

*Worship
in Spirit and Truth*

Julia A. Upton, RSM

**Worship
in Spirit and Truth**

The Life and Legacy
of H. A. Reinhold

A PUEBLO BOOK

Liturgical Press Collegeville, Minnesota
www.litpress.org

A Pueblo Book published by Liturgical Press

Cover design by David Manahan, OSB. Photo provided by the author,
courtesy of Mrs. Marian Tanasse.

Excerpts from documents of the Second Vatican Council are from *Vatican Council II: The Basic Sixteen Documents*, by Austin Flannery, OP © 1996 (Costello Publishing Company, Inc.). Used with permission.

Scripture texts in this work are taken from the *New Revised Standard Version Bible* © 1989, Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. Used by permission. All rights reserved.

© 2009 by Order of Saint Benedict, Collegeville, Minnesota. All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, microfilm, microfiche, mechanical recording, photocopying, translation, or by any other means, known or yet unknown, for any purpose except brief quotations in reviews, without the previous written permission of Liturgical Press, Saint John's Abbey, PO Box 7500, Collegeville, Minnesota 56321-7500. Printed in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Upton, Julia.

Worship in spirit and truth : the life and legacy of H.A. Reinhold /
Julia A. Upton.

p. cm.

"A Pueblo book."

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

ISBN 978-0-8146-6220-5

1. Reinhold, H. A. (Hans Ansgar), 1897-1968. 2. Catholic Church—
Clergy—Biography. I. Title.

BX4705.R433U68 2010

282.092—dc22

2009037709

In gratitude

*to Fr. Hans Ansgar Reinhold, Obl.S.B. (1897–1968)
for his courage, persistence, and enduring witness
to worship in spirit and truth*

and

*to Nathan D. Mitchell,
Fr. Reinhold's worthy heir,
for his friendship, encouragement, and stimulating ideas
always in the service
of worship in spirit and truth*

Contents

Preface	xi
Acknowledgments	xxiii
Chapter One: Rooted in Germany	1
Chapter Two: Saved for America	21
Chapter Three: Liturgical Movement as Heritage	33
Chapter Four: Spirit of the Liturgy	45
Chapter Five: Quest for Justice	65
Chapter Six: Building on Faith	75
Chapter Seven: Called to the Same Hope	91
Finale	113
Appendix A: Rev. H. A. Reinhold—Chronology	124
Appendix B: H. A. R.	129
Appendix C: Farewell to Father Reinhold: Friend and Teacher	133
Appendix D: H. A. Reinhold, <i>The Dynamics of Liturgy</i>	137
H. A. Reinhold Bibliography	139
Selected Bibliography	157
Index	165

Biography illuminates history, inspires by example, and fires the imagination to life's possibilities. Good biography can create lifelong models for us. Reading about other people's experiences encourages us to persist, to face hardship, and to feel less alone. Biography tells us about choice, the power of a personal vision, and the interdependence of human life.¹

(Matina S. Horner)

¹ Matina S. Horner, preface to Radcliffe Biography series in Robert Coles, *Dorothy Day: A Radical Devotion* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1987), ix.

SALVETE to Pioneer Reinhold!

Who shouted his message so bold.

Some said "He's too fidgety

About all this litagy." . . .

Yet all has come out as foretold.

They said that the great H.A.R.

In the past was way out, by far.

When he wrote *Timely Tracts*

Which gave us the facts,

We were covered with feathers and tar.

Now it's no longer spectacular—

This praying in the vernacular

Though once a sad sin,

It's really quite 'IN';

So let's get with the *ipso factor*

In the basement of Holy Name School

Various liturgists played it real cool

But there was one prophet

Who wouldn't get off it:

He blasted 'till it's now the rule.

Some thought he was really outrageous;

And others said "All ostentatious!"

They needed a jar

From our H.A.R.

(We knew he was true and sagacious.)²

R.B.H.³

(The above were written in haste in the sprung rhythm with ogdenash rimes)

² "Some Occasioned Limericks" (Dedicated doggerel for Father Reinhold's Vernacular Society Luncheon), Box 18, Folder 45, H. A. Reinhold Papers, John J. Burns Library, Boston College.

³ R. B. H. is probably Robert B. Heywood, cited as a member of the Vernacular Society and a student at the University of Chicago in Keith Pecklers, *Dynamic Equivalence: The Language of Christian Worship* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003), 42. Heywood also served as editor for the Committee on Social Thought of *The Works of the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947).

Preface

In academia colleagues often speak devoutly, almost reverently, of their mentors—those who helped them to hone their skills as scientists or researchers. My relationship with this particular mentor, however, is somewhat unusual, because Fr. Reinhold died just as I was coming of age. He first captured my attention not with a memorable course taught by a distinguished professor but with a single paragraph. Working on a research project for Villanova University's Theology Institute in 1997, I was reading deeply into the early years of the liturgical movement in the United States.¹ Writing about the contributions Virgil Michel, OSB, made to the liturgical movement a decade after his death, colleague H. A. Reinhold observed:

It is almost beyond human comprehension to grasp the completeness with which he absorbed everything that Austria, Belgium, and Germany had to offer. But greater yet was what he did with it. Instead of dragging his find across the border as an exotic museum piece, he made it as American as only an American mind can make it. He had seen the high sweep of German ecclesiology and sacramentalism; he had admired the Belgians for their clear grasp of a new spirituality and their critical awareness of all that stood in the way of liturgical, ecclesiastical piety from traditional carry-overs; he had learned in Austria what the common people could gather from the Church's treasure without fright, but he did not come back to force these foreign and incoherent moulds on the American church. Besides, his clear realism and his burning apostle's heart had one urge none of the great masters in Europe seemed to see: the connection of social justice with a new social spirituality. For Virgil Michel the labor encyclicals of Leo XIII and the liturgical reforms of Pius X did not just by accident happen within one generation, but were responses to cries of the masses for Christ who had power and gave the good tidings. They belonged together.²

¹ This paper was subsequently published as, "*Carpe Momentum: Liturgical Studies at the Threshold of the Millennium*," in *At the Threshold of the Third Millennium*, ed. Francis A. Eigo, 103–38 (Villanova, PA: Villanova University Press, 1998).

² H. A. Reinhold, "The Liturgical Movement to Date," *National Liturgical Week Proceedings* (1947): 9–20; here 11.

I was stunned! In one beautifully crafted paragraph not only had this writer succinctly summed up the contributions of Michel but he had also underscored the essential link between liturgy and social justice that I had found so consistently missing from more recent liturgical writings. “When I have time, I want to find out more about this H. A. Reinhold,” I resolved. Time, as you well know, can be so elusive. One does not find it; one must use it judiciously. What we so often lack is the wisdom to use it well. Fortunately God, the source of all wisdom, compensates for our weaknesses and persistently attempts to get our attention, so I found myself drawn into this research project almost without choice.

Later that summer, while on an excursion to Loomis Theological Booksellers in Stillwater, Minnesota, with several other Sisters of Mercy theologians, I was aimlessly wandering through the stacks when my gaze fell upon a set of five books all written by Reinhold—the complete collection of his book-length liturgical writings. “This is for me!” I knew, without giving it a second thought or even looking at the price being asked for the volumes. Something in me knew that whatever the books cost, they would be a priceless investment for me.

That night I picked up one of the volumes, *H. A. R.: The Autobiography of Father Reinhold*.³ From being captivated by an artist’s paragraph I now found myself totally immersed in his intriguing and amazing life, profoundly aware that his contributions to the American liturgical movement had surely shaped my life both as a woman of the church and as a liturgical scholar. Life held other more immediate concerns, however. At that time I was absorbed in caring for my father in his last illness and trying to finish work on another writing project that was nearing completion.⁴ Although I finished reading the autobiography for *lectio*⁵ over the next several months, despite my growing curiosity I did not find time to investigate Reinhold’s work further. I told friends

³ See H. A. Reinhold, *H. A. R.: The Autobiography of Father Reinhold* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968). In reality, this is more a brief memoir than a full-length autobiography.

⁴ See Julia Upton, *A Time For Embracing: Reclaiming Reconciliation* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1999).

⁵ *Lectio* is a monastic practice of sacred reading. Akin to spiritual reading, in *lectio* one spends more time reflecting on and savoring a text, usually Sacred Scripture, always aware of the divine presence in the text and with the reader.

and colleagues about my interest in him, certain this would be my next big project, but the time was not yet ripe.

