,” and dated January 28, 1982, he explained his decision to withhold 50% of his 1981 taxes (about \$500), and asked them to consider doing likewise. At a speech the next day at Notre Dame, entitled “Finding Our Way Back,” Hunthausen denounced U.S. preparation for nuclear war as “the global crucifixion of Jesus” and described his tax resistance as “one small way I have chosen to find my way back to the cross of Christ” (p. 28; Weigel, 1987, p. 435, n. 110).

At their May 1983 general meeting, U.S. Catholic bishops voted to approve the final draft of the historic peace pastoral “The Challenge of Peace.” With the second draft’s approach to nuclear deterrence and disarmament significantly weakened after Vatican intervention, Hunthausen voted unenthusiastically for the final draft, in the vain hope for a stronger stand against nuclear weapons from the bishops in the future.

At a coffee break during the meeting, apostolic delegate, Archbishop Pio Laghi, shocked Hunthausen when he told him that the Vatican would be undertaking an “apostolic visitation” of his archdiocese. Until his retirement in 1991, Hunthausen never really emerged from this agonizing process. He had “no official legal representation, no right of appeal, and no due process” (p. 104). The Vatican never showed him “its report on the allegations against him” (p. 104), and never restored his full authority as a bishop. After six long, humiliating years, the Vatican appointed a coadjutor bishop to oversee doctrinal and pastoral areas of concern. Finally, in 1991, at the age of 70, Hunthausen submitted his resignation, which Rome immediately accepted. He

returned to his native Montana, where he lived until his death in 2018 as the last surviving U.S. bishop who had been at Vatican II.

In Montana Hunthausen quickly faded from public view. U.S. readers younger than 60 might never even have heard of him. But journalist John McCoy remembered. As he worked at the city desk of the *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, Hunthausen's June 1981 tax resistance speech "riveted" his attention (p. xiii), and "marked a pivotal point in the history of the U.S. Catholic Church" (p. xii). After Hunthausen's Montana exile, McCoy began extensive interviews and research for a biography of Hunthausen. Over the next decades, as Hunthausen's vision of the church languished, so did McCoy's biography project. Pope Francis's election in 2013 inspired McCoy to retrieve his twenty-year-old notes. McCoy's biography of Hunthausen appeared in 2015.

For McCoy, Hunthausen is a Francis-like figure whose story deserves to be told. Since McCoy worked as a journalist in Seattle during the years of Hunthausen's nuclear protests, and then as public affairs director at the Seattle chancery from 1989 through 1997, his biography of Hunthausen has elements of an autobiography.

As a professional writer, McCoy skillfully sprinkles a smooth-flowing, almost breezy, narrative with apt anecdotes and quotes that make for a gripping story. A journalist who covered many of the events he writes about, McCoy also conducted numerous detailed interviews with people closely associated with the Archdiocese of Seattle under Hunthausen. From the perspective of his interviewees, Rome's visitation of Seattle appears intrusive, overbearing, and shrouded in needless secrecy. Without comparable access to the figures involved in the visitation, from Pope John Paul II himself and then Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger to then Archbishops James A. Hickey and Donald Wuerl, this remains very much Hunthausen's story and that is McCoy's intent.

A Still and Quiet Conscience is a powerful and personal apologia for Hunthausen that is profoundly sad and equally inspiring. McCoy saw in Hunthausen one of those teachers, who, as *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (1975) put it, was also a witness, a man of integrity and holiness, whose prayerful search for what God was asking of him as a bishop in a time of turmoil touched McCoy deeply. He presents him as a witness for peace and for a participatory vision of the church Hunthausen imbibed as the youngest U.S. participant at Vatican II.

Driving and underpinning McCoy's story are two related arguments that in our fractured ecclesial and political landscape can only appear controversial. The first argument concerns the motive for the investigation of Hunthausen. The second and related argument presents the Hunthausen affair as a conflict between two competing visions of the reception of Vatican II, one represented by Hunthausen and the other peace bishops, the other represented primarily by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger as prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF) and Pope John Paul II.

