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Closest to the Heart – The Life of Emerson Hynes:
A Biographical Study of Human Goodness with a Focus on the College Years

A dissertation presented

by

Jeanne Lorraine Cofell

to

The faculty of the School of Education of the University of Saint Thomas

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Education

March, 2014

UNIVERSITY OF SAINT THOMAS

St. Paul, Minnesota

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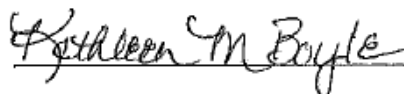
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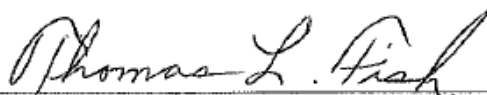
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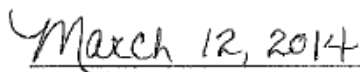
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**Closest to the Heart – The Life of Emerson Hynes:
A Biographical Study of Human Goodness with a Focus on the College Years**

Jeanne Lorraine Cofell

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Abstract

This study examined human goodness as lived through the life of Emerson Hynes with a focus on the college years. Emerson Hynes was an ethics and sociology professor at St. John's University during the 1940s and 50s before he became legislative assistant to Senator Eugene McCarthy. He cared deeply about ethics and was a leader in family life, teaching, rural life and the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, publications, advising, and legislative work. Influenced by Rev. Virgil Michel and the Benedictines, Hynes was a proponent of Catholic social justice, personalism, and distributism. He lived by an ethic of conversation and philosophy of the soil, and promoted flourishing rural life as the best possibility for a healthy society and culture.

Primary research methods were biographical, historical, and social science portraiture. Biographical methods were influenced by John Shoup's synthesis on influences of exemplary leadership. Historical methods included archival research, oral histories, geography of place, and writings by Hynes. Portraiture methodology was attentive to context, voice, and relationship in order for themes of goodness to emerge to illuminate the aesthetic whole.

An overview of the life of Hynes is provided. The study then focused on three aspects of Hynes's college years at St. John's University in Collegeville, Minnesota: the influence and mentorship of Rev. Virgil Michel, his formal education, and his rich extracurricular life. These three key influences intertwine with the purposeful nature and ethical outlook of Hynes's adult life.

Five reflective themes emerged: a philosophy of the soil – the soil that brings forth food to feed all beings and is the basis of growth for the oxygen all beings breathe –

as foundational for all activity of life including love, ethics, and relationships; the importance of mentorship and its unique possibilities in the college years and implications for college teachers; a pedagogy of student engagement and conversation as a primary platform toward supporting transformational learning in the ethical realm; an ethic of conversation as fundamentally necessary toward action in the world; and accessing human goodness as an approach to support human flourishing.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to those who in essential ways have been foundational to this dissertation. First of all, I acknowledge my ancestors, who brought forward to me the value of the human person, the irreplaceable treasure of the land and natural world, and the appreciation for Mystery. In particular, I am immensely grateful to my parents, William and Lorraine Cofell, who continually model dignity of being, unconditional love, lifelong learning, and are exemplars of human goodness.

I am grateful to Emerson Hynes, whose life was such that I heard deep respect in the voices of people who spoke of him many years later, and to Arleen, whose life drew out beauty in others. Special gratitude goes to the children of Emerson Hynes who I was able to meet and talk with: Denis Hynes, Patrick Hynes, and Mary Hynes-Berry. Mary shared a wealth of materials, ongoing insights, time, many phone calls, and a heart of love. Thanks also go to Mary and her husband Gordon Berry for hosting me and my family for multiple visits.

I am grateful to many people who also assisted through interviews, emails, letters and shared materials: LeMay Bechtold, Bob Bray, Lorraine Cofell, William Cofell, Justin Doyle, Art and Monica Erler, Mary and Mark Hughes, Roger Nierengarten, Jody O'Connell, Kathrine Powers, Frank Roehl, Sy Theisen, Hilary Thimmesh, and Karl Vander Horck.

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and ever-present possibility of what it is to be human. Kate Boyle deserves special thanks for individual guidance on the dissertation, for her steadfast faith in me, and her lived example of a humane and caring scholar.

I want to thank the librarians Elizabeth Knuth, David Klingeman, Emilie Casebolt, who copied and scanned hundreds of documents, and especially Peggy Roske, who patiently and thoroughly assisted my research.

I thank Art Spring, who tapped me on the shoulder now and again to turn my head to the holiness of life and profound worth of the human person and who guided me in mysterious ways. Thanks to Ann Marie Biermaier, Teresa Schumacher, and the beautiful women of Studium at the St. Benedict's Monastery who provided space, warm hospitality, and blessed coffee breaks for six months of my study. I am also grateful to Liz McClosky, who shared interests and a parallel journey. I thank my dear friends Colleen Anderson and Beth Rademacher for their patience and love. My gratitude to my thoughtful and cherished friend Terry Johnson, who helped me enormously in suggesting I narrow the focus to the college years and for being ever interested in my work.

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I have very special gratitude to Kieran and Natalie; Emerson, Brittany, and Charlotte; and Liam, who all have taught me so much about what matters in life and for all the joy and love they bring. I owe a debt of appreciation to Kieran, who with trustworthy intuition turned my attention to both the pursuit of a doctorate as well as Emerson Hynes as subject of a biographical study.

My deepest gratitude to the love of my life and best friend, Patrick, who kept the house warm and clean, provided nourishment and laughter, proofread, helped me think and dream, and who was always interested, always ready to listen and converse, and to think about human goodness, of which he is an extraordinary exemplar.

Chapter 1

Introduction to the Study

True dignity abides with him alone
Who, in the silent hour of inward thought,
Can still suspect, and still revere himself,
In lowliness of heart.¹

This dissertation is a biographical investigation of human goodness. I investigated one life, the life of Emerson Hynes (1915-1971), who was considered by those who knew him to be a good person and an ethical person, someone who valued ethics and strove to live ethically. Specifically, after providing a basic biography of his life, I examine Emerson's college years to investigate formative influences that contributed to his ethical outlook and leadership. Through this research of a life lived out in time and place, I analyze what college years reveal about an emerging adult's developing ethical self, a self capable of a unique form of goodness. In this chapter I begin with my reflexive statement, and then I describe the problem and consider theoretical lenses. Last, I present related theories and my thinking on leadership.

Reflective Statement

When hiking in rural Mexico during college, my comrades and I encountered a farmer alone in a field working rough ground with a well-worn hoe. His craggy brown skin, leathery from long hours in the sun, intimated a life in this field I would cross only twice. He worked hard at his labors, yet his tattered sandals barely hung on his feet, and his threadbare clothes did not hide his gaunt, bent body. I assumed that this man,

¹ William Wordsworth, "Lines Left Upon a Seat in a Yew-tree," In *Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. Henry Reed, (Philadelphia: Troutan & Hayes, 1852), 38.

working hard and long days, was distressingly poor. Later that same day a fellow student made a purchase at the local market with the remark, “I deserve it.” I recalled the struggling farmer and thought to myself, “Doesn’t he deserve it too? Could he afford it?” Since that time, I understand more clearly that what I have and how I live is not as much due to my own hard work as to time and place and certain privileges to which I was born. I am not rich by American standards; most of my life I have lived paycheck to paycheck, however, by world standards I am wealthy. I think of the farmer in Mexico often; I am not comfortable knowing I have more than him and many people in the world, but having lived with very low income for many years, neither do I want to give up the comforts that I now have. I know most certainly, though, that I am not more deserving of comforts than the farmer in Mexico. I imagine his bones ache more at the end of the day than mine.