A big break came in January 1999, however, while I was reading Madeleva Roarke's history, *Father Damasus and the Founding of Mount Saviour*, for *lectio*. An oblate of that monastery myself since 1980 and a friend of Madeleva's as well for all those years, I had long been aware of her interest and research in documenting the history of Mount Saviour. What might seem to others just insignificant facts leaped out at me: Damasus and Reinhold, both natives of northern Germany, had been novices together at Maria Laach in 1922 and remained lifelong friends. In 1966, Reinhold donated his entire library to Mount Saviour and is buried in the cemetery there.⁶

Chills tingled up and down my spine, as if someone had taken me by my shoulders, looked me directly in the eye, and said, "You have been chosen for this work." In that instant my casual yet consuming curiosity was transformed into a serious mission. No questions asked! I knew what was being asked of me, and although I am still filled with awe at the unfolding of the saga, I enthusiastically accepted the responsibility.

I e-mailed Madeleva immediately and told her that I had begun work on a study of Reinhold. She responded with equal enthusiasm, explaining that she would put aside a box of materials from the monastery's archives that I might find helpful, and suggested that I visit soon. Ever eager to lure me back to the monastery for a visit, as a further enticement Madeleva sent me some Xeroxed copies of materials from the archives: obituaries of Reinhold and a copy of his 1967 Christmas letter, written a month before his death. A gold mine! My treasure trove was growing.

Two weeks later, on February 22, 1999, Madeleva died of complications following spinal surgery. With Reinhold she is buried in the oblate cemetery at Mount Saviour, and I trust that they are both enjoying the heavenly banquet and have been urging me on in this collaborative venture.

As I was drawn further and further into Reinhold's life, ministry, and legacy, I gradually came to see that my own life and ministry had quietly prepared me for this project. Not only have I been an oblate of Mount Saviour for almost thirty years, but as I delved deeper into

⁶ J. Madeleva Roarke, *Father Damasus and the Founding of Mount Saviour* (Pine City, NY: Madroar Press, 1998), 23–24.

the project I saw that in my work as a theologian I have continually and unknowingly encountered people who knew or worked with Reinhold.

Once I began to immerse myself in his writings, I came to regard him as a mentor. Although I wish that he had been the inveterate journal-keeper that I am, I discovered that by piecing together his personal correspondence with his writings for publication, and then reading them chronologically, I was able to conclude a good deal about what he was thinking and writing.

In 1964 Reinhold left me the best clue of all. Writing the introduction to a master's thesis that studied his work, Reinhold wrote as if to the future: "If there is a chance to put the thesis into the frame of a doctoral dissertation in the future, I would be flattered. The *Harvard Current*⁷ in its first issue, if I am not mistaken, and the book of Father Hovda (*The Sunday Morning Crisis*)⁸ contain thoughts nowhere expressed in any of my other writings. They would have to be considered in the future with major book reviews and the collection of weekly articles⁹ for the Los Angeles diocesan paper."¹⁰ There he was fairly giving me instructions from the grave!

Just assembling all of those materials proved to be a challenge. For example, book reviews are rarely indexed in databases by the author of the review, but rather by the title and author of the book.¹¹ Tracking down Reinhold's book reviews, therefore, took some interesting and relentless detective work. Some are among his papers preserved in the Burns Library at Boston College thanks to the foresight and diligence

⁷ See H. A. Reinhold, "The Silence and Singleness of Prayer," *The Current: A Review of Catholicism and Contemporary Culture* (May 1961): 61–64.

⁸ See H. A. Reinhold, "Eucharistic Bread," in *Sunday Morning Crisis: Renewal in Catholic Worship*, ed. Robert Hovda, 89–97 (Baltimore: Helicon, 1963).

⁹ See H. A. Reinhold, "Worship in Spirit and Truth," *The Tidings*, January 28, 1944, to August 24, 1945.

¹⁰ H. A. Reinhold, "Introduction," in Blane Brehany, "Aspects of the Liturgical Renewal as Seen in the Writings of H. A. Reinhold and the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy" (master's thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1965), ii–iii.

¹¹ *Book Review Digest Retrospective*, an online database, now allows one to search H. W. Wilson's *Book Review Digest* from 1905–1982 by the name of the reviewer.

of Fr. William Leonard, SJ.¹² Many others were assembled by looking in likely outlets and scanning their annual indexes—tedious, painstaking work, but always with interesting detours into other areas of scholarship.

Another approach I took was working with Reinhold's library, consisting of over 1,100 volumes, which had been donated to Mount Saviour in 1966. Some of the books he was sent for review are among them, which provided a few additional clues needed to find the review indexed. Reading the book reviews alongside his monthly columns in *Orate Fratres/Worship* and somewhat regular essays in *Commonweal* and *Jubilee*, while not exactly like reading someone's journal, is a close approximation, especially since Reinhold often wove everyday experiences into his writings. One quickly learns that he was bold as well as erudite, taking graceful, artistic leaps with words and ideas.

Finding those articles in the Los Angeles diocesan newspaper initially posed another serious challenge. It would have been so helpful if he had given even an approximate time frame for when that series was published. Since the Hesburgh Library at the University of Notre Dame is the repository for all of the country's Catholic diocesan newspapers, I set aside some time to begin looking through old issues of *The Tidings* while on a business trip there, selecting what I thought might be a likely period and working my way through each weekly microfilmed issue. After an entire day at that tedious task, I decided that there must be a more efficient approach to the problem, confident that in time an alternate solution would emerge. Eventually it did. While studying Reinhold's papers at the Burns Library, I came across the correspondence between him and the editor of *The Tidings* commissioning a series of articles in 1944.¹³ My initial hunt had been off by ten years!

In addition to Blane Breheny's thesis, I have also been assisted in this project by the work of those who previously studied other

¹² Active in the liturgical movement from its earliest days, Fr. William Leonard, SJ, almost single-handedly amassed and curated the "Liturgy and Life Collection" housed at the Burns Library at Boston College.

¹³ In a letter dated November 11, 1943, Rev. T. McCarthy invited Fr. Reinhold to write a series of weekly articles under the heading "Worship in Spirit and Truth." "The Tidings," Box 10, Folder 1, H. A. Reinhold Papers, John J. Burns Library, Boston College. As noted previously, the series began on Septuagesima Sunday (January 28, 1944) and continued until August 24, 1945, when it was abruptly terminated by a letter from *The Tidings* editor R. S. Labonge.

aspects of Reinhold's life and mission. One of the earliest of these is a biographical article "H. A. R., Front Line Fighter,"¹⁴ written in 1954 by Warren Bovée, then a journalism professor at Marquette University. I contacted Professor Bovée at the beginning of my research, curious to know if he had met Reinhold while preparing the article. There began a wonderful correspondence, which eventually led to a memorable visit with Bovée and his wife, Gladys, in Milwaukee. Since by then Bovée had retired and given all his papers to Marquette's archives, he accompanied me there, gave me free access to all of his notes and pictures, and regaled me with detailed stories of Reinhold's visit with them. What proved most memorable for both Bovée and his wife was Reinhold presiding at Eucharist at one of the side altars in Marquette's Gesu Church. Bovée's notes read, "those who have been fortunate enough to be in church when Fr. Reinhold is saying Mass can note some . . . effects. He says Mass with such care, such loving devotion that those in attendance might almost be pardoned for considering it a 'unique experience.'"¹⁵

Two other writers studied specific aspects of Reinhold's contribution to the church. Rev. Joel Garner, O.Praem. completed his doctoral dissertation at Columbia University in 1972 focusing on Reinhold as an educator.¹⁶ Jay Corrin, a historian at Boston University, has published two articles that principally explored Reinhold's political involvements.¹⁷ In his later book, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy*,¹⁸ Corrin examined Reinhold's contribution in greater detail.

My research led me to northern Germany, to Hamburg where Reinhold was raised, and to Niendorf and Bremerhaven where he ministered. On a visit to the Abbey of Maria Laach, I had the privilege

¹⁴ Warren G. Bovée, "H. A. R., Front Line Fighter," *Today* 10 (December 1954): 3-5.

¹⁵ Warren G. Bovée, "Father Reinhold Fights On," 1954-1956. Warren G. Bovée Papers (Series 2.4-WGB, Box 2) Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University.

¹⁶ See Joel Garner, "The Vision of a Liturgical Reformer: Hans Ansgar Reinhold, American Catholic Educator" (doctoral diss., Columbia, 1972).

¹⁷ See Jay Corrin, "H. A. Reinhold, America, and the Catholic Crusade Against Communism," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* 105 (Spring-Summer 1994): 47-69; Corrin, "H. A. Reinhold: Liturgical Pioneer and Anti-fascist," *The Catholic Historical Review* 82 (July 1996): 436-58.

¹⁸ See Jay Corrin, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003).

of interviewing Dom Burkhard Neunheuser, OSB, then age ninety-seven, who had also been a novice there with Reinhold and maintained contact with him over the years, particularly during his visits to Mount Saviour with their other classmate, Fr. Damasus Winzen.

In the United States I had the opportunity to spend time with the people of St. Joseph's Parish in Sunnyside, Washington, where Reinhold was pastor for twelve years. Even today more than fifty years after he left the parish and more than forty years after his death, the people of Sunnyside remember Reinhold as a quintessential preacher who never failed to challenge or inspire them. When faced with a moral decision they still ask themselves, "What would Father Reinhold say?"