Regarding the first argument, McCoy sees Seattle's "apostolic visitation" as having much more to do with the archbishop's outspoken opposition to the U.S. deterrent, with its implied intent to use nuclear weapons, than with the liturgical and pastoral issues brought forward by the visitation. McCoy's point is not that the pope and the CDF prefect didn't really have "serious reservations of a pastoral and doctrinal nature" (p. 167) about the post-Vatican II U.S. church, but that they came

down on Hunthausen in particular because of his anti-nuclear tax resistance. Hunthausen and the other peace bishops publicly advocated for nuclear disarmament precisely as Pope John Paul II allied himself against the Soviets with President Ronald Reagan, and his early 1980's nuclear arms buildup. Hunthausen, with the national notoriety that came with tax resistance, proved a thorn in the pope's side. The Seattle investigation would serve as a warning to the bishops' conference and especially to the other peace bishops. In this reading, complaints of liturgical and pastoral abuses, made to the Vatican by such groups as Catholics United for the Faith and the *Wanderer*, played only a secondary role in Hunthausen's case and gave the Vatican an occasion for the visitation that would make an example of Hunthausen. In 1984, the year after the toned-down peace pastoral, the United States, under President Ronald Reagan, re-established diplomatic relations with the Holy See for the first time since 1870.

Regarding the second argument, McCoy's book, published in 2015, two years after the election of Pope Francis, presents Hunthausen's life, and especially the "Hunthausen affair" of the 1980s, from McCoy's perspective on what's happened in the U.S. church over the past fifty years. McCoy spells this out most clearly in the Afterword (pp. 296–299) which is more like an op ed piece than the reporting of the book's body.

He contrasts Hunthausen as "the Vatican II bishop who had welcomed the 'People of God' as full partners in governing the church and in building the Christ's kingdom on earth," who put "reliance on God rather than nuclear weapons, welcoming women, gays, the divorced, and the alienated into the life of the church; and working with other faiths for the common good." With the "Restoration" that followed Hunthausen's 1991 resignation (p. 296), structures he had established, such as the archdiocesan Pastoral Council, the Priest Senate, and the Women's Commission, along with "archdiocesan ministry to gay and lesbian Catholics," "withered and died away" (p. 297) to be replaced by the concerns of bishops who were "John Paul II and Benedict XVI look-alikes" who "obsessed over same-sex marriage, abortion, and birth control" (p. 298). The operative word here is *obsessed*. No one can justly accuse either Hunthausen or McCoy of taking these issues lightly. Francis's election struck McCoy as the Restoration's end and a consolation to the aging Hunthausen, who told McCoy that "Francis is doing the things I tried to do" (p. 299).

McCoy's authorial perspective challenges the reader or reviewer to take a considered position on the historical-ecclesial landscape of US Catholicism over the past fifty years. Though I have considerable sympathy for the perspective that underlies McCoy's narrative, I think it needs to be complicated a bit. At the same time, I find McCoy's portrait of Hunthausen compelling and inspiring. His perspective is not simply an historical or church-political position but is based on his personal respect for and devotion to Hunthausen. My most difficult task will be to distance somewhat this extremely winning portrait of Hunthausen as a Francis-like figure from the authorial perspective that underlies it. To put it simply, I'm completely convinced by McCoy's portrait of Hunthausen, but think that the history in which he sets that portrait is more complicated, and, indeed, a tragic one in which pastoral judgments and readings of the signs of the times by dedicated pastors collided with painful results.

What drives these two arguments and makes them attractive is McCoy's effective portrayal of Hunthausen as a holy pastor and man of God. By contrast, the visitation portrayed Hunthausen as a well-meaning but irresponsible bishop who was taken in by a misguided "spirit of the council."

After four years of the visitation, the episcopal commission of Joseph Bernardin, John O'Connor, and John Quinn finally told Hunthausen that addressing individual issues such as liturgy, the marriage tribunal, clergy, and moral issues related to healthcare and homosexuality was not as crucial as the underlying problem. Their final report judged that a "climate of permissiveness" pervaded the Archdiocese of Seattle. A "flawed ecclesiology" led to an "overall attitudinal 'climate' or psychological-ecclesiological orientation of the archdiocese" (p. 256). Hunthausen had, in the view of Rome, let his diocese get out of control. Rather than a safe "just say no" approach in doubtful or gray areas, Hunthausen tried to exercise pastoral discernment in individual cases and encouraged those who worked with him to do the same.

McCoy's biography is a detailed defense of Hunthausen's pastoral judgment. Sound judgment is a function of character, the settled body of habitual judgments and dispositions that lie behind individual judgments. McCoy's success depends on the archbishop's character. He spends a lot of time painting a detailed portrait of Raymond Hunthausen in his times.

Born in Anaconda, Montana, a mining town where his father ran a grocery store, Hunthausen came of age during the Great Depression and World War II. Of a "shy and reticent nature" (p. 47), he was, nevertheless, always chosen by his peers or superiors for leadership positions. In high school during the 1930s, he quarterbacked a Class B state championship football team. He went on to Carroll College in Helena (125 fulltime students in 1941, p. 54), where he captained the football team as a freshman when they won the state college title. He graduated in 1943, with a degree in chemistry, and went on to the seminary. In 1946, he was ordained a priest for the Diocese of Helena. During this time, and for much of the rest of his life, his spiritual mentor and confessor was Bernard Topel, future bishop of Spokane and a priest known for his mathematical acumen, holiness, and an ascetical life that included voluntary poverty.