The traditional college-aged student is generally considered to be in a stage of identity development.² For those of us fortunate to attend college, the people we encounter and the experiences we have in college hold the potential to be formative in lifelong thinking and also in how we respond to the world. While I had only briefly glimpsed the life of the farmer I encountered in Mexico, imagining his story has influenced how I consider living, that is, it has influenced my ethical life. Consideration of the ethical life poses two fundamental questions, “What sort of person should I be?” and “How should I live?”³

Naturally there are many formative influences that inform how any person considers the questions “How I will live?” and “Who will I be?” Certainly my parents’

² Susan R. Jones and Elisa S. Abes, *Identity Development of College Students: Advancing Frameworks for Multiple Dimensions of Identity* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2013).

³ Tony Cunningham, Personal communication, 2008.

exemplary lives and their stories provided examples of ethical living. Also, I grew up in the shadow of St. John's, which included the abbey, university, and preparatory school, and the intellectual community of Collegeville, Minnesota that included artists, professors, and writers dedicated to Catholic renewal and rural living. Without knowing what it was, I absorbed Catholic social teaching. My background provided a lens of readiness to observe and consider the farmer in Mexico in a certain framework, but it was college that provided this experience in which I could grow in awareness and apply a developing ethical outlook. Ethical development is a lifelong process, yet college is a time of unique growth and potential.

Building on family and community influence, college can be powerfully formational for *goodness*, that is, the ethical life, which in turn affects exemplary leadership, that is, leadership with an ethical center. I suggest this is particularly true when the college experience offers exemplary mentors, meaningful education, and a plethora of apprenticeships that are a significant part of the experience.⁴ This work is a historical investigation of these formational factors during the college years of Emerson Hynes.

Emerson Hynes was my godfather as well as ethicist and colleague of my father at St. Johns University. He lived next door in our tiny village near St. John's Abbey. He participated in circles of Christian social thinking and Catholic renewal. Hynes was a student of and then later correspondent with Father Virgil Michel, a monk with a consciousness of justice, common good, and human rights, who joined social action with the liturgical movement. Hynes considered Michel to be one of the most vital Catholic

⁴ John R. Shoup, *A Collective Biography of Twelve World-Class Leaders: A Study on Developing Exemplary Leaders* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2005).

leaders of his time and one chapter of this dissertation will further probe Michel's influence. Hynes researched and wrote about rural life and family life. He was recognized for both his high regard of and his skills in respectful and thoughtful conversation. Although Hynes moved from my rural neighborhood when I was quite young, all my life I heard stories about Emerson that increasingly deepened my interest in him, his ethical beliefs, and how he lived an ethical life.

While my attention to the life of Emerson Hynes stems in part from my childhood, it also transpires from my current interests and professional life. I, too, deeply value rural community and agrarian living, and I believe that relationship with the natural non-human world is essential to human growth and development. As did Emerson, I think that healthy families will build healthy communities and nurture healthy solutions. I, too, believe authentic conversation, that is, conversation that unites a probing, thoughtful intellect with the heart of love and an attentive listening ear, has the potential to be transformative and unifying in human relations. I recognize, as Emerson did, that we experience life holistically and thus believe that practicing balanced living and authentic conversation is critical to human flourishing.

Emerson Hynes seemed to understand that opportunities for exemplary leadership do not singularly occur in executive positions. Exemplary leadership occurs in authentic conversations in classrooms, small and large groups, families, one-to-one dialog and in what I call "leadership of self."⁵ Just as ethical living essentially begins with how one conducts oneself in moments large and small, so does leadership. I am drawn to the life of Emerson Hynes in part because his style of leadership resonates with me. I have no

⁵ Jeanne Cofell, *Walking: A Narrative of My Leadership Journey* (unpublished work, 2010), 7.

desire to promote myself as an executive leader, yet I value an essential leadership style I call 3-D leadership.

3-D leadership implies a three dimensional reality, encompassing the concepts of dignity, democratic process, and dialogue. Dignity is, as described by the Oxford English Dictionary, “the quality of being worthy or honorable; worthiness, worth, nobleness, excellence.”⁶ Dignity leadership begins essentially with leadership of self, that is, the quality of our being, but never remains with self. Democratic leadership is philosophically grounded on the potential of human creativity with the aims to “*share power* (by dispersing leadership), *share hope* (by extending opportunities to realize human potential) and to *share the fruits of society* (through fair distribution of resources and cultural respect).”⁷ This most often begins and flourishes best with dialogic leadership, where the participants engage in authentic conversation and fluctuate organically in roles of mover, follower, opposer, and bystander.⁸ The aim of 3-D leadership is perhaps best summed up by Lord Jonathan Sacks: “the highest form of leadership is empowering others to lead,”⁹ and it transpires in the dynamic potential of daily living.

Every generation needs to engage in dialogue, dialogue with respect for the land, for the whole person, dialogue with respect for dialogue. I share with Emerson the agency of being engaged in dialogue in the dynamic potential of daily living. Each of us is a leader in dialogue in our own time and place and I take inspiration from the life of

⁶ “Dignity,” Oxford English Dictionary, accessed September 28, 2013.

<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.csbsju.edu/view/Entry/52653?redirectedFrom=dignity#eid>

⁷ Philip A. Woods, *Democratic Leadership in Education* (Thousand Oaks: California, 2005), xii-xiii.

⁸ William N. Isaacs, “Dialogic Leadership,” *The Systems Thinker* 10:1 (February, 1999) 1-5.

⁹ Sacks, J. and Tippet, K. “The Dignity of Difference,” *On Being*. (2010). Radio broadcast accessed May 23, 2013, (no page numbers available, see the last six paragraphs of the interview).

http://www.onbeing.org/program/dignity-difference/transcript/4836#main_content

Emerson Hynes. The exploration of Emerson's life affirms to me that human communication via authentic and thoughtful conversation is fundamentally a form of leadership and critical for ethical living in the world. Essential to purposeful conversation is the perspective that "one must respect everyone for what they are," which was an essential lesson Hynes daughter, Mary, took from her father. She, perhaps, put it best that Emerson's story could be a "biography of a very profound ethical principle."¹⁰

Emerson Hynes and his wife Arleen,¹¹ a leader in the field of biblio-poetry therapy,¹² strove to live out their ethical values with their ten children. Their lives revolved around rural living, the home, and cooperative economy. Emerson was a leader in a Catholic rural parish and community. He authored articles and books. As a professor of ethics and sociology at St. John's University, he was admired by colleagues and students. Profoundly influenced by Catholic social thinking, he was a visionary who became a key figure in the National Catholic Rural Life Conference (NCRLC).¹³ He also contributed to the intersection of the NCRLC and the American Liturgical Movement (ALM) during a dramatic period of reform in the Catholic Church.¹⁴ In 1959 Emerson Hynes moved to Washington D.C. and became Senator Eugene McCarthy's legislative assistant, Chief of Staff and a chief advisor. In the midst of the social turmoil of the 1960s, McCarthy challenged President Johnson for the democratic nomination and

¹⁰ Mary Hynes Berry, personal communication, October 18, 2010.

¹¹ More information on Arleen Hynes can be found in Liz McCloskey, *Sacred Text: Constructing a Spiritual Biography of Arleen McCarty Hynes*, Washington D.C., Catholic University, dissertation to be completed in 2014.