A firm believer in the importance of Catholic higher education, Reinhold encouraged families to dedicate their resources to ensuring their sons and daughters attended Catholic colleges. Believing parents to be the primary religious educators of their children, he did not establish a Catholic elementary school in Sunnyside, which further exacerbated his difficulties with diocesan officials. In his memory parishioners in Sunnyside established the H. A. Reinhold Scholarship Foundation, which for over forty years has been awarding scholarships annually, continuing to serve Catholic students in his original parishes¹⁹ as he would have.

After forty years of actively working in the liturgical apostolate, and living long enough to experience the initial implementation of post-Vatican II reforms of the liturgy, one might expect that a legend like Reinhold would be exhilarated. In one of his last published articles²⁰ he wrote that although he was "deeply satisfied" with the accomplishments of the liturgical reform of the Second Vatican Council, he believed that what had been achieved to that point was external—only what affects the congregation. "The inner reform is yet to come . . . the visible and audible field of expression will reshape our concepts."²¹

More than forty years later I find abundant evidence that the inner reform for which Reinhold and his colleagues in the liturgical apos-

¹⁹ As pastor of St. Joseph's in Sunnyside, Washington, Reinhold's responsibilities included serving churches in Bickleton, Grandview, Granger, Mabton, as well as Sunnyside.

²⁰ See H. A. Reinhold, "A Liturgical Reformer Sums Up," *New Blackfriars* 46 (1965): 554–61.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 560.

tolate worked has indeed begun to occur. Unlike the more immediate simpler tasks, such as revising texts that have been completed, this task of liturgical catechesis remains the ongoing responsibility of a new generation of disciples. It was relatively straightforward to form *consilii* following the council and charge each with a different aspect of the reform. In the last decade there have been several important works published that will be referenced throughout this study. Although they are not the only ones now available, each is unique enough that taken together they form a foundational library for serious study of the conciliar and postconciliar era of reform, consisting of both primary and secondary sources.

Dom Bernard Botte, OSB (1893–1980), was a monk of Mont César and director of the Institute de Liturgie in Paris from 1956 to 1964. In 1973 his memoirs were published in *Le mouvement liturgique: Témoignage et souvenirs*.²² Unlike all of his other research publications, which were commissioned by various publishers, this work comprises “a message to pass on to the world” because he was “an eyewitness to the beginnings of the liturgical movement, and doubtless . . . the last witness still around.”²³ The excitement I felt when I first read his memoir still stirs in me twenty years later. Having come of age during Vatican II and been excited about its liturgical reforms, I was oblivious to the world and intrigue that led up to the council. Botte does not just open the door to that era, he actually takes the reader inside so you feel as though you are reliving the liturgical movement from a European perspective.

Archbishop Annibale Bugnini served as secretary of the preparatory commission on the liturgy for Vatican II from 1960 until 1962, as a *peritus* (theological expert) of the council and its Commission on the Liturgy, as secretary of the Consilium for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Liturgy (1964–1969), and as secretary of the Congregation for Divine Worship from 1969 until its reorganization in 1975. With that unique perspective Bugnini related the complete story of the process of the liturgical reform before, during, and after Vatican

²² Paris: Desclée et Cie, 1973.

²³ Bernard Botte, *From Silence to Participation: An Insider's View of Liturgical Renewal*, trans. John Sullivan (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1988), xi–xii.

II, including the controversies and intrigue that surrounded the reform and his role in it in *The Reform of the Liturgy: 1948–1975*.²⁴

In 1982 a compendium of over five hundred official documents became available to scholars through the International Commission on English in the Liturgy.²⁵ Published as *Documents on the Liturgy 1963–1979: Conciliar, Papal, and Curial Texts* it remains an important reference for liturgical study, although it does not contain specifically American documents.

The Unread Vision: The Liturgical Movement of the United States of America, 1926–1955 will long remain a classic, for in it Keith Pecklers provides the reader with the social history from which the reform of the liturgy at Vatican II, a vision that is still unfortunately largely unread, emerged.²⁶

A true gem is a monograph by Martin Connell titled *Guide to the Revised Lectionary*.²⁷ He quickly sketches for readers the specific Scripture texts that were not in the Lectionary of the 1962 Missal, responsive to the virtual command in Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*): "The treasures of the bible are to be opened up more lavishly so that a richer fare may be provided for the faithful at the table of God's word. In this way the more significant part of the sacred scriptures will be read to the people over a fixed number of years" (SC 51). Connell helps the reader see how it happened and just how expansive that change was.

The most recent addition to this library comes from Archbishop Piero Marini,²⁸ who served as Master of Pontifical Liturgical Celebrations for twenty years under John Paul II and Benedict XVI from 1987 to 2007. In *A Challenging Reform* he has given the world a wonderful resource by taking the reader behind the scenes—back to Vatican II

²⁴ See Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy: 1948–1975*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1990).

²⁵ See International Commission on English in the Liturgy, *Documents on the Liturgy 1963–1979: Conciliar, Papal, and Curial Texts* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1982).

²⁶ See Keith F. Pecklers, *The Unread Vision: The Liturgical Movement in the United States of America, 1926–1955* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998).

²⁷ See Martin Connell, *Guide to the Revised Lectionary* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1998).

²⁸ Piero Marini, *A Challenging Reform: Realizing the Vision of the Liturgical Renewal, 1963–1975* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2007).

and its original vision, and into the committee meetings that eventually resulted in the reformed liturgy. After forty years even those of us who lived through the council and the era of reform that followed have forgotten the details and sequence of the reform. Too often those who were born after the council think that the reforms happened with the turn of a switch. Marini was privy to all of that history from the inside and in this book he takes the reader back into the meeting rooms where the drama unfolded. For anyone interested in liturgical history this is essential reading, but for any person interested in how the Roman Catholic Church functions this will provide valuable insight.

Texts are an important and essential first step, and understanding how revisions came to be made is essential for a proper appreciation of the reform, but the process of inner reform is longer than our lives. To assist this generation of disciples, I find that there is yet wisdom and energy in Reinhold's life and writings that remain both challenging and inspiring. His voice needs to resound again in the church. In the preface to a biography of another leader in the American liturgical movement, Msgr. Frederick McManus observed that the "tragic loss of continuity with the great figures of our immediate past . . . is intolerable as well as unnecessary."²⁹ This book is my humble effort to correct that wrong. McManus also noted that "the writing of biography surely involves some element of *pietas*, of loyal devotion, esteem, and appreciation."³⁰ McManus was the first person I interviewed for this project, and as it draws near to completion, I hope he would find that this book radiates that "loyal devotion, esteem, and appreciation" that he encouraged as I continued to expand an earlier Reinhold "portrait."³¹

The title chosen for this book had particular significance for Reinhold. As mentioned earlier, "Worship in Spirit and Truth" was the title of a series of weekly articles he wrote for the Los Angeles diocesan newspaper, *The Tidings*, from January 28, 1944, until August 24,

²⁹ Frederick McManus, "Preface" in Noel Hackmann Barrett, *Martin B. Hellriegel: Pastoral Liturgist* (St. Louis, MO: Central Bureau of the Catholic Central Union of America, 1990), ix.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, x.

³¹ See Julia Upton, "H. A. Reinhold: Architect of the Liturgical Movement in America," in *Benedict in the World: Portraits of Monastic Oblates*, ed. Linda Kulzer and Roberta Bondi, 187–97 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002).

1945. Also the title of an essay that appeared in *The Way*³² at the very end of his life, “Worship in Spirit and Truth” (John 4:23) proved to be the overarching goal of his life, a phrase that was woven into many of his other writings, and can be seen as the theme of his ministry in the service of the liturgy—building the church of God.

Although someday I aspire to write a definitive biography of my dear mentor, H. A. Reinhold, this is not that day. It is his voice that I want to have echo in the church again and reverberate in the lives of faithful Christians who strive to worship in spirit and truth. Because his life was so integral to his work, the first part of this book (chaps. 1 and 2) fills out the story that his autobiography only began to sketch. With his life story as a kind of sounding board, in the second part (chaps. 3–6) I turn to the liturgical movement and Reinhold’s writings. I do so not as a historian or biographer but rather as a theologian. Again my goal is not to be exhaustive. Although his entire corpus can be found in the bibliography, in this section I draw out some key themes from Reinhold’s work that I regard as the essence of his unique contribution to the church of his day and ours: active participation, social justice, and liturgical architecture. The final section (chap. 7) returns us to the present with the blessings and challenges of our own time, to listen for what Reinhold has to say to us about needs of ministry in our own day.