After ordination, Hunthausen returned to Carroll College to teach chemistry and mathematics. He took graduate courses during the summers and got an MS in Chemistry from Notre Dame in 1953. A young John Gagliardi, who would go on to coach 64 seasons of college football and win 489 games, recruited Hunthausen to be his assistant coach. When Gagliardi left for St. John's in Collegeville, MN, where he spent most of his career, he recommended Hunthausen as his successor.

By 1953, Hunthausen was "professor of chemistry and math, dean of men, dorm supervisor, athletic director, and head coach for football, basketball, baseball, track, and golf" (p. 71). During his four years as head coach, his teams won eight conference championships, with three in football and two in basketball. He once coached against Idaho freshman Elgin Baylor, who went on to become an NBA great. In 1966, Hunthausen was elected to the NAIA (National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics) Hall of Fame (p. 72). When Topel left Carroll to become bishop of Spokane in 1956, he recommended Hunthausen to succeed him as vocation director. This meant Hunthausen moved into St. Charles Hall with college seminarians. A priest who lived down the hall described him as a "loveable, likeable kind of guy who was very, very conservative" (p. 70).

In 1957, Carroll's president died suddenly. Bishop Gilmore of Helena appointed the thirty-five-year-old Hunthausen the new president. As president, he convinced the bishop, for fund raising purposes, to allow Carroll to have a board of trustees legally separate from the diocese. Bishop

Gilmore died suddenly in April 1962. Three months later, Hunthausen learned that the pope would appoint him Bishop of Helena. After five successful years as Carroll's president, he was consecrated on August 30. About five weeks later, he found himself in Rome for the Second Vatican Council, convened by Pope John XXIII on October 11, 1962. Vatican II would change Hunthausen's life and transform his understanding of the church and what it meant for him to be a pastor.

The youngest of 241 representatives from the U.S., the newly appointed bishop of Helena lodged across the hall from Benedictine liturgist Godfrey Diekmann. He attended all four sessions. McCoy singles out four key areas of transformation from the council: 1) the role of the laity and shared responsibility, 2) scripture and liturgy, 3) ecumenism and religious freedom, 4) the church in the modern world (pp. 87–88). In this last area, the council made a statement that stuck with Hunthausen. On August 6 and August 9, 1945, the United States dropped the first atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Hunthausen was in his last year at St. Edward's Seminary. When the rector announced a *Te Deum* in the chapel to celebrate the war's end, Hunthausen couldn't go. He went to the woods by himself instead. The horror of the bomb stayed with him (p. 64). Though *Gaudium et Spes* stopped short of what he had hoped for on war, he was consoled when the council pronounced the nuclear arms race a curse on mankind and the indiscriminate killing of modern warfare "a crime against God and humanity" (p. 88). "My goodness," Hunthausen exclaimed, "the spirit and theology of the Council turned my head around" (p. 105).

In 1975, after thirteen years as bishop of Helena, Montana, Hunthausen learned that Rome wanted to name him archbishop of Seattle, Washington. He was shocked and drove to Spokane to consult with Bishop Topel. In his typical manner, Hunthausen "felt the obligation to re-discern, re-examine, and wonder what is it that is making all this happen" (p. 128). He would become one of the 103 bishops and fifteen archbishops Archbishop Jean Jadot nominated to the episcopacy during his time as Paul VI's apostolic delegate to the U.S. John Paul II recalled Jadot to Rome in 1980 (p. 129).

So, who was Raymond Hunthausen, known as "Dutch," to friends, family, and those he worked with (p. 48)? From the details of his life before Seattle, Hunthausen was, despite his reticent temperament, clearly a natural leader, strong and creative, who inspired loyalty among those he led and confidence in those, such as Topel, Gagliardi, and Gilmore, who were his leaders. But what was he like?

As the book gets underway, McCoy can't recall when he first met Hunthausen. His wife suggests that that was probably because Hunthausen was so "refreshingly normal" (p. xiii). When Hunthausen went to Seattle, he lived at the seminary rather than in the archbishop's residence. "Dutch was just plain folks," a Seattle seminarian recalled to McCoy, "unassuming, shuffling through the cafeteria line to get his peas and beef stew with everybody else" (p. 136).