¹² Arleen McCarty Hynes and Mary Hynes-Berry, *Biblio-Poetry Therapy: The Interactive Process: A Handbook* (St. Cloud, MN: North Star Press of St. Cloud, 1994).

¹³ Owen Lindblad, "Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation," In *Benedict in the World: Portraits of Monastic Oblates*, Ed. Linda Kulzer and Roberta C. Bondi, (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2002), 129-40.

¹⁴ Michael J. Woods, *The Intersection of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference and the American Liturgical Movement, 1920-1960*, Dissertation, (Catholic University: Washington, D.C. ,2008).

brought the Vietnam War to the forefront as the ethical issue of the time, changing the course of the 1968 election.¹⁵ Emerson's life was lived in rural and urban contexts during times of profound challenge and change in the home, church, and country.

Although Emerson Hynes was my godfather, I do not remember him well. Because he moved away when I was quite young, many of my early perceptions of him were based on how people talked about him. Certainly as my godfather Emerson Hynes resides in a certain emotional and symbolic realm, and consequently I paid attention when people spoke of him. I always noticed deep regard and respect, not awe, but on the side of awe. Without me asking or without people knowing he was my godfather, I often heard what a remarkable, intelligent and good man he was. I observed that he was/is perceived as exceptional by those who knew him well, and thus it has always been pleasing to me that Emerson Hynes was my godfather. Therefore, this biography is an investigation into the story of a good man and it is also a search for the man who held me at the baptismal fount.

Stories help “explain the developmental progression of our lives (and our current state of being).”¹⁶ The story of Emerson Hynes is part of my own story; bringing to light his narrative is part of my own quest for deep learning. I believe his narrative has relevance for others as well. Emerson Hynes believed one's life is, essentially, a moral endeavor, and his ethic of justice and work for the common good was a lived example integrating leadership of self, family, community, profession and the political arena.

¹⁵ George Rising, *Clean for Gene: Eugene McCarthy's 1968 Presidential Campaign* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1997).

¹⁶ Sarah Noonan with Tom Fish, *Leadership through Story: Diverse Voices in Dialogue* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Education, 2007), 56.

Sometimes teased as “Ethical Emerson,” his daughter Mary said, “Ethics was closest to my father’s heart.”¹⁷

The tones of high regard that I noticed when people spoke of Hynes influenced my impressions of him, and thus I am aware of my bias of him as a good man. Yet this sense of regard was confirmed time and time again in interviews. I do not naively regard Emerson as perfect. While an exemplary human being, Emerson Hynes was just that, human. While I recognize that Hynes, as with us all, had limitations and human weaknesses, the purpose of my study is to study goodness, and that will be the core focus of my investigation.

I did not know Emerson well, as mentioned, nor was I exceptionally close to his wife Arleen, who outlived him by many years. Emerson moved away from Colledgeville, the small neighborhood in which I grew up, to Washington D.C. when I was about two and one half years old. I was fourteen when he died. My only memory of Emerson was when he was back from Washington for a visit when I was five years old, and he stopped by to see my father. I stood in the living room with my hands securely lodged behind my back and pressed against the piano, refusing to let Emerson kiss my hand. He was very gentle, and there was a brief moment when my father and Emerson tried to persuade me to allow this gentlemanly gesture to his goddaughter, but to no avail. I simply refused. I had no desire for anyone to kiss my hand. I was determined that he would not. He left graciously and kindly, and I seem to remember smiles and some bit of humor on the faces of both men. This is my only memory of him; it does not feel like a pleasant or unpleasant memory, other than the unpleasantness of being put on the spot when one is five years old. It is just a memory.

¹⁷ Mary Hynes-Berry, personal communication, May 23, 2009.

Perhaps not personally knowing Emerson well limits my qualifications to take this role as investigator into his life; I know certainly I am not the most gifted person to do so, and I regret the shortcomings that are inevitably to be found in this work. Further, I feel a keen loss that, while I was not totally remiss, I was hopelessly slow to realize the preciousness of possibility in knowing Arleen better when, after Emerson's death, she returned to the Collegeville area to join St. Benedict's Monastery. It is a regretful case of being consumed with the demands of one's own life and realizing too late and too sorrowfully what might have been. May the saintly spirits of Emerson and Arleen look upon me with the love and acceptance as they did in life.

I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to undertake this investigation. It has been a pleasure to think deeply about this era of Collegeville history, a part of my own history. It has been an honor to meet with family members of Emerson and benefit from their conversational gifts. I have been honored also to interview his colleagues, neighbors, and students and likewise share in conversations. I had many wonderful conversations with my own parents, who were Emerson's neighbors, and I am grateful for their memories and thoughts that contributed to my investigation, enriched my outlook, and encouraged my efforts. My experience in conversation with such remarkable people has been the highlight of this project and has confirmed the transformational potential inherent in thoughtful conversation.

Statement and Significance of the Problem

My research study is a historical biographical investigation of the life of Emerson Hynes. After providing an overview of his life, I then focus on the college years. I use the criteria of Colby and Damon to describe Emerson Hynes as a moral exemplar: "the

individual exemplifies some widely shared ideas of what it means to be a highly moral person..., but not that the individual is morally perfect or ideal.”¹⁸ As mentioned above, Emerson Hynes was a man who cared deeply about ethics; he was also a teacher of ethics, a writer on family living, a contributor to the NCRLC and the ALM, and legislative assistant to Senator Eugene McCarthy. Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis point to the possibility of portraiture to “illuminate the complex dimension of *goodness*.”¹⁹ Portraits are “designed to capture the richness, complexity, and dimensionality of human experience in social and cultural context, conveying the perspectives of the people who are negotiating those experiences.”²⁰ Portraiture is also framed as a counterpoint to the dominant positivist social science paradigm that typically has been limited to social problems. Although portraiture searches for what is good and healthy, it “assumes that the expression of goodness will always be laced with imperfections.”²¹ Although a very different approach than searching for sources of failure, the process is not an idealization. I chose Emerson Hynes as a worthy research subject to explore the complex dimensions of human goodness.

In a recent course I was disturbed to discover that my students, college juniors and seniors, believed humans inherently act only out of their own self-interest and there is no such thing as altruism. They argued any act in service or consideration of “the other” was fundamentally motivated by self-interest, although perhaps a self-interest invisible to the actor him or herself. Whether this represents an anomaly of cynicism or a

¹⁸ Ann Colby and William Damon, *Some Do Care: Contemporary Lives of Moral Commitment* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1992), 27.

¹⁹ Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot and Jessica Hoffman Davis, *The Art and Science of Portraiture* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1997), xvi.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

media fueled cultural climate characterized by narcissism, it seems to be a bleak perspective on human goodness. Colby and Damon suggest, “Moral commitment, by this light, is no more than an indirect version of exercise in self-interest – or worse, a craftily disguised version of personal ambition.”²² Despite what might be seen as the students’ cynicism in the belief of human goodness, these same students were famished for stories of human goodness.

Stories of ethical living are no small matter. Gandhi, a revered example of moral character and ethical living, in his critique of modern civilization, explained the Indian philosophy of four fundamental spheres that comprise the objects of living: wealth and power, pleasure, spirituality, and ethics. All spheres should be interactive, not allowed to operate in isolation from one another, that is, there needs to be harmony between wealth and power, pleasure, spirituality, and ethics. Historically civilizations have tended to privilege certain spheres over others. Western civilization, Gandhi points out, tends to make power, wealth and pleasure the object of life at the cost of spirituality and ethics.²³ Western civilization as a dominant and expanding presence in the world exerts powerful and long lasting influences on individuals, cultures and environment. The need for ethics to be on equal footing with the other spheres of society has implications beyond Western civilization for the rest of the world. Stories can point to spirituality and ethics and thus orient individual outlook toward balance and healing.