Many others have assisted me in this long research journey. I am particularly grateful to my Benedictine friends: Fr. Martin Boler, OSB; Br. Bruno Lane, OSB; and the monastic community at Mount Saviour who on numerous visits allowed me to have access to their archives as well as to Reinhold’s books that have been assimilated into their library. Other members of the extended Benedictine family have also assisted in the project in various ways both directly and indirectly: Joel Garner, O.Praem.; Timothy Joyce, OSB; Abbot John Klassen, OSB; Jane Klimsch, OSB; Linda Kulzer, OSB; Abbot Nicholas Morcone, OSB; Nathan Munsch, OSB; Martin Shannon; and Basilius Sandner, OSB, the archivist at Maria Laach Abbey.

The administration and my colleagues at St. John’s University have not only provided me with the time and resources necessary for research, but many have also helped directly in this research effort by providing translations and references as well as encouragement:

³² See H. A. Reinhold, “Worship in Spirit and Truth,” *The Way* 2 (April 1962): 115–20.

Dolores Augustine, Frank Brady, Maura Flannery, Robert Hendricks, Brian Mikesell, Robert Pecorella, Walter Petrovitz, and Ann Wintergerst. I am particularly grateful to Vasco Lopes, a generous and diligent graduate assistant, and Marina Torre, a most gracious and meticulous proofreader.

Friends and colleagues in the North American Academy of Liturgy and Societas Liturgica, in addition to providing valuable critique, have also given me some important leads: Edward Foley, OFM Cap.; Keith Pecklers, SJ; Fr. Raymond Rafferty; Alexander Röder; Msgr. Wilm Sanders; Msgr. Anthony Sherman; Mike Woods, SJ.

Finally there is a long list of Reinhold's many colleagues and friends who have shared the journey with me. Some have crossed over to the other side and I trust are enjoying the heavenly banquet: Warren Bovée; John Deedy; Fr. Godfrey Diekmann, OSB; Msgr. Paul Lackner; Fr. William Leonard, SJ; Msgr. Frederick McManus; Fr. Burkhard Neunheuser, OSB. Others as of this writing continue to provide assistance: Fr. Edmond Bliven, Msgr. Dermot Brennan, Roger Garrison, Elma Jane Greco, Judy and Vincent Lackner, Justus George Lawler, Robert Rambusch, Jose Ignacio Resendez, William Storey, Marian Tanasse, Kerry Turley, and Fr. Raymond Utz. Their stories and those of many others are woven along with mine here as I introduce you to one of my most intriguing mentors, H. A. Reinhold.

Mount Saviour Monastery
Feast of All Souls
November 2, 2008

Acknowledgments

Excerpts from *H. A. R.: The Autobiography of Father Reinhold* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968). Used with permission.

Excerpt from “The Dry Salvages” in *Four Quartets*, copyright 1941 by T.S. Eliot and renewed 1969 by Esme Valerie Eliot, reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company.

Excerpts from H. A. Reinhold’s column, *Worship in Spirit and Truth*, in *The Tidings* (January 1944–August 1945). Used with permission.

Ruth Duck, “Hope of Abraham and Sarah,” copyright © 2005 by GIA Publications, Inc. All rights reserved. Used by permission.

Permission for the following work was still in process at the time of publication:

Excerpt from “The Dry Salvages” in *Four Quartets*, copyright © 1941 by T. S. Eliot and renewed 1969 by Valerie Eliot, published by Faber & Faber.

Chapter 1

Rooted in Germany

It is said that God never asks anything of us for which we have not been carefully prepared, although that preparation usually precedes our conscious awareness of it. If you look back through your own life or through the life of any person in the public record for that matter, you will find that this is often true. Events and people that might once have seemed inconsequential, in retrospect take on increased significance. Looking backward we find a pattern that was never so obvious in the crushing reality of the present. In some respects the past is never really over because it can continue to shape us, in ways both dramatic and subtle, sometimes by our choosing and sometimes not. This was certainly true for Fr. Reinhold when we look back to his remarkable life.

HAMBURG BEGINNINGS

Hans Emil Alexander Reinhold was born in Hamburg, Germany, on September 6, 1897. While southern Germany at that time was predominantly Catholic, the country's northern cities like Hamburg were almost exclusively Lutheran, and more often than not both Catholics and Jews were treated as outsiders if not downright outcasts. Educated in Hamburg's public schools from the fourth grade on, Reinhold and his Jewish classmates were excused from the Lutheran catechism classes, which threw them together in an unusual alliance. Encouraged by his father, during these years Reinhold began to develop lifelong interests in languages, history, art, and architecture. In time all these interests and relationships would both save and shape his life.

By today's standards, Reinhold would be considered an aristocrat. Although his grandfather had emigrated from Headcastle in Hessen to Hamburg in order to make his living as a carpenter, he eventually turned his skill to real estate, which enabled the family to climb out of near poverty. When Reinhold was a lad, his father took him to see the old neighborhood where he had been raised. Reinhold was appalled at the conditions they found there. By then it was a part of Hamburg that had to be demolished because it was so hazardous. "The roads,

the streets were so narrow that you could reach from one house to the other house across the street. The buildings were made of timber and brick, wooden beams to support them."¹ Although that section of Hamburg was destroyed during the bombings of World War II, today one such block has been restored, and turned into quaint shops and bistros. With just a slight twist of imagination one can easily see how appalling living conditions there might once have been. By the time Reinhold was born, however, the family lived in a more comfortable part of Hamburg, called Heareeste Hude, so "it was quite a jolt," as he wrote, "for me as a boy to see how my father had lived."² It is not surprising, therefore, as we will see later, that throughout his life Reinhold was particularly attentive to those who lived in adverse circumstances and found various ways to be of assistance to them himself and to involve others in the project as well.

Reinhold wrote that he was an "indifferent student . . . high-strung and nervous," but he developed "an avid interest in languages and history, and in art and architecture." The stimulus for all this, he recalled, was his classmates' religion teacher. Students who were not Lutheran were excused from religion classes, which not surprisingly resulted in Reinhold bonding with his Jewish classmates. Once stimulated, however, Reinhold indicated that he became interested in everything, and because his school did not afford him the opportunity to study all the languages he wanted, he took private lessons in Spanish and Italian.³

According to Reinhold his father's favorite pastime with him was to visit Protestant churches on Sunday afternoons, and he recalled that one day he saw an Old Catholic baptism, which was celebrated entirely in the vernacular. He also enjoyed the sermons he heard in those churches, which left the family with the impression "that our own priests could have been more solicitous in their preaching, and above all that the music in our Catholic churches was decidedly inferior."⁴

¹ H. A. Reinhold, "Manuscript for Autobiography," Box 12, Folder 2, H. A. Reinhold Papers, John J. Burns Library, Boston College, 1. This 121-page typescript was edited down to the first chapter of the published autobiography noted previously.

² Ibid., 2.

³ H. A. Reinhold, *H. A. R.: The Autobiography of Father Reinhold* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), 7–8; hereafter cited as *HAR*.

⁴ Ibid., 9.

"Our own parish was an hour away in a slum neighborhood, and had poor sermons and overcrowded, silent Masses. Saint Anthony's was in a working-class district; its furnishings were in appalling taste, but we liked it because the pastor preached well and could always hold our teen-age attention."⁵ Elsewhere he stated that the long walk to Saint Anthony's was pleasant and brought the family through lovely gardens and open spaces. "Above all, we could sing to our heart's delight: a lusty hymn while the priest hurried through the beginning of the Mass."⁶

Reinhold's parents searched for good intellectual training for all their children and transferred his two sisters, Kate and Carola, from one private school to another. Reinhold attended Catholic grade school for the first four years, and then transferred to local public school because of the "uninspired" teaching of the priests.⁷ "It was my mother's idea, heartily endorsed by my father, that we children should learn the social graces. Dancing master—on weekends. I was at first shy and awkward . . . though with time I overcame this timidity. Still, throughout my youth I was soft-voiced, reticent, and quick to blush—always to the dismay of my parents."⁸ Reinhold's parents "created an atmosphere of intellectual freedom in the house," but he also wrote that he had "no grasp of the fine dogmatic structure of Christianity" and knew "virtually nothing of the liturgy." "Only one support of my faith originated from my own inner being. This was the fact that the sacrament of penance was such a strong force in my life. Aside from that, however, my whole experience of faith was external and superficial."⁹

SHAPED BY WORLD WAR I

The family was on a vacation trip through Switzerland, Austria, and the Tyrol in June of 1914 when Archduke Francis Ferdinand was assassinated. Persuaded by government propaganda that Germany had been attacked, the very day he became eligible for military service in 1914 Reinhold joined the field artillery of His Royal Highness, the

⁵ H. A. Reinhold, "Music in the Church," *Today* 14 (April 1959): 17–20; here 20.

⁶ H. A. Reinhold, *The Dynamics of Liturgy* (New York: Macmillan, 1961), 93.

⁷ *HAR*, 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 18–19.

Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, expecting that military life would satisfy him for the rest of his days.¹⁰

Erich Maria Remarque's novel *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929) was released as a film originally in 1930 and rereleased in expanded versions in 1934 and 1939. Based on his personal experience, it tells the story entirely from the perspective of a German foot soldier, shedding light on what the war could have been like for Reinhold since he was one of these. The film has one scene that probably describes perfectly the situation in which young Hans found himself. In the scene, students obviously in a high school classroom are being whipped into an emotional frenzy by their teacher and head directly from class to sign up for military service.

Injured several times in battle and left for dead twice, Reinhold was repeatedly sent back to the front until May 1917 when a shell exploded near his dugout, smashing his right leg. When he was finally released from the hospital in October of that year, military authorities deemed him unfit for front-line service. Therefore, Reinhold applied for admission to language school, hoping to be assigned to army intelligence after training. His language skills were so good, however, that he passed the examinations for English, French, and Italian and was immediately assigned to intelligence work. Although Reinhold found the work ingenious and fascinating, he was also continually confounded. It was obvious to him from the dispatches he translated that the German front was collapsing, but leaders of government, commerce, and industry seemed to be successful in perpetuating an illusion that Germany was winning the war. This conflict forged in him a basic instinct of distrust in government, and probably authority in general as well.

LITURGICAL BEGINNINGS

While recovering from his wartime experiences during the spring and summer semesters of 1919, Reinhold studied philosophy in Freiburg. There he would assist the priest at Mass each morning, take long walks in the pinewoods on the edge of the city, and on free days go mountain climbing on the outskirts of the Black Forest with friends. "It was a great emotional release for all of us after the restraining years of the war. I found peace here."¹¹ It was during this time that Reinhold

¹⁰ Ibid., 23.

¹¹ Ibid., 38.

discovered Romano Guardini's *Vom Geist der Liturgie*¹² soon after its 1918 publication in Germany, which further enhanced his peace and, as we will see, became a turning point in his life.

Romano Guardini (1885–1968) had been a theology student at the University of Tübingen when he first visited the nearby Abbey of Beuron in 1907. He was deeply impressed by the liturgical celebrations at the abbey, where the Benedictine monks were already leaders in the liturgical movement. Guardini returned to the abbey many times for retreats, eventually becoming a lifelong oblate.¹³

Guardini entered the seminary in 1908, studying for the Diocese of Mainz, and was ordained two years later. He began doctoral studies soon thereafter and received his PhD in 1915. From 1916 to 1918 he fulfilled his military obligation by serving part-time as a hospital orderly. Somehow in the midst of all this he managed to write a small manuscript that focused on the essence of liturgical worship. He showed the manuscript to Abbot Ildefons Herwegen of Maria Laach Abbey, who agreed to publish it as the first volume in the abbey's *Ecclesia Orans* series under the title *Vom Geist der Liturgie*. It became a best seller in Germany, where there was a genuine hunger for spiritual nourishment.

In seven interconnected chapters Guardini provides the reader with the underlying principles of liturgy, giving shape to communal worship as well as motivation for personal prayer. Reinhold said that when he discovered the book he stayed up all night reading it through twice. "I got so excited about it that I could not sleep that night, my mind being filled with another and deeper view of my church. The legalistic body of restrictions and commandments which I used to have in my mind and which I used to defend in fierce and dull despair had vanished before the vision of Christ's Mystical Body and the incredible beauty of His Mystical Life among us through His sacraments and mysteries."¹⁴ Guardini's book suddenly gave sense to all that he had experienced; it "proved to be a turning point in my life, giving me not

¹² This small book was not available in English until 1930.

¹³ See Robert A. Krieg, "A Precursor's Life and Work," in *Romano Guardini: Proclaiming the Sacred in a Modern World*, ed. Robert A. Krieg (Chicago: Liturgical Training Publications, 1995), 19.

¹⁴ Warren G. Bovée, "H. A. R., Front Line Fighter," *Today* 10 (December 1954): 3–5; here 4.

so much new insight into the liturgy as a positive attitude towards Catholic teachings.”¹⁵

Guardini was also a leader in the Quickborn Movement, which was a German Catholic youth movement begun by young people in 1910. Although the church sponsored its leadership, it continued to be organized by young people themselves, and in Guardini they found an amazing spiritual director who helped them to make sense out of the turbulent times in which they were living.¹⁶

As a teenager Fr. Burkhard Neunheuser (1903–2003), a monk of Maria Laach Abbey, had been involved with the Quickborn Movement, and he told me that Reinhold regularly queried him about his thoughts and experiences. Their activities centered at Burg Rothenfels castle, which they acquired in 1919 and where they were known for regularly hosting moving liturgical celebrations for young men and women. As we will see, these probing discussions were subtly shaping the way in which Reinhold would later minister as chaplain and pastor.

When the student chaplain at Freiburg suggested that he consider becoming a priest, Reinhold admitted that although he had considered this in his youth, he had changed his mind. He no longer thought that he was cut out to be a priest—that he lacked the “strength of will, the character, the ascetic requirements, and so on.”¹⁷ Intrigued again by the possibility, however, he mulled the idea over in his mind for a while and then decided to try his vocation. With the chaplain’s recommendation, Reinhold enrolled in the seminary at Innsbruck the following year where he enjoyed his studies. Because he believed that he would serve the church better in the South Tyrol, where he had regularly vacationed with his family and where his best images of the church had been forged, he decided to transfer to another diocese. The bishop of Trent, ecclesiastical superior of South Tyrol, accepted him as a candidate and sent him to Bressanone, where German-speaking members of his clergy were trained.

Bressanone (or Brixen, its German name) is located in Northern Italy, nestled in the foothills of the Dolomite mountains between Switzerland and Austria. I remember wondering when I stayed at the

¹⁵ HAR, 38.

¹⁶ See Mike Tyldesley, *No Heavenly Delusion? A Comparative Study of Three Communal Movements* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), 25–27.

¹⁷ HAR, 39.

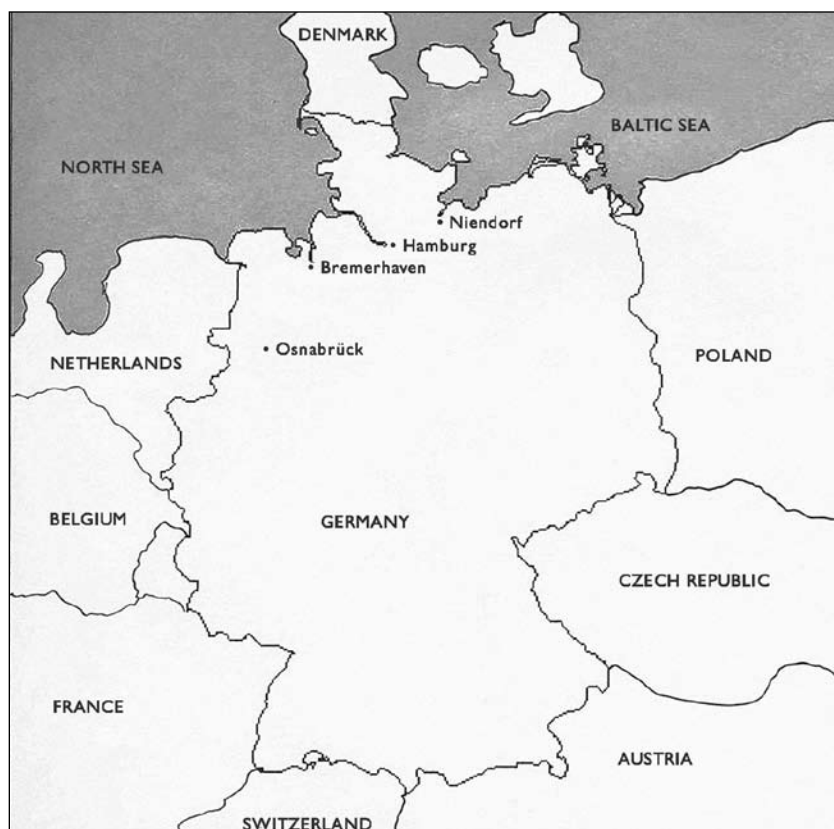


Figure 1

seminary there how anyone could ever be stressed-out living there. The town is encircled by mountains like a scene right out of *The Sound of Music*. Just looking up into the surrounding mountains had an instant calming effect on me.