According to McCoy, who worked with him during a most stressful period of the archbishop's life, Pope Francis reminded him of Hunthausen, "humble, kind, compassionate, plain spoken, unpretentious" (p. xv). Describing the archbishop's appearance at a Trident protest, McCoy writes: "An introvert, he had no love of public speaking. By temperament and good grace, he was a listener, not a talker. Now here he was before a lustily cheering crowd that wanted an oration" (p.

3). As he no doubt disappointed the crowd by praying for the crew of the nuclear submarine *Ohio*, McCoy describes him: “Of average height with a broad forehead, blue eyes, and a prominent nose, there was nothing out of the ordinary about him” (p. 3).

Responding in an interview to Archbishop Hickey of Washington, the apostolic visitor, one of Hunthausen’s priests described him thus: “a man of the Gospel, an authentic Christian man, and I have the greatest respect for him” (p. 186). After Hunthausen and Archbishop Donald Wuerl met with the press in September 1986, to announce that Wuerl now had final authority over the five areas of Vatican concern, Notre Dame’s president, Fr. Theodore Hesburgh, was “devastated” by the news. He wrote to Hunthausen, “You are my ideal of the best kind of archbishop, courageous, idealistic, dedicated, fearless, and, most of all, unambitious” (p. 226).

Hesburgh’s emphasis on “unambitious” is telling. In her 2000 *U.S. Catholic Historian* article, “The Geography of a Minority Religion: Catholicism in the Pacific Northwest,” historian Patricia O’Connell Killen, herself a Pacific Northwest Catholic, details the minority ethos of the “Pacific Northwest Catholic sensibility or style.” In an environment that did not support Catholicism, Killen describes Catholics as “developing a practice of skillful negotiation with a larger world generally indifferent to denominational concerns” (Killen, 2000, p. 67). This meant interdenominational cooperation and involvement in issues of public concern. Such an environment might encourage initiatives such as Hunthausen’s efforts to include fully in the church’s life native peoples, women, gays and lesbians, survivors of clergy sexual abuse, and laicized priests. In 1975 Paul VI was still pope and positions on these issues had not hardened as they would after 1980. Rather than in Rome, as did many of those who investigated him, Hunthausen experienced his priestly formation in an institution that was part of Catholicism in the Pacific Northwest. He was not “wired into the curial world” (p. 199). His episcopal nominations genuinely surprised him.

Hunthausen appointed religious women to important positions in the chancery. Diana Bader, OP (1933–2017), a moral theologian specializing in healthcare, served as director of adult religious education and faith formation for the archdiocese. Bader served as the “primary drafter” for Hunthausen’s controversial 1980 pastoral letter on women (p. 184). His vice-chancellor was Joyce Cox, BVM (d. 2020), who served as vicar for religious women and director of spirituality and ecumenical affairs for the archdiocese. As vice-chancellor, Cox assisted Hunthausen with his correspondence. She accompanied him in 1988 when he met with survivors of clergy sexual abuse and apologized to them (p. 287). Carol Ann McMullen, SNJM, was Hunthausen’s associate personnel director for clergy (p. 226). She believed that the investigation had “more to do with his involvement in the peace movement” than with pastoral practice (p. 227). When Archbishop Wuerl threatened her over a letter of support for Hunthausen she had helped to draft, she asked him if he intended to remain in Seattle. When he said he did, she suggested that Wuerl “get down on your knees and pray that Raymond Hunthausen doesn’t leave because he’s the only friend you have in this diocese” (p. 227).

At the November 1986 meeting of the U.S. bishops, a low point in Hunthausen’s visitation ordeal, he had to speak to the bishops, giving his response to the Vatican chronology of the investigation, presented by Archbishop Laghi. After Hunthausen and his advisor, Anchorage Archbishop Francis Hurley, left lunch on November 10, the day Hunthausen was to speak, his chancellor, Fr. Michael G. Ryan, was left alone at the table with retired bishop of Fort Wayne-South Bend, William

McManus, another bishop nominated by Jean Jadot. McManus told Ryan: “Stay with this man and continue to back him. The American hierarchy has produced very few great men. He is one of them” (p. 241).

One canon lawyer who was a member of Hunthausen’s staff found his leadership style of “setting forth a vision without giving specific directions both liberating and exasperating.” Hunthausen “treated staff as colleagues, gave them autonomy, and let them work out their own way of getting things done.” “It was anathema,” he added, “to legalistic minds that demanded rules and black and white clarity” (p. 137). Rather than a philosophy or considered approach, McCoy describes this style as simply a reflection of Hunthausen himself, “a reflective, soft-spoken introvert who was humble, guileless, and blessed with personal integrity” (p. 137).