In any social group stories can function to construct and affirm ways of seeing the world. Bruce Lincoln outlined forms of social discourse, of which stories are a part, as effective instruments for arousing sentiments for the purpose of affirming the ideology of

²² Colby and Damon, *Some do Care*, 2.

²³ Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, ed. Anthony J. Parel, (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. 1997).

the class/group in power. This suggests stories and narratives also can be instruments to create sentiments of unity, affinity, and contribute to the construction and reconstruction of ways of seeing the world.²⁴ The ubiquitous stories of war, violence, domination, power, and material greed – told again and again in classrooms, in media, and in social groups – function to construct and maintain dominant myths that humans are intrinsically violent, war is inevitable, and this is simply the way things are, and more specifically, that this is the way people are. On the other hand, stories of ethical lives can function to counteract media saturated with gratuitous violence, unsustainable materialism, and superficiality, and be instructive and inspiring for moral living. Real lives, in history and the contemporary world, can provide disillusioned students with awareness of goodness and the possibility of agency for ethical living in their own lives. When I see in my students a hunger for stories of goodness, this suggests to me that these stories contain *hope*, a precondition for ethical action in the world and fundamental for transformative growth.

Colby and Damon suggested if we can understand how exemplary moral lives acquire and nurture such an excellence, this can lead to toward moral progress.²⁵ Further, an individual of exemplary moral character can have a beneficial influence on civilization. Social psychologist Serge Moscovici wrote, “When an individual adopts a behavior that most individuals would themselves like to carry out, *he serves as an example and has a liberating effect.*”²⁶

²⁴ Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press. 1989).

²⁵ Colby and Damon, *Some Do Care*.

²⁶ Serge Moscovici, *Social Influence and Social Change* (New York, NY: Academic Press. 1976), 70.

Stories of ethical lives matter a great deal. Stories can illuminate, instill hope, and inspire transformation through real world examples in both history and the present to construct new ways of seeing the world. Stories help us to shape our lives and give clarity to the questions, “Who will I be?” and “How will I live?” Stories help make sense of what it is to be human.²⁷ Stories also may provide inspired vision via real lives with imagination to place oneself and one’s own agency in what Maxine Greene called “the possible,” that is “to surpass the given and look at things as if they could be otherwise.”²⁸ Stories can help provide “a consciousness of the normative as well as the possible: of what ought to be, from a moral and ethical point of view, and what is in the making, what *might* be in an always open world.”²⁹

Accessing human experience through biography, we discover that the individual does matter. This reassurance is important in a complex, highly technological, and depersonalized age.³⁰ Writer Katherine Lanpher said, “Stories are the connective tissue of the human race.”³¹ When rooted in character and personal integrity, stories of lives can be guides for others who strive to enlarge the possibility of moral living. Narrative studies of lives of moral commitment, at their best, can be instructive and inspiring for understanding human agency as life stories unfold in social and cultural contexts. Stories that reveal how people attain and nurture lives of moral excellence can be helpful for both individuals and society. Lightfoot and Davis noted the “telling of stories can be a

²⁷ Jacqui Banaszynski, “Stories Matter,” In *Telling True Stories: A Nonfiction Writers’ Guide From the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University*, ed. by Mark Kramer and Wendy Call, (New York, NY: Plume, Penguin Group, 2007), 3-6.

²⁸ Maxine Greene, *The Dialectic of Freedom* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1988), 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, xi.

³⁰ Stephen B. Oates, *Biography as High Adventure: Life-Writers Speak on Their Art* (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1986).

³¹ As quoted in Jacqui Banaszynski, “Stories Matter,” In *Telling True Stories*, 5.

profound form of scholarship moving serious study close to the frontiers of art in the capacity to express complex truth and moral context in intelligible ways.”³²

Emerson Hynes (1915-1971) is a worthy subject for a biographical study. He was a man who cared deeply about ethics. As a moral leader, as a listener, thinker, and advisor, I believe the five criteria that Colby and Damon set to determine moral leaders are evident in Emerson’s life: sustained commitment to moral ideas, a disposition to act in that regard, willingness to look and act beyond ones self-interest for the sake of the common good, the capacity to inspire others, and a realistic humility of one’s importance in the world.³³

Examining Hynes’s college experience can illuminate ways to think about factors in college environments that support flourishing goodness in students in our time. Most colleges and institutions of higher education stress holistic development in several domains including physical, intellectual, psychological, social, moral, and, in some cases, spiritual. Part of the challenge of considering development is its inherent complexity. For example, psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner developed the ecological systems developmental model, which places development in the context of multilayered environmental systems. He created a model that illustrates influential and complex settings of the interrelated systems in which we live and grow, including family, school, community, cultures, political systems, and historical contexts. He later modified his theoretical model to take account of the influence of biological factors.³⁴

³² Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffman Davis, *The Art and Science of Portraiture*, 11.

³³ Colby and Damon, *Some Do Care*.

³⁴ Lynn R. Marotz and K. Eileen Allen. *Developmental Profiles: Pre-birth through Adolescence* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2013), 9.

Human development is also complex in that it is an inner and an outer journey, both aspects interconnected, one influencing the other. This complexity of the developmental journey occurs simultaneously in “minds, bodies and spirits.”³⁵ Increasingly, scientific research is demonstrating some of the complexities of these interconnections.³⁶ For example, the Mind and Life Institute supports integrated initiatives to study the interconnections of contemplative practices of the mind with the outer world. They are investigating how practices of the inner life hold the possibility to “reduce individual and societal suffering and promote individual and planetary peace, health, well-being and cooperation.” Their mission is to “promote and support rigorous, multi-disciplinary scientific investigation of the mind which will lead to the development and dissemination of practices that cultivate the mental qualities of attention, emotional balance, kindness, compassion, confidence and happiness.”³⁷

Another example of the complexities of the interactions between inner work and outer influences is the work of self-authorship, defined by Robert Kegan and Marcia Baxter Magolda “as a holistic meaning-making capacity.”³⁸ The concept of self-authorship expands the theory of Jean Piaget, whose seminal work on cognitive growth in children has inspired many researchers. Self-authorship as a developmental process is based on two important assumptions. First, it is constructivist in the sense that people

³⁵ Larry A. Braskamp and Mark E. Engberg, “How Colleges can Influence the Development of a Global Perspective,” *Liberal Education*, 97: no. 3/4, (Sum-Fall 2011), 34-39. 34.

³⁶ Mind & Life Institute, Accessed June 7, 2013, <http://www.mindandlife.org/academic-resources/>. The Mind & Life Institute is an example of a fascinating effort to support the scientific study the connectedness between mind, heart and body. A listing of scientific research centers, labs and programs can be found on their website.