BENEDICTINE FORMATION AT MARIA LAACH

Reinhold did not stay long at the seminary in Bressanone, for the next great idea to seize him was the desire to be a religious—a Benedictine!¹⁸ Reflecting on his first visit forty years later, he admitted that the approach to Maria Laach was “forbidding.” “The abbey is located in the crater of an extinct volcano, now filled with a rather large

¹⁸ See *ibid.*, 43.

lake rimmed by a dense forest. If you couldn't call this setting gloomy, you would probably choose the word austere. But the spirit inside the abbey was full of life—young life. A great number of novices gave pulsating impetus to the monastic traditions of Maria Laach."¹⁹

Growing up in Hamburg, Reinhold was acquainted with the name of Maria Laach, "a boy in Hamburg High School . . . we lived with the words 'Maria Laach.' We had countless old copies of *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, a title, my parents told me, that sprang from the temporary ownership of the abbey by the Jesuits in the middle of the nineteenth century." From this he concluded that "Maria Laach was synonymous with learning and scholarship."²⁰ Founded in 1093 fifteen miles northwest of Coblenz, Maria Laach came to be dominated by an exquisite Romanesque church and a dome.²¹ Following the French Revolution, however, the monastery was forced to close and the buildings were given over to the Prussian government. Later they were recovered by the Jesuits, and in 1892 the monastery reverted to the Benedictines of the Beuron congregation.

Reinhold saw that Abbot Ildefons Herwegen was an extraordinary man, and under his leadership "an air of charity suffused the abbey."²² Already "an ardent supporter of the liturgical movement in 1907," upon his election as abbot in 1913 Herwegen "was able to enlist the full force of his monastic community and thus became the revered head of the movement toward liturgical renewal. He brought to the work a profound historical sense as well as rich gifts of personality and oratory."²³ "It was a great experience the first time I went to Vespers to see the abbot, at the head of his monks, majestically moving with them up the aisle to the altar to enter choir stalls in grave silence and recollection. Once they began to sing you realized that a new way of life for nineteenth and twentieth century youngsters was indicated

¹⁹ H. A. Reinhold, "Maria Laach Revisited," *Commonweal* 78 (August 23, 1963): 497–500; here 497.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ See Burkhard Neunheuser, "Maria Laach Abbey: A Double Jubilee 1093–1993; 1892–1992," *Ecclesia Orans* 10 (1993): 163–78.

²² Reinhold, "Maria Laach Revisited," 497.

²³ H. A. Reinhold, "Ildefons Herwegen," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967). See also Ildefons Herwegen, "The Liturgy a Pattern of Life," *Orate Fratres* 6 (April 1934): 506–14.

by this service of beauty and profound piety. Only then did I begin to understand the meaning of the liturgy as *Opus Dei*, the work of God.”²⁴

The next morning in the crypt under the main altar, Reinhold was to have his first experience of a “Dialogue Mass,” celebrated facing the assembly by the abbey’s prior, Father Albert Hammenstede. By his own admission and later astonishing surprise, Reinhold held a very conservative position at the time and approached the event reluctantly. The experience moved him so deeply, however, that within the hour he was transformed. Not only was he sold on the concept of the Dialogue Mass and Mass celebrated facing the assembly, but he was later to become their prophet and apostle on both sides of the Atlantic.

“I remained about a week and came back to my home town fully convinced that the only place for me in this life would be the Abbey of Maria Laach as a monk of the Benedictine order. Soon I received a letter from the novice master, Father Simon, informing me that I was accepted and could come in April 1922.”²⁵ Before entering the monastery at Maria Laach, though, with his parents’ permission Reinhold decided to visit Rome again. “No city ever enraptured me so swiftly or so completely as Rome. I can still feel the awe I had on my first visit to the Vatican.”²⁶ where it was actually the city’s architecture that filled him with “limitless fascination.” Reinhold spent three weeks touring Rome before his money ran out, but he did not leave the city before visiting with Stotzingen, the abbot primate, at Sant’Anselmo Abbey. After stopping to visit friends at Innsbruck, Reinhold traveled on to Maria Laach.

Reinhold entered Maria Laach as a novice in April 1922 and was given the name Ansgar²⁷ in honor of the patron of the city of Hamburg and of his home parish. “Most of what I learned of the liturgy and the way of thinking of the liturgical apostolate was given to me in that year,” he would later write.²⁸ “While the liturgical efforts of Maria Laach were directed to the intellectual and the scholar, the intention

²⁴ Reinhold, “Maria Laach Revisited,” 498.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ HAR, 43.

²⁷ There are variant spellings for Reinhold’s patron and religious name. Most often it appears as “Ansgar” but also as “Anscar” and the Latin “Anscarius.” Reinhold himself used variant spellings for his own name. For consistency in this volume I have settled on the more common American spelling “Ansgar.”

²⁸ Reinhold, “Maria Laach Revisited,” 498.

was that eventually the apostolate of the liturgy would be taken up by the people and their pastors."²⁹

The tower of learning in the house at that time was Dom Odo Casel,³⁰ who had recently developed the theology of *mysterium*, which he discussed at great length with the novices. Reinhold described Casel as a "frail, shy man . . . who might have gone through life as a book-worm, whose scholarly research resulted in turning a few things upside down in the well-tended garden of professional theologians."³¹ "The enormous achievement of this quiet monk . . . who never traveled, never lectured, and never produced anything but 'occasional' books, slim in size; who loved solitude and enjoyed company; practiced silence and had more to say than anybody else when he spoke; who preached the glorious pneumatic Christ and was deeply attached to the mystery of the Cross, cannot be measured by me in a short article."³²

During my own visit to Maria Laach in July 2001 I spent long hours in the crypt, drawn to that simple space more than to the magnificent Romanesque church above. The crypt is a tiny chapel today with little decoration, but in it I found myself surrounded by that great cloud of witnesses from Hebrews 12:1. Their presence stoked my imagination and I gave quiet thanks for all that the Holy Spirit had accomplished through their fidelity.

Neunheuser was so gracious to me during my visit to the abbey and he generously shared both his memories of Fr. Ansgar, as he called him, as well as stories about life at the abbey in general. He thought that Reinhold was "too dynamic" for Maria Laach and that was probably the reason he did not persevere. Reinhold was older than the other novices and had not only seen more of the world than his classmates but also, in the fever of battle, had stared down death. Too dynamic? That could be, but my suspicion is that Reinhold was probably more outspoken than a novice in that era was expected to be.

Although Reinhold left the official formation process at Maria Laach within the year, I believe he never really left the community. He became an oblate of Maria Laach on June 11, 1924, and again took the

²⁹ HAR, 47.

³⁰ See H. A. Reinhold, "Dom Odo Casel," *Orate Fratres* 22 (June 1948): 366–72.

³¹ Ibid., 369.

³² Ibid., 370.

name Ansgar.³³ All of his later correspondence with the community is signed Fr. Ansgar, Obl.S.B. Thus he retained his Benedictine identity for the rest of his life, and the relationships with both friends and teachers that began forming in that year at Maria Laach continued to deepen throughout his life. More important for us, however, in that one year Reinhold had so thoroughly absorbed the liturgical mission of Maria Laach that he continued its work for almost fifty years in a variety of ministries as pastor and author on both sides of the Atlantic and both coasts of the United States of America, among thousands of people, through hundreds of articles, and in several important books.

Wherever he went, Reinhold formed community and empowered the laity through the liturgy. During that year he also formed relationships that would endure throughout his life. His friendships with Casel, Neunheuser, and Winzen have already been mentioned here. During that year others passed through Maria Laach, including Msgr. Martin Hellriegel (1891–1981), later also a leader in the liturgical apostolate. Addressing those gathered for the third Liturgical Week, Hellriegel said, “You know, although I was born in a liturgically inspired home in 1890, I was baptized into the liturgy here at Saint Meinrad’s in 1909. I owe my gratitude to Saint Meinrad’s for that; but my *conversio morum* took place at Maria Laach. That was in 1922, when I made a memorable visit there.”³⁴

FORMATION OF THE SEEMANSPASTOR

When Reinhold left Maria Laach in September 1922, after a brief visit home he signed on as assistant purser on the SS *Hamburg* of the German–Austral Line headed for Java, Indonesia. During the voyage he kept a journal, “From Hamburg to Piraeos,” apparently as a gift

³³ Register of Oblates, Abbey Maria Laach, as per letter from Fr. Basilius Sander, OSB, archivist. Records of the exact dates of entrance and exit are not available from that period. Abbey records were partially destroyed at the command of the abbot during the Third Reich, so that during a house search not too much dangerous material would be available.

³⁴ Martin Hellriegel, “Intervention,” *Proceedings of the North American Liturgical Week, 1942*, 142. See also Noel Hackmann Barrett, *Martin B. Hellriegel: Pastoral Liturgist* (St. Louis, MO: Central Bureau of the Catholic Central Union of America, 1990); Barrett, “The Contribution of Martin B. Hellriegel to the American Catholic Liturgical Movement” (doctoral diss., St. Louis University, 1977); Godfrey Diekmann, “Monsignor Martin B. Hellriegel: Holy Cross Church, St. Louis,” *Worship* 38 (August–September 1964): 497–98.

to the Benedictine community at Maria Laach, although it might also have been intended for publication some day. The journal is unique because no others have come to light, and I am grateful to the archivist at Maria Laach for sending me copies not only of the journal but also of all Reinhold's extant correspondence with the abbey.