A dramatic example of Hunthausen’s decision-making and leadership styles is the process he went through to arrive at his historic June 1981 speech at Pacific Lutheran advocating tax resistance to protest the nuclear deterrent. Hunthausen habitually surrounded himself with highly capable, creative, and intelligent people who didn’t necessarily agree with him or with each other.

When he first came to Seattle in 1975, he found himself surrounded by the appointees of his much more formal predecessor. He missed the counsel of his chancellor in Helena, canon lawyer Fr. James Provost (1940–2000), who would go on to Catholic University and a distinguished career in canon law. Away from his family and friends in Montana, Hunthausen experienced a certain “initial loneliness” (p. 143). Five people who would become part of Hunthausen’s circle, two priests and three lay men, would play significant roles in developing Hunthausen’s position on the nuclear deterrent and tax resistance: Michael Ryan, Peter Chirico, James Douglass, George Weigel, and Charles Meconis. As if to confirm Hunthausen’s judgment and eye for talent, the four younger members of this group all went on to distinguished careers of service which, for three of them, involved questions of war and peace. In 1981 Chirico was already a distinguished theologian.

One of Hunthausen’s first new Seattle recruits in 1977, was chancellor, vicar general, and Hunthausen’s close advisor and confidant, Michael G. Ryan. A Seattle native who studied in Rome, Ryan was ordained in 1966 and became Hunthausen’s chancellor when he was about 37 (p. 144). He helped the archbishop navigate his dealings with Rome and still serves in Seattle as pastor of St. James Cathedral. When Ryan first met Hunthausen in 1975, he said that he “felt for the first time that I was dealing with someone who treated me as a colleague” (p. 145). Ryan was more cautious than Hunthausen, remembered as “venturesome,” (p. 126) and wiser in the ways of church politics. Ryan often tried to steer the archbishop in safer directions. No matter what Hunthausen did, however, as Bishop McManus urged in 1986, Ryan remained fiercely loyal, perhaps sacrificing an episcopal career along the way.

Soon after Hunthausen arrived in Seattle, Fr. Peter Chirico (1927–2016), a distinguished Sulpician theologian, about age 48, returned to Seattle to teach at St. Thomas Seminary. In 1977, Chirico published *Infallibility: The Crossroads of Doctrine*, a major contribution to the centenary reception of the First Vatican Council in the 1970s. Living at the seminary with Hunthausen, he too would become the archbishop’s close advisor, confidant, and “vulnerable theologian” (p. 151), who drafted most of his speeches and pastoral letters. They often had dinner together and took long walks

through the city (p. 18). During then Archbishop Hickey's apostolic visit to Seattle, Chirico became convinced that Rome's motivation for investigating Hunthausen was "his stand on unilateral disarmament and tax resistance" (pp. 184–185).

In 1974, James W. Douglass (b. 1940) returned to the Pacific Northwest—he was from British Columbia—from Hawaii, where, as a professor of Religion at the University of Hawaii, he had engaged in civil disobedience to protest the Vietnam War by pouring human blood on military files. Douglass was well-known in the Catholic peace movement during the Vietnam War. In 1966, he published *The Non-Violent Cross: A Theology of Revolution and Peace*. During the council, as a student in Rome, Douglass had helped Dorothy Day and others lobby for recognition of conscientious objection as a legitimate Catholic position and rejection of the nuclear deterrent. Despite its limitations, Douglass regarded the council and the constitution *Gaudium et Spes* as "the resurrection of the non-violent Cross" (Douglass, 1966, p. 109). In 1972, he published *Resistance and Contemplation: The Way of Liberation*. He dedicated it to Dan and Phil Berrigan, his wife Shelley, and Thomas Merton, from whose influence came his new emphasis on spiritualities from Asia, such as that of Mohandas Gandhi. Douglass treated the resistance and contemplation of his title as a yin-yang.

Now Douglass was in the Seattle area to protest the military build-up there and especially the new Trident base at Puget Sound. He was convinced the Trident was a first-strike weapon. He and his community urged people to confront "the Trident within" (p. 11). Douglass wrote to Hunthausen about opposition to the Trident shortly after the latter arrived in Seattle. Hunthausen responded and sent a contribution. They met for the first time in 1976 in the archbishop's room at the seminary. Over the next five years, Douglass would exercise an important, even decisive, influence on Hunthausen's opposition to the nuclear deterrent and especially the Trident (pp. 9–16). In 2008, Douglass published *JFK and the Unspeakable* about President John F. Kennedy's 1963 assassination. Douglass and his wife Shelley live at Mary House, a Catholic Worker House in Birmingham, AL.