³⁷ “Values, Vision, Mission and Strategies,” *Mind & Life Institute*, accessed July 5, 2013. <http://www.mindandlife.org/about/mission/>

³⁸ Lisa M. Boes, Marcia B. Baxter Magolda, and Jennifer A. Buckley, “Foundational Assumptions and Constructive-Developmental Theory,” In *Development and Assessment of Self-Authorship: Exploring the Concept Across Cultures*, Ed. Marcia B. Baxter Magolda, Elizabeth G. Cramer and Peggy S. Mesaros, 3-24, (Sterling, VA: Stylus, 2010), 4.

essentially create and revise their own knowledge and meanings through the ongoing interpretation of their experiences. The second assumption is that self-authorship is developmental, that is, while the individual is an active agent in his or her own growth, learning, and development, there is an underlying structure that sustains self-evolution. Thus “learning and growth are the products of the *transformation* of the underlying meaning-making structure rather than the accumulation of knowledge, skills, and information.”³⁹

Delving deeper into the complexities are philosophies that question how we think about development. John Wall agrees that although each person is “chief author and proprietor of their own unique life,”⁴⁰ no one can exist separate from the meanings that have already been constructed within the historical, social and cultural conditions in which one is born. Yet human lives are not simply created by the context into which they are born and live. As essentially creative beings, “a narrative is never simply something to which one belongs; it is always also something one does.”⁴¹ Nonetheless, “no one creates their own life’s meaning merely for themselves.”⁴² Further, “the purpose of narrating oneself is not just to express one’s inner being, but also to construct a sense of meaning that is responsive to others and larger contexts.”⁴³

We, as humans, aim for “growing narrative wholeness.”⁴⁴ Wall argues this growth toward wholeness is “inadequately described by a story of passing over time through

³⁹ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁰ John Wall, *Ethics in Light of Childhood* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2010), 69.

⁴¹ Ibid., 70.

⁴² Ibid., 69.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 68.

prestructured stages of human development.”⁴⁵ Developmental lenses often suggest a linear direction, but “narratives never merely follow a straight developmental schema,”⁴⁶ in part because direction of growth has cultural influences. But further, fundamentally this “growth over time belongs to a singular human being... [who] creates meaning in time specifically for themselves.”⁴⁷ While one’s age “might have an influence on one’s capacity for self-narration,”⁴⁸ none of us would be content to interpret our own life as simple progression through various developmental stages. Wall concludes that “developmental psychology can take us only so far in understanding,” that it is an “outside view of the situation that does not capture how moral life develops over time as a creative human endeavor.”⁴⁹ The methodology of portraiture offers a response to Wall’s concerns of capturing narrative wholeness.⁵⁰

Portraiture “seeks to record and interpret the perspective and experiences of the people they are studying, documenting their voices and their visions”⁵¹ and is situated in ecological and chronological systems.⁵² However, it is not held hostage to linear notions of experience and growth. In this study I aim to be faithful to the essential features of portraiture, “Context, Voice, Relationship, Emergent Themes, and Aesthetic Whole.”⁵³ I use the methodology of portraiture within the limits of historical memory as I engage with the college years of a young man who emerged into adulthood in an era of tremendous social challenges.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 70.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 71.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 72.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffman Davis, *The Art and Science of Portraiture*.

⁵¹ Ibid., xv.

⁵² Marotz and Allen, *Developmental Profiles*.

⁵³ Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffman Davis, *The Art and Science of Portraiture*, xvii.

Leadership Consideration and Emerson Hynes

Chapter three, the overview of the life of Emerson Hynes, will better illustrate examples of his leadership. In this section, I introduce some of the ideas on leadership that guide my thinking of Hynes as a leader. The etymology of the word *lead* indicates the word is from the old English *lædan* and means “to guide,” “cause to go with one,” “to bring forth.”⁵⁴ Accordingly, if we consider that leadership is guiding, bringing forth, and/or causing one to “go with” either ideas, ways of thought, or actions, then leadership takes many forms. Emerson was a capable leader in several forms through many of his activities including teaching, conversation, writing, family life, and advising.

Teaching

I ask my students, all studying to be teachers, “Who thinks of yourself as a leader?” Often not even one in ten will raise their hand. I think students hold a limited view of leadership, perhaps confined to notions of executive leadership, for example, elected officials. When we discuss the role and influence of teachers more deeply, there is typically consensus that educators are indeed leaders, and they begin to consider their own potential as leaders. The origins of the word *educate* imply leadership. The word *educate* stems from the Latin “ducere,” that is, “to lead” or “to bring.” The prefix “e” means “out.” A literal meaning, therefore, can be understood as “to bring out” or “to lead forth.”⁵⁵ It is important for teachers to discern that they are leaders not just in unions, committees and curriculum, but also, as models of how to be a human being, that is, leaders of values and character. The potential for educators to have impact on the

⁵⁴ Online Etymology Dictionary, Accessed March 5, 2014, <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=lead>.

⁵⁵ Michaela Hedican, “From the Prioress,” *Benedictine Sisters and Friends*, 17: 3: (Spring-Summer, 2013): 2, 2.

personal lives and thinking of students clearly puts them in the category of leadership with all the ethical implications it involves.

As a teacher, Emerson Hynes was a leader who “brought out” and “led forth.” Former students confirm this. For example, Karl Vander Horck described the new direction his life took following a class with Emerson Hynes. While Hynes did not provide easy answers, or perhaps any answers at all, the thinking that was brought forth changed the way Vander Horck understood the world and he thus changed career directions.⁵⁶ Another student, William Cofell,⁵⁷ who as a undergraduate conducted research with Hynes in Stearns County, considered himself fortunate to have had Hynes as a teacher early and often and considered that Hynes may have had a larger impact on himself than any other professor. He noted Hynes’s kindly nature, his depth of thought, his deep respect for each student – even for those who disagreed with him, and the opportunity for students to participate in discussion. Cofell said, “I always felt that I was being enlarged by sitting in his class.”⁵⁸ Hynes’s ability to “bring out” indicates a transformative leadership style, that is, qualities that serve as catalyst to empower and bring out the goodness and potential of others.

Conversation

Chief Rabbi Lord Jonathan Sacks made a comment on a radio interview for Minnesota Public Radio: “The highest form of leadership is empowering others to lead.” He spoke at length about the power of conversation to be transformative. “The single greatest antidote to violence is conversation, speaking our fears, listening to the fears of

⁵⁶ Karl Vander Horck, personal letter, August 3, 2011.

⁵⁷ Note from the author: This person is my father.

⁵⁸ William Cofell, Interview, October 17, 2011.

others, and in the sharing of vulnerabilities, discovering a genesis of hope.”⁵⁹ One of the ways to improve others’ ability to lead is to engage them at the grassroots level in conversation, speaking and listening. The role of listening to the followers on the part of the leader cannot be overemphasized. Not only does this empower the followers and infuse a sense of purpose and possibility, but it also helps the leader to better understand “it is not about you and it’s not about popularity. It is about them and it’s about God, and your job is just to make it safe for people to experiment, to love, to forgive, to pray, to give.”⁶⁰

In my research I found references to Emerson’s value of conversation and ability in conversation as a foundational approach to working with others and solving problems. “His art of conversation or counseling was a way of just drawing people to their own conclusions....Leading them there, drawing...probably leading and drawing but it was to get their ideas out rather than simply lecturing to them and saying, ‘This is the way it is.’”⁶¹ As an ethical endeavor, his approach was not to control or manipulate but rather, in the spirit of conversation as potentially transformational, was to learn, inform and empower others.

Writing

Writers are also leaders in the sense that publishing written work makes information and ideas available to various often unknown individuals. Because the writer can guide and thus influence thinking, there are leadership implications and thus ethical implications associated with the integrity of the written work. Hynes was a frequent writer in college, writing articles, editorials and his own column on world events, which

⁵⁹ Sacks and Tippet, “The Dignity of Difference.”