The thirty-page journal not only documents the journey between October and December 1922 but also explains in vivid detail experiences along the way, carefully translating them for the uninformed reader. He drew small maps as well as little sketches of interesting sights along the way as seen in figure 2. As one might expect, Reinhold was particularly attentive to visiting various churches and participating in liturgical celebrations along the way. He also provided searing critique at times of the naïve worldview held by many Germans. This sharp tone is a clue to the struggles that he experienced at Maria Laach and that would haunt him until death. Furthermore, Reinhold's involvement with the seaman's apostolate truly began in these few months, for he lived their life if only for a season.

By the time the spring semester came around, Reinhold was back in Germany, enrolled at the University of Münster and completing theological studies for the diocese of Osnabrück. Ordained a deacon in 1923, he had the privilege of serving as deacon when Abbot Herwegen consecrated the new Abbess Teresia at Herstelle the following year.³⁵ "Herstelle" is the more commonly used name for the Abbey of the Holy Cross, a community of Benedictine Sisters of Perpetual Adoration in North-Rhine Westphalia where Dom Odo Casel served as chaplain from 1922 until his death in 1948,³⁶ and Reinhold often made retreat there.

On December 18, 1925, Reinhold was ordained to the priesthood at Osnabrück and the following day sang his first Mass at the Ursuline convent chapel there. Invited to speak at the banquet honoring the newly ordained priests, Reinhold used the psalm text, "In your light, O Lord, we will see light." Its enthusiastic reception was the first indication Reinhold had that he could speak.

³⁵ Reinhold, "Dom Odo Casel," 368.

³⁶ See Teresa Berger, *Women's Ways of Worship: Gender Analysis and Liturgical History* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1999), 100–101.

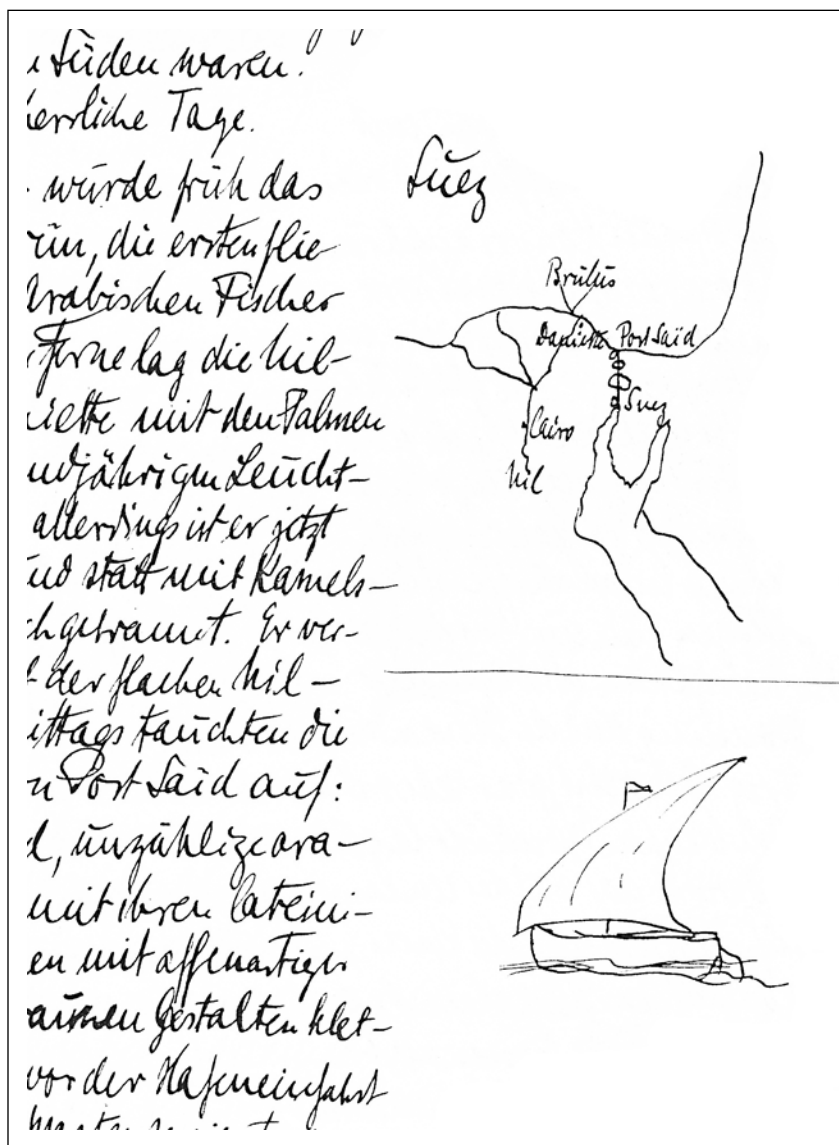


Figure 2

MINISTRY IN NIENDORF

Reinhold's first assignment was to Niendorf, today a charming resort town on the Baltic Sea, reminiscent of many American East Coast sea-side villages, although on a smaller, simpler scale. There he served as chaplain to three houses of Franciscan nuns who cared for convalescent

children and their mothers. The sisters there today explained to me that theirs is a holistic ministry, as it was in Reinhold's era. In addition to providing wholesome food, nursing care in a cheery, airy home open to the soothing seaside air, the sisters also provide religious education for both the children and their mothers. The convalescent home is right on the Baltic Sea, and although I was there on a sunny summer day in 2003, I imagine that it was a very peaceful place for Reinhold to begin his priestly ministry. There he had his own chapel, where the first thing he did was to introduce the Dialogue Mass. By the following Christmas he had added offertory and communion processions and had the congregation singing throughout the Mass.³⁷ Because Niendorf was a resort area, during the summer months priest-guests would often vacation there. Since many had never heard of a Dialogue Mass, Reinhold's liturgical apostolate began in unassuming ways at prayer around that inauspicious table of the Lord, in much the same way as Maria Laach's apostolate began in the crypt.

Many Polish seasonal workers were in the area as well, and Reinhold frequently made long trips to outlying farms to minister to them. When he was away overnight, he would stay in one of their barns or in a makeshift bed in the cramped migrant quarters. In the morning he would say Mass on the kitchen table, facing the family. No one thought that these innovations were surprising, but rather just how things ought to be. He also began a special form of ministry to migrant workers that would later characterize his ministry in Washington State and involvement with the National Catholic Rural Life Conference (NCRLC).³⁸

Reinhold remained at Niendorf for two and a half years, during which time he learned to speak publicly and to manage what was comparable to a parish. Records also show that Reinhold continued to be a benefactor of the sisters' work there long after he left that ministry.³⁹

In the summer of 1928 Reinhold was selected to go to Rome and resume his archaeological studies. On the way, he stopped for a brief stay at Maria Laach and for his first visit to Paris. What he most

³⁷ HAR, 57.

³⁸ Founded in 1923 the NCRLC has supported rural people, family farms, and local businesses throughout the United States.

³⁹ See "Donation Records II," Box 20, Folder 9, H. A. Reinhold Papers, John J. Burns Library, Boston College.

wanted to see in Paris was the Carolingian altar in the Cluny Museum depicting three archangels and St. Benedict, with the mysterious inscription beneath: "*Quis sicut hel fortis medicus soter benedictus prospice terrigenas clemens mediator usias*," what he described as a Latin play on a Greek and Hebrew text. Rendered into English the text reads something like "Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Benedict; gentle intercessor, watch over earth-born beings." Reinhold said that each time he returned to Paris, he visited the museum, forever puzzled by what those words meant.⁴⁰ Having spent many years now living within his life story, I suspect that what really attracted him was the artist picturing St. Benedict with the three archangels.

STUDIES IN ROME

From Paris Reinhold took the train to Toulouse, where he transferred to a train heading for Bressanone, where he had once been a seminarian. There he found a small hotel with running water across from the rail station. The next morning, as he related the story, he said Mass in what he thought was the parish church. A "kindly priest" helped him vest, served at the Mass, and then assisted as he unvested. Only later, as they were talking, did the "kindly priest" happen to mention that he was the bishop of Bressanone. Although the bishop pressed him to remain a few days in Bressanone, Reinhold was anxious to get on to Rome to take up his archaeological studies.⁴¹

Back in Rome, Reinhold was a resident student at the Campo Santo Teutonico, the German Theological College with a high-walled cemetery located immediately beside St. Peter's Basilica. There he enrolled at the newly-established Pontifical Institute of Archaeology,⁴² but when

⁴⁰ HAR, 61.

⁴¹ Ibid., 61.