In the summer of 1975, a month or two before Hunthausen assumed his office as archbishop, twenty-five-year-old George Weigel, fresh from graduate study in theology at St. Michael's College in the University of Toronto, arrived to teach theology at Seattle's St. Thomas Seminary, where Hunthausen was in residence. Weigel found his way to Seattle from his native Baltimore with the help of the Sulpicians who had taught him as an undergraduate seminarian at St. Mary's in Baltimore. Weigel would also become one of Hunthausen's "advisors" (p. 18). In matters of war and peace, Weigel's theological orientation was closer to John Courtney Murray's, which Weigel took to be more reflective of the Catholic tradition, than Thomas Merton's. Weigel thought the Catholic peace movement was turning its back on America. Both Douglass and Weigel wrote regular columns for the archdiocesan paper, *The Progress*. Though their approaches to the question of disarmament couldn't have been more at odds, Hunthausen, as Weigel emphasizes in *Tranquillitas Ordinis*, listened to both and never interfered with either (Weigel, 1987, p. 435, n. 110).

When St. Thomas Seminary closed as a theological school in June 1977, the archdiocese didn't offer Weigel a job. He continued to write for *The Progress* and found his way to the World Without War Council, where he became scholar in residence. He also wrote for Seattle's *the Weekly*, and,

with his commentary on John Paul II, began “writing myself into Catholic neoconservatism” (Weigel, 2017, p. 23). Most significantly, at the World Without War Council, Weigel entered the orbit of Robert Pickus (1921–2016), a pacifist who advocated peace through “legal and political alternatives to war in resolving international conflicts” and found developments in the peace movement of the 1960s infected with “infantile leftism and anti-Americanism” (Weigel, 2015, p. 3). Pickus became Weigel’s mentor and in 1984 helped him secure a fellowship to the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C.

After nine years in Seattle, Weigel left for the Wilson Center, where he wrote *Tranquillitas Ordinis: The Present Failure and Future Promise of American Catholic Thought on War and Peace* (1987). One could read this book as Weigel processing and making sense of everything he experienced in Seattle. It represents a considered Catholic alternative response to Hunthausen’s approach, under the undue influence of James Douglass, Weigel thought, to the question of war in the nuclear age and, in the spirit of what Weigel would call “the Murray project,” a neo-Americanist, realist rejection of *The Challenge of Peace* (1983). In *Tranquillitas Ordinis*, Weigel wrote himself fully into Catholic neoconservatism. In Washington, first as a fellow at the James Madison Center and then at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, he teamed up with Michael Novak and Richard Neuhaus. Weigel’s thought grows, in many ways, from his formative experience in Seattle between 1975 and 1984. As one of Hunthausen’s advisors, Weigel’s story highlights both Hunthausen’s open leadership style, and also, however much Weigel tried unsuccessfully to counter it, James Douglass’s key role in the development of Hunthausen’s position.

Finally, there is Charles A. Meconis (b. 1945). Meconis arrived in Seattle in 1977. He had been a Sulpician priest whose seminary formation took place at St. Patrick’s in Menlo Park, CA, and who, after ordination, began teaching at St. Mary’s Seminary in Baltimore in 1971. He went on for a PhD in Religion at Columbia University. Based on a sample of 46, mostly taped, interviews, his dissertation took a broadly social-science approach to the Catholic left as a movement. Based on that dissertation, *With Clumsy Grace: The American Catholic Left, 1961-1975* appeared in 1979, shortly after Meconis came to Seattle. His book raises significant questions about the role of women in the movement’s decision-making and the “violence” of symbolic destruction of property (Meconis, 1979, p. 146). His Conclusion notes the significant effect that the Catholic peace movement’s prophetic activities had on bishops such as Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit, Carroll Dozier of Memphis, and Bernard Flanagan of Worcester (Meconis, 1979, pp. 143–144).

Like many in that tumultuous era, Meconis left the priesthood and married before he came to Seattle. In Seattle, he worked as a staff person for the Church Council of Greater Seattle’s peace task force, the Seattle Religious Peace Action Coalition, and participated in and helped organize ongoing Trident and general nuclear arms race protests. He also engaged in tax resistance. He remained connected to the Catholic community. As Hunthausen worked on his June 12, 1981, Pacific Lutheran speech advocating tax resistance, he and other denominational leaders met at St. Thomas Seminary for a day of reflection of war and peace. Meconis and Weigel were the main presenters. After the meeting, the archbishop sought out Meconis to talk about tax resistance (pp. 20–21).