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Denis Hynes, Interview, March 26, 2012.

did not simply report on events but reflected deeply on them. He later published in at least 31 different magazines and periodicals, along with various brochures, booklets, newspapers, segments of books, and short books. In total, Hynes published at least 150 different works, not including the many publications during college in the student newspaper.⁶² Hynes's writings were consistently thoughtful and noticeably well written. Writing was a way for Hynes to act as advocate for social justice, influence policy by writing legislation as legislative assistant to Senator Eugene McCarthy, introduce useful information to assist in the betterment of the world toward the common good, and sometimes to tell stories to inspire. Hynes was a prolific writer who hoped to influence toward deeper understanding and action for a better society.

Family

In leadership studies we often neglect to note the critical need for effective and ethical leaders in family life. The nature of leadership within families and in thinking about family life clearly has broad consequences for society. Despite coming of age in a time of more rigidly defined gender roles, Hynes engaged in family life in various ways. According to his daughter, Mary, he fostered wonder, played with the children, told stories, and gave all of his ten children, boys and girls alike, the daily 30 seconds of loving. He also fostered conversations and involved children in faith activities at family meals. Mary related, "We were expected to have a question or a comment about current events to talk about at the table. So there was supposed to be conversation at the meal that was about real things and then he always also made sure that the little boys had a

⁶² See Appendix A for a full list of publications by Emerson Hynes.

chance to say something. ... Then we had family prayers. They started a litany that had a saying for each one of us that we would say as part of family prayers. And then when the new breviaries came out... all the children got one and for family prayers we said the Divine Office and would alternate saying the psalms back and forth.... It was always my father who would orchestrate this conversation and. . . make sure we all had a chance...”⁶³

Son Patrick Hynes recalled many conversations with his father that influenced his understanding and approach to life.⁶⁴ Emerson also started family councils, which would include the children finding nice things to say about each other. He also wrote on marriage, building a home, as well as books titled *Sacramental Protection of the Family: The Christian Family on the Land* and *Seven Keys to a Christian Home*. Clearly Emerson worked hard to be an effective and ethical leader in his family.

Advising

Senator Eugene McCarthy was a prominent national leader both as a senator and as the democratic challenger to President Johnson in 1968.⁶⁵ Emerson was a leader behind the leader. Asked by Eugene McCarthy to join him, Hynes was legislative assistant during both of McCarthy’s terms in the Senate. During his time as assistant, Emerson brought essential skills – many of which he developed in college – in research, history and ethical thinking to issues and problems. McCarthy clearly valued the depth and breadth of thinking that Emerson Hynes brought to his work at the Senate. Although his professional title was not advisor, he often functioned as a primary advisor to McCarthy.⁶⁶ McCarthy would turn to Emerson for counsel in matters large and small⁶⁷

⁶³ Mary Hynes, Interview, June 27, 2011.

⁶⁴ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

⁶⁵ Rising, *Clean for Gene: Eugene McCarthy’s 1968 Presidential Campaign*.

⁶⁶ Mary Hynes, Personal communication, January 12, 2013.

and was grateful for the insights, informed by philosophy, theology, and history, that Emerson would bring to analysis and decision-making.⁶⁸

Certainly the leadership role of individuals who advise those who affect national policy and consequently uncountable lives should not be undervalued. But the advisory role also matters in varying contexts with individuals and groups of all sizes. Hynes acted in multiple contexts and was someone who esteemed encounter and conversation. In my investigation, I have repeatedly observed a man who seemed not to require celebrated recognition or widespread fame, although in his circles of expertise, rural living for example,⁶⁹ he was recognized and valued. Hynes clearly valued his life and cared about his work and relationships, but I don't think Hynes was seeking grandiosity or to be in a more recognized chief executive position. Reflecting one of the criteria of moral leaders set by Colby and Damon,⁷⁰ Hynes seemed to have a relative sense of humility of his place in the world as well as a 3-D style of leadership.

One of the reasons to consider 3-D leadership in the dynamic potential of daily living is to empower the many leadership moments that present themselves in a person's everyday life. If students think of leadership simply as executive leadership positions, student council, for example, it can limit personal agency. They risk disengaging from a perception of self as potential leader and thus jeopardize disempowering themselves to act in the unnoticed moments where much leadership can occur, but often does not. Most of us tend to move in and out of day-to-day potential moments of leadership that emerge

⁶⁷ Owen Lindblad, "Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation," 138.

⁶⁸ Eugene McCarthy, *The Hard Years: A Look at Contemporary America and American Institution* (New York, NY: Viking Press, 1975), 189.

⁶⁹ Several of Hynes's contributions in rural life scholarship had origins in his graduate studies. See Emerson Hynes, *The Catholic Church and Rural Life*, (University of Notre Dame, dissertation, 1939).

⁷⁰ Colby and Damon, *Some Do Care*.

organically as leadership of self and leadership in family, classroom, and community. For example, leadership occurs in the small action of directing one's self to smile and hold the door for the stranger, thereby choosing to be the person who does that small act to make a positive difference. In other words, leadership of self, that is, choosing dignity, affects how I guide myself in the world and thus affects my efficacy in the world.

Democratic leadership can happen with just two people, a mentor and a mentee, or in groups. Moral sensitivity is about recognizing these moments and embracing the inherent ethical imperative that presents itself to share power, hope and the fruits of society.

Through the means of authentic conversation, in dialogic leadership we can engage more thoughtfully and with a greater sense of responsibility and hope toward positive change in our world. Without question this can affect the totality of one's life. After all, as Anne Dillard says, "How we spend our days is, of course, how we spend our lives."⁷¹

⁷¹ Anne Dillard, *The Writing Life* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1989), 32

Chapter 2

Methodology

Methodological Traditions

Herein I describe four methodologies used in my data collection strategies: portraiture, biographical study, archival research as a lived process, and oral history gathering. First, the methodology of portraiture, developed as a counterpoint to the dominant positivist social science paradigm that has mostly been limited to social problems,¹ is phenomenological in nature. The methodology of portraiture has relevance for and can be adapted to historical biographical study. Second, I outline John Shoup's biographical study of good and exemplary leaders.² Third, I describe a historical research methodology of archival research as a lived process where archives are not "sites of 'knowledge retrieval' but sites of 'knowledge production.'"³ Fourth, I explain oral histories, which are primary source materials that are the recorded recollections about an individual or an event and are important sources of evidence.

Portraiture

Portraiture, a genre of research and representation intended to join science and art, is framed by the phenomenological lens, and "seeks to illuminate the complex dimension of *goodness*."⁴ This method seeks to document the voices and visions of the people being

¹ Sarah Lawrence-Lightfoot and Jessica Hoffman Davis, *The Art and Science of Portraiture*. (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1997).

² John R. Shoup, John R. *A Collective Biography of Twelve World-class Leaders: A Study on Developing Exemplary Leaders*, (New York, NY: University Press of America, 2005).

³ Lucille M. Schultz, "Foreward." In *Beyond the Archives: Research as a Lived Process* by Gesa. E. Kirsch and Liz Rohan, (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008) (vii-x). vii.