⁴² Originally a commission established by Pius IX (January 6, 1852) "to take care of the ancient sacred cemeteries, look after their preventive preservation, further explorations, research and study, and also safeguard the oldest mementos of the early Christian centuries, the outstanding monuments and venerable Basilicas in Rome, in the Roman suburbs and soil, and in the other Dioceses in agreement with the respective Ordinaries," with the *motu proprio I primitivi cemeteri* of December 11, 1925, Pius XI made the commission pontifical, expanding its powers and establishing the degree-granting institute. See Pontifical Commission for Sacred Archaeology, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_commissions/archeo/inglese/documents/rc_com_archeo_pro_20011010_pcas_en.html (accessed May 15, 2009).

Bishop Berning asked a few months later that he interrupt these studies to take on a special assignment, Reinhold said he felt no regret. He did not consider the faculty at the institute to be first-rate, found the library holdings meager, and was appalled at the “shoddy approach” to the liturgy. In one of his most honest personal assessments he wrote, “I suppose that at bottom I lacked what the Germans call *Sitzfleisch*—the ability to sit still, a liking for the sedentary life of the scholar.”⁴³

SEEMANSPASTOR

The assignment the bishop had in mind for Reinhold was an ambitious one—to serve as the bishop’s secretary for the seaman’s apostolate, responsible for the entire coastal area of Germany. In this capacity he was expected to set up a foundation to support the work and establish a number of seaman’s clubs in port cities. Headquartered in Bremerhaven, Reinhold embarked on his new assignment with fervor if not enthusiasm. To the task he brought with him not only his facility with languages, but also his brief experience aboard the SS *Hamburg*, which gave him an intimate understanding of the seaman’s lifestyle and mindset.

Although the seaman’s apostolate had been established in Germany in 1925, its effectiveness was not ensured until Reinhold’s appointment as *Seemannspastor* in 1929. Peter Anson, who wrote extensively about the seaman’s apostolate, described Reinhold’s holistic approach to the ministry. During a visit to Bremerhaven in early December 1929, shortly after Reinhold had begun his work there, Anson described their conversations in which “Fr. Reinhold expounded his views on the nature of the Catholic sea apostolate. I discovered that they went much deeper than those of the average priest and were based just as much on a profound study of philosophy and theology, not to mention liturgy, as to an immediate sense of the need for purely religious and social work.”⁴⁴ “Let the seamen pray and sing the Mass, not at Mass—as we do it already in Hamburg,” he instructed. “Show them Christ as He is. Teach the sailors to read and meditate on the Gospels.”⁴⁵

⁴³ HAR, 62.

⁴⁴ Peter F. Anson, *Harbour Head: Maritime Memories* (London: John Gifford Limited, 1944), 176.

⁴⁵ Peter F. Anson, *The Church and the Sailor: A Survey of the Sea-Apostolate, Past and Present* (London: Catholic Book Club, 1948), 144.

Today we would say that Reinhold established “base ecclesial communities” among the seamen, but his own words are far more descriptive and cut to the quick. It captures his personality as well as his perspective, which we will see develop throughout his life and ministry.

A seamen’s chapel is not a store-house for cheap plaster statues, oleographs and artificial flowers, with imitation stained-glass windows of stuck-on paper. It is the place where our seafaring brother meets Christ in His Liturgy and a room for private prayer. So do not allow pious but ignorant people to put up images or pictures of their favourite saints—bought in a “Catholic repository”—in every empty space. The one thing necessary all seamen need is the knowledge of Our Lord and vital contact with Him through the Sacraments. There are many good things which are superfluous for our seamen’s religious life which is necessarily reduced to the essential and necessary things. So let your chapel be plain and dignified, bright and warm in colours. Bring the sailors close to the altar, so that they may not fail to pray and sacrifice Mass *with* their priest. A “Dialogue Mass” is absolutely necessary if we want to give seamen a firm conviction that Sunday Mass is more than a duty and a legal formality. Dedicate your chapel to the Good Shepherd, Our Saviour, Christ the King (and not to your own pet saint) in order to concentrate all their love and energy to our Lord. Statues or paintings of Our Lady, St. Peter and a local saint will be sufficient for a seamen’s chapel, and keep their thoughts on the necessary and fundamental needs of their spiritual life. *Non multa sed multum.*⁴⁶

In every essay Reinhold wrote for those engaged in the seamen’s apostolate he emphasized the need for the ministry to “concern itself with the social problems of seafarers, be based on an intimate knowledge of their lives in these times, and attack the evils by an intensive spiritual and educational program.” He even visualized retreats for seamen in every large port.⁴⁷

Although Adolf Hitler had not yet come into power when Peter Anson visited Reinhold and his Seaman’s Institute in Bremerhaven in 1929, Anson noted that Hitler’s “Party” was often spoken about and “one was conscious of a feeling of acute pessimism in the air.”⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Anson, *Harbour Head*, 180–81.

⁴⁷ Anson, *The Church and the Sailor*, 145.

⁴⁸ Anson, *Harbour Head*, 176.

Although there was no longer a Catholic Seamen's Institute in Bremerhaven when I visited there in 2003, I was able to visit a Seamen's Institute sponsored by the Lutheran Church. The director shared with me what he had learned from his predecessors in the ministry who were active in the apostolate during World War II. It was like hearing an echo of Reinhold's words.

"Everything in Germany was in turmoil at this time," Reinhold observed. "Hitler's power was growing, communism was taking root, and the moderate parties had lost control of the government. . . . I was greatly alarmed by the evident progress of Nazism and communism in Germany, and foresaw either a civil war or terrible revolution."⁴⁹

Reinhold drew up "naively," as he wrote, a plan in which Catholics would seize the initiative and restore balance in the German government. "The Church would surrender all properties which were of no direct social use; mansion-like rectories would house the poor; convent schools would educate the children of the poor; and the bishops would lead their people in this act of sacrifice by donating large sums of money to impoverished areas."⁵⁰ Such idealism and gospel consciousness clad Reinhold with a cloak of suspicion, and the government took covert action to get him out of Germany. Between 1932 and 1935, when he was eventually expelled from Germany by the Gestapo, Reinhold made five all-expense-paid trips to New York, courtesy of the shipping lines. Although he spent most of the trip in the kitchen and below deck, trying to interest the men in the mission, Reinhold spent time aboveboard as well. "The contrast was dramatic. Champagne and sumptuous dinners were served throughout the day, while back home in Germany a depression was ravaging the land and men roamed the streets searching for food. When there is this kind of disparity, only calamity can ensue."⁵¹

For Reinhold calamity struck on January 30, 1933, when Hitler was named chancellor. Because Reinhold was already unpopular with the Nazis, Bishop Wilhelm Berning no longer thought the coastal city Bremerhaven to be a safe place for Reinhold's ministry and therefore

⁴⁹ HAR, 66–67. For a complete analysis of Reinhold's difficulties with the Nazi regime see Jay P. Corrin, "H. A. Reinhold: Liturgical Pioneer and Anti-Fascist," *The Catholic Historical Review* 82 (July 1996): 436–58.

⁵⁰ HAR, 67.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 68.

reassigned him further inland to the port city of Hamburg.⁵² There Reinhold continued his work among the seamen for another two years. In his chapel, with an altar facing the congregation, a Dialogue Mass was celebrated every Sunday, with the enthusiastic participation of all. In 1934, when the annual convention of the International Seamen's Apostolate was held in Hamburg, the archbishop of Edinburgh came to celebrate Mass at Reinhold's chapel. Although he was a Benedictine, the archbishop had never participated in such a Mass. Thus, in small but boldly persistent and courageous ways Reinhold's influence and his liturgical apostolate continued to develop in Germany until the inevitable occurred. He wrote, "It was perhaps the saddest day of my life when this hard job after exactly six years of up-hill work was taken out of my hands by five agents of the secret political police on April 30, 1935, and I had to sit down at my own desk to sign the receipt of the decree banishing me from all contacts with the sea and her men 'according to Section I of the Law of the Reich President for the Protection of People and State' under which I had to leave the coast that very afternoon."⁵³

Reinhold was instructed to leave the city at once, by way of a particular bridge that would head him toward Munich, which he was instructed was to be his next place of residence. He was given a two-hour reprieve, however, to bid farewell to his mother. On his way out the officer placed a packet containing Reinhold's passport and visa on the secretary's desk, which the secretary concluded was a benevolent hint for Reinhold to leave the country immediately. The secretary, a British citizen, served as a protection while he first visited his mother and then drove to Osnabrück to meet with Bishop Berning, who immediately contacted the Gestapo trying to remedy the situation.

⁵² According to Robert Krieg, Bishop Wilhelm Berning of Osnabrück and Archbishop Conrad Gröber of Freiburg held favorable views of Hitler. See Robert Krieg, *Catholic Theologians in Nazi Germany* (New York: Continuum, 2004), 6.

⁵³ H. A. Reinhold, "The Sea for Christ!" *Commonweal* 25 (March 12, 1937): 549-51; here 551.