On August 12, 1982, the day the Trident nuclear submarine, the *USS Ohio*, arrived in port, Meconis was arrested along with Douglass and a few other protesters (p. 35). As Hunthausen prepared his

invited remarks on the peace pastoral's second draft for the November 1982 bishops meeting, Meconis, with Chirico, Douglass, and an old friend from Montana, provided input on the draft (p. 39). After 1989, Meconis helped to found the Institute for Global Security Studies at the University of Washington (now the Institute for Global and Regional Studies), whose goal was to prevent military conflict in the Asia-Pacific region. During the 1990s, Meconis published three books on naval security in the region and served as coordinator of the Institute.

At this point, it should be abundantly clear that, as Hunthausen discerned his position on the nuclear arms race and the Trident's appearance in his own archdiocese, he did not seek counsel from sycophants who told him what they thought he wanted to hear. He sought out people who disagreed, listened to them argue, and then made his decisions. Chirico drafted the 1981 "Faith and Disarmament" speech at Pacific Lutheran, the final form of which eventually appeared in *Origins* 11, no. 7 (July 2, 1981). Hunthausen then participated in an ecumenical day of reflection on war and peace which featured the widely divergent perspectives of Weigel and Meconis (p. 20). His subsequent discussion with Meconis convinced him that tax resistance was the form of protest he was called to do. He then met with Douglass who strengthened the language with "some bold metaphors" (p. 21). Both Chirico (pp. 17–18) and Weigel had strong reservations about Douglass. Weigel remains convinced that one of those "bold metaphors" Douglass contributed to the speech was "Auschwitz of Puget Sound." He argues that Hunthausen's advocacy of nuclear disarmament is "couched in Douglass's language" (Weigel, 1987, pp. 172, 435, nn. 108, 110). Two days before Hunthausen gave the speech, he showed it to Ryan. The text shocked Ryan, and the chancellor urged more temperate language and something short of such a divisive proposal as tax resistance. Hunthausen considered Ryan's arguments for one night, then told Ryan the next day that he had decided to give the talk.

Hunthausen went through similar processes of discernment with subsequent texts such as his Pastoral Letter to the Archdiocese of Seattle, January 29, 1982, on tax resistance, and his speech at Notre Dame the next day entitled "Finding Our Way Back" (Weigel, 1987, p. 435, nn. 109-110; McCoy, p. 304 for citations). Many thought that Hunthausen's decision to engage in tax resistance against the Reagan nuclear arms build-up led to the apostolic visitation. I find this convincing. The process that went into Hunthausen's tax resistance decision epitomizes the consultative leadership style that was clearly an issue during the visitation. Most importantly it gives us an insight into Hunthausen's character and integrity. In what kind of a church would Hunthausen's pastoral decision-making process represent a "flawed ecclesiology" (p. 256)?

It remains to attempt to complicate a bit McCoy's portrayal of those who ordered and conducted the visitation, especially John Paul II and the then Cardinal Ratzinger. McCoy begins his Vatican II chapter with a description of the way the council "fundamentally change[d] the way the Catholic Church would preach the Gospel to the world." He continues: "The core doctrines of God made man in the person of Jesus Christ and manifested in Christ's life, death, and resurrection would remain absolute. But how the church would conduct itself in worship, serve others, and engage the world would change irrevocably" (p. 85).

Surely this was true for Hunthausen and the other bishops at the council in the exhilarating postconciliar days of 1965. But as the implementation of the council continued amid the unfolding tumult of the 1960s and the demographic dissolution of the U.S. immigrant Catholic subculture,

the lid blew off the pot, so to speak, and U.S. Catholics experienced something akin to a Durkheimian “collective effervescence.”

Hunthausen and his supporters were no doubt correct to point out that the liturgical and pastoral experiments the Rome of John Paul II regarded as abuses were indeed widespread in dioceses in the U.S. That was precisely Rome’s problem. Hunthausen, along with Bishop Walter Sullivan of Richmond, VA, would serve as examples to the other bishops. The supreme pastor was free to judge it prudent to give Communion in public situations, without scandal and without desecrating the Eucharist, to his ally President Ronald Reagan and to prominent novelist James Michener (pp. 270–271), neither of whom were Catholics. He also judged it prudent to close off such compassionate pastoral discretion to other bishops and pastors.

When Archbishop Wuerl moved to Pittsburgh, after his brief and painful sojourn in Seattle, he made national news by judging it a violation of church law to wash women’s feet at the Holy Thursday liturgy. Was this an act of heroic witness in the John Paul II mold or a cruel and unnecessary pastoral judgment?