⁴ Sarah Lawrence-Lightfoot. "Introduction: The Frame." In *The Art and Science of Portraiture* by Sarah Lawrence-Lightfoot and Jessica Hoffman Davis, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1997), xvi.

studied – “their authority, knowledge, and wisdom”⁵ – with the portrait placed in the social and cultural contexts of the subject. The process of portraiture (gathering and interpreting data) and the product (the portrait) engage five essential features intending to perceive a deeper, more authentic reflection of the essence of the person: context, voice, relationship, emergent themes, and aesthetic whole.

Lawrence-Lightfoot noted that context is essential to documenting human experience.⁶ She referred to context as the ecological sphere that is the framework for understanding people and actions in time and space. “The context is rich in clues for interpreting the experience of the actors in the setting.”⁷ The meaning of experience in a human life resides, at least in part, in the personal, social, cultural, aesthetic, and historical contexts where relationships are lived. The researcher approaches with tentativeness and the one being studied is the guide. The researcher must be ever open and alert to contextual settings and clues, aware that realities of context may compel reconsiderations of assumptions and directions. Therefore the researcher must be open to surprises, unexpected shifts, and inconsistencies and also be nimble to adapt conceptual and methodological responses to the emerging reality.

Voice includes both the voice of the portraitist and the voice of the subject. The voice of the portraitist is everywhere in the research, for example, in the assumptions, providing the framework, the preoccupations, choices of data, the choices of focus and theme, naming metaphors, and the use of language. But also “the portraitist’s work is deeply empirical, grounded in systematically collected data, skeptical questioning....

⁵ Ibid., xv.

⁶ Sarah Lawrence-Lightfoot, “Framing the Terrain.” In *The Art and Science of Portraiture* by Sarah Lawrence-Lightfoot and Jessica Hoffman Davis, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1997.) (41-59).

⁷ Ibid., 41.

From this vantage point, we see the portraitist's stance as vigilantly counterintuitive, working against the grain of formerly held presuppositions, always alert and responsive to surprise."⁸ In this sense the researcher needs to be a discerning observer, a witness who stands on the edge, able to depict patterns and see the whole. The voice of the subject emerges as the portraitist listens carefully in all settings of interviews, dialogue, or any place where clues can emerge.

In the search for goodness, the researcher's stance "is one of acceptance and discernment, generosity and challenge."⁹ The subjects are the knowledge bearers and the portraitist endeavors to examine "the roots of their knowledge, the character and quality of the experiences, and the range of their perspectives."¹⁰ The portraitist investigates expressions of strength but also allows for human weakness and vulnerability. The researcher's endeavor is not to idealize goodness and focus only on the bright side or positive aspects. Instead, the aim is to "begin by asking what is happening here, what is working, and why?"¹¹ In other words, rather than focus on problems and pathologies, the aim is to focus on what works in dimensions of *goodness*.

Biographical Study

John Shoup examined biography as a method to investigate some complexities of leaders that might otherwise escape notice.¹² He researched competent leaders and exemplary leaders through secondary source biographical study. Competent leaders are leaders who have the skills and knowledge to lead. Exemplary leaders are competent leaders who additionally "have ethical ends in mind and practice ethical means to the

⁸ Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis, *The Art and Science of Portraiture*, 85.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 141.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 142.

¹² Shoup, *A Collective Biography of Twelve World-class Leaders*.

end.”¹³ Discerning a complexity of influential factors, Shoup looked at seven categories of influence: involved parents, happy childhood, formal and informal education, prodigious patrons, critics and adversaries, apprenticeships and sequences of success, and favorable fate.

Shoup’s categories of influence all played important and interdependent roles in both the emergence and successes of leaders.¹⁴ The interaction with prodigious patrons at particular moments in leaders’ lives seemed especially significant in considering exemplary leadership. Having at least one prodigious patron who was either religiously grounded or socially conscientious with a strong moral voice “set exemplary leaders apart from competent leaders.”¹⁵ Although the moral influence of prodigious patrons stood out, all the categories of influence played important and complex roles in the emerging and successful leader.

Shoup’s data suggested three stages of leadership development, all of which include prodigious patrons who structure and guide experiences. Stage one is the “planting of high expectations to do well and what is right,”¹⁶ internalizing a sense of purpose. This typically involved the earlier context of one’s life with parents, extended family, and church. Stage two is developing the competencies to distinguish oneself and experience successes. This includes areas of education and apprenticeships and opportunities to master skills and engage in complex issues. Stage three is a place of developed leadership and involves recruiting and nurturing competent and exemplary colleagues for collaborative work.

¹³ Ibid., 9.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., 66.

¹⁶ Ibid., 68.

Archival Research as a Lived Process

Archives include any documents related to the historical subject and can include personal papers, letters, writings, drafts, collected articles, photographs, and other materials. The methodology of archival research as a lived process shifts the archive from merely source to also subject, that is, as “epistemological experiments.” Rather than conceptualizing archival work as “knowledge retrieval,” archival research emerges as “knowledge production.”¹⁷ In this sense, historical and lived experience intersect in the archives as the researcher mines lives for meaningful patterns. The notion of archive is expanded and may use space and location, family archives, local stories, oral histories and interviews. The researcher must be attuned and alert to chance encounters and ready to follow unexpected leads. This archival methodology recognizes the importance of openness for leading to new discoveries, additional perspectives, and new intuitions. It lets curiosity play a role, “attending to facets of the research process that might easily be marginalized and rarely mentioned because they seem merely intuitive, coincidental, or serendipitous.”¹⁸ This methodology “considers genuine curiosity, a willingness to follow all possible leads, an openness to what one may encounter, and flexibility in revising research questions and the scope of a project to be key factors for conducting successful historical work.”¹⁹

¹⁷ Lucille M. Schultz, “Foreward.” vii.

¹⁸ Gesa E. Kirsch and Liz Rohan, “Introduction: The Role of Serendipity, Family Connections, and Cultural Memory in Historical Research.” In *Beyond the Archives: Research as a Lived Process*, edited by Gesa E. Kirsch and Liz Rohan, 1-9. (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008), 4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

While archival research as a lived process may seek patterns, it also considers “following a stitch.”²⁰ This methodology emerged from a diary Liz Rohan²¹ encountered in her research of a life story. A diary entry included guidelines for Christian living that included “use reason . . . watch for circumstance [and] *try not to be guided by the whole plan, but the next stitch*. We often make the mistake thinking that God is not guiding us at all because we cannot see far ahead. But that is not his method. He only undertakes that the steps of a good man be ordered by the Lord.”²² Rohan describes a process by which she honors “the stitch over a plan.”²³ She resists the urge to immediately critique as well as to impose patterns onto data. Instead Rohan waits for and follows the “next stitch” to bring new clues and contexts to the research. In this sense archival research is like detective work, always looking for clues.

Oral History

Oral histories are primary source materials and can provide rich data to accompany archival sources. “Oral history is a method of historical documentation that features audio or videotaped interviews with people who experienced firsthand or were directly involved in an event and who have the knowledge and the personal desire to contribute to the record.”²⁴ Elizabeth Danto notes two subsets of oral history, *archival memory* and *indirect memory*. The events that are “archived” in the mind are likely real world and are remembered as if they happened yesterday. They are the events that may have been highly emotional when they occurred, subsequent events may have made the

²⁰ Liz Rohan, “Stitching and Writing a Life.” In *Beyond the Archives: Research as a Lived Process*, edited by Gesa E. Kirsch and Liz Rohan, 147-153. (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008), 151.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid., 148.

²³ Ibid., 151.