McCoy correctly points out that the early days of the Hunthausen affair in Seattle involved a “culture clash” (pp. 219–220), a near cosmic collision of pastoral and leadership styles. One of Hunthausen’s advisors contrasted the churches of Hunthausen and Wuerl in computer terms: “Wuerl saw the world as digital; Hunthausen saw it as analogue” (p. 220). McCoy succeeds in portraying the pathos of this clash.

But I think McCoy misses something crucial. After 1968, through the next decade, and into the early 1980s, as the Wojtyla papacy began, “the core doctrines of God made man in the person of Jesus Christ and manifested in Christ’s life, death, and resurrection” no longer remained “absolute” (p. 85). In many Catholic theological quarters, even where future priests were trained, the divinity and resurrection of Christ were often treated as open questions. One could no longer trust that pastoral and liturgical judgments in difficult situations came from a strong Christological center. An often-rationalistic erosion of Catholic devotional life during the council’s U.S. implementation made this situation even more acute. As McCoy successfully demonstrates, Hunthausen’s center in Jesus surely held, and this makes his case even more painful.

On the other hand, something was surely amiss in the U.S. church. Initial postconciliar excitement and exhilaration often turned to iconoclastic excess. The question was how best to address it. Here the tragedy of the clash of ecclesial worlds, pastoral approaches, and leadership styles takes on a national scale.

In the years after 1978, John Paul II, with his rigorist approach to difficult questions, redrew and tightened many boundaries within the church. He also succeeded in restoring the Christological center to the council and to the church. He emphasized that Jesus himself was the *Dei Verbum* and the *Lumen Gentium* of the conciliar documents. This was perhaps his greatest achievement.

Dualistic modern natural law theories tend to treat the modern spheres of life such as business, economics, and politics as standalone arenas of moral reasoning that basically run by themselves, but to which Jesus might be superadded or sprinkled on top. With respect to the question of war,

an integral theology of nature and grace such as the pope's, in contrast to dualistic modern approaches to natural law, found it difficult to separate reasoning about war from the example of Jesus. We find an example of this in Chapter III of John Paul's 1991 encyclical *Centesimus Annus*, issued in the context of the 1990 Gulf War, with its Douglass-sounding appeal to the Gospel and "Christ on the Cross."

No doubt such a non-dualistic theology helped to sustain the future pope through the hardships of his life under a Soviet sponsored Polish government. Such a theology and spirituality also helped sustain Henri de Lubac's "spiritual resistance" under Vichy during World War II and the subsequent pain of the theological censures he experienced before Vatican II.

Such an integral theology, however, with its constant appeal to the example of Jesus and his Cross, almost always comes with a strong degree of moral rigor. How does one know they have done enough? Thus, wise spiritual guides often emphasize the mercy of Jesus. As I argued in a memoir published in 2016, the year after McCoy's book, in addition to restoring their Christological centers to both council and church, John Paul II also shrunk the moral space in which Catholics could exercise conscientious, prayerful discernment (Portier, 2016).

In the matter of the 1980s arms buildup, however, the rigorous pope took a more "realistic" approach. He saw a chance to end the Soviet threat and the Cold War. He shared Reagan's vision of an eventual "shift from an arms race to negotiations for reductions to eventual nuclear disarmament" (McBrady, 2015, p. 135). Though the pope, of course, did not, many who advocated this position also spoke of limited, winnable, nuclear war that might take place in the meantime. In his insistence, in the hopes of eventual disarmament, on conditional acceptance of the nuclear deterrent, despite its murderous intent, John Paul II embraced the political realism of an earlier, more dualistic moral theology. Who is to say that I, or any of us, would not have made the same choice?

The bishops judged that they had no choice but to embrace this position in the peace pastoral. This meant rejecting the conscientiously discerned position on the deterrent, advocated by Hunthausen and other peace bishops. The seemingly endless visitation process followed. Though he never claimed to be a theologian, Hunthausen found himself in a position like that of de Lubac, Yves Congar, and others in the 1950s. As did they, he faithfully accepted the judgment of the church. As de Lubac might have put it, he remained a *homo ecclesiasticus*, a person of the church. Happily, Hunthausen lived to see Pope Francis, with his moral approach of pastoral discernment and his witness against nuclear war. He would have welcomed Santa Fe Archbishop John Wester's January 11, 2022, pastoral letter, "Living in the Light of Christ's Peace: A Conversation Toward Nuclear Disarmament," written from "the birthplace of the nuclear bomb."

The tragedy of the Hunthausen affair lies in the collision of moral judgments and spiritual discernments of faithful but inevitably flawed pastors. Despite writing on a fractured landscape, McCoy has effectively managed to portray Raymond Hunthausen as a figure whose witness went creatively beyond words and who still stands as a living challenge of peace.

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