²⁴ Elizabeth Ann Danto, *Historical Research*. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), 52.

initial event a turning point, and the event may be relatively unique, that is, not repetitive. *Indirect memories* are those from people who may not have been at the event, but rather heard from others; considered “secondary witness,” it usually requires questions to investigate source, accuracy, and details.²⁵ The question and response nature of oral history gathering is a collaborative enterprise that can generate distinctive primary source material.

Data Collection: Sources

The primary source materials for this dissertation are from four major areas. First I describe the locations and holdings of archives I accessed. Second, I note oral histories gathered from friends and family. Third, I examined published and unpublished writings by Emerson Hynes. Fourth, I note the geographical places of Emerson’s life I explored. Last, I note necessary secondary source materials I investigated.

Archives

The primary source archival materials for this dissertation are located in the St. John’s University Archives in Collegeville, Minnesota; the St. John’s Abbey Archives in Collegeville, Minnesota; the Archives of the Order of Saint Benedict in St. Joseph, Minnesota; the University of Notre Dame Library; the private family collection held by Emerson Hynes’s daughter in Chicago, Illinois; and private papers held by friends and neighbors.

The Archives of St. John’s University include yearbooks, alumni magazines, student publications of Emerson’s, correspondence with the president of the university, documents of Emerson’s from his classes as a professor, materials for and from the

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

National Catholic Rural Life Conference including correspondence with other leaders, rough drafts of Hynes's publications, personal notes on beginning a rural homestead, numerous materials on rural community, poetry collected by Emerson, notes and writings on ethics, newspaper and journal publications, and correspondence to and from various individuals.

The Saint John's Abbey Archives include Emerson's correspondence with monastic members of the community and an extensive syllabus from an influential course Emerson took while a student at St. John's.

The Archives of the Order of Saint Benedict include the Arleen Hynes (wife of Emerson) collection, including a transcribed oral history in which Arleen recounts much of her life with Emerson; family photos; correspondence and references to Emerson in works of Joseph O'Connell, resident artist, friend, and former neighbor of Hynes; numerous family publications; letters; obituaries; and photos of gravestones.

I also obtained an original copy of Emerson Hynes's master's dissertation from the University of Notre Dame Library. This was photocopied and returned to the archival library at Notre Dame.

The private family archival collection is held in Chicago and currently on loan to me. It holds many of the papers of Emerson Hynes, letters, notebooks, family publications, publications by Emerson, personal notes, documents from his work as legislative assistant to Eugene McCarthy, and numerous other documents. A portion of the family collection has been requested to be sent to the St. John's University Archives when all biographical research has been completed. Other portions will be returned to the family.

In some cases private papers held by friends, students, and relatives became source material. This included copies of the Colledgeville Gazette, the Hynes family publication; family poetry; books that students had purchased after being inspired by Hynes; and photographs.

Accessing archives begins before stepping foot in the archive. Danto clarifies the beginning steps.²⁶ My first step was to check any in-house newsletters of archival collections to publications. I then checked any available indexes of secondary sources to determine exact locations. I checked electronic and printed bibliographies and, with the assistance of the archivist at St. John's University, investigated other aids to archives, beginning with electronic databases. I contacted the archivist at each location to determine availability of the materials and protocol for access. For most sources that could only be viewed in the archives or available to me on loan for limited periods of time, I was able to scan or photograph the documents in order to keep my own database of relevant sources.

Oral Histories

Primary source materials also include oral histories. I gathered oral histories in line with the oral history guidelines of the Oral History Association. (See the oral history guidelines of the Oral History Association in Appendix B.) A letter of inquiry was sent by email, postal service or relayed in a telephone call with the interviewee. (See Appendix C.) Before the planned interviews, I relayed information on the project, the structure of the interview, the interviewees' option to end the interview at any time, asked for permission to add the contents of the interview to the St. John's University archives, and requested release of copyright and permission to digitally record each interview. (See

²⁶ Ibid.

Appendix D for consent communication.) In planned interviews I asked the interviewee to sign a consent form which includes the purpose of the study, procedure, risks and benefits of the study, the voluntary nature of the study, confidentiality, as well as release permission, copyright permission and consent for the interview and to have the interview recorded and used in research. (See Appendix E.) All planned oral history interviews were transcribed following the interviewing/history gathering event by a professional transcriptionist, who signed a confidentiality agreement. (See Appendix F for a copy of the transcriptionist confidentiality form.)

I used oral histories from several sources. One source is an oral history recorded and transcribed that resides in the archives of the Saint Benedict's Monastery.²⁷ I also have oral history interview/conversation transcripts that include references to Emerson Hynes. I additionally conducted several interviews as listed below. I responded to all interactions on a spectrum between conversation and interview, moving back and forth between the qualitative continuum of art/impressionist methods of interactive interviewing and the middle-grounded approach that uses semi-structured interviewing.²⁸

Oral histories included multiple interviews and unplanned conversations with William Cofell, former student, colleague and neighbor of Emerson, and Lorraine Cofell, neighbor and friend; recollections by Art and Monica Erler, friends and former neighbors of Emerson Hynes; and multiple oral histories and spontaneous conversations with daughter Mary. Additional oral histories include Emerson's son in Minnesota, Dennis Hynes, and son Patrick Hynes from Washington D.C.; niece Mary Hughes and colleague

²⁷ Arleen Hynes, "Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview." Oral history tape interview, St. Benedict's Monastery Archives. (1998).

²⁸ Catherine D. Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research*. (Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2011).

Mark Hughes; former neighbor and friend Jody O'Connell; former students, including Sylvester (Sy) Theisen, Roger Nierengarten, Frank Roehl, and Hilary Thimmesh, O.S.B.; and former colleague, LeMay Bechtold. Additionally, two former students, Robert Bray and Karl Vander Horck, wrote letters in lieu of being interviewed. I recorded one interview with a tape recorder and all other interviews with a digital audio recorder. In unexpected, that is, spontaneous conversations I took notes. Impressions and post-event notes were written in similar structure to qualitative methodology interviewing. In some cases, multiple follow up interviews and conversions took place, particularly with William Cofell and Mary Hynes.

Interviews cannot be predicted and although I began with initial questions, some reflecting the criteria of moral exemplars from Colby and Damon²⁹ and others specific to the life of Emerson Hynes (see Attachment G), I did not have a standard interview format. Generally I began interviews asking the participant about his or her life in general terms to locate common ground. I also wanted to establish the relationship of the interviewee with Hynes in place and time. The prepared questions were intended to foster free-ranging dialogue, which could allow me to "follow the stich" and allow the voice of the subject to emerge. I proceeded chronologically, by topic or by event; my response in interviews was determined by the participant and the subject matter. In any case I endeavored to be respectful, responsive and sensitive to the participant. Many of the oral histories were collected from people who are quite elderly. Because memory is invoked in uncharted conversation and in unexpected places, I responded to conversations as seemed to be the best response at the time in consideration of the

²⁹ Colby and Damon, *Some do Care*.

interviewee. This included silence, nods, laughter, or with various kinds of questions (general, pointed, clarification, probing, or requests for examples). I tried not to interrupt participants in order to let them fully explore ideas and memory.

Writings by Emerson Hynes

Primary source materials written by Emerson Hynes include at least 150 published documents, including books, journal articles, and organizational documents. The subject range varies, including Christian parenthood, sacramental protection of the family, the Catholic Church and rural life, farm family prosperity, NCRLC, rural sociology, rural cooperatives, rural communities, and more. Hynes wrote for publication in college, as a university professor, and a contributor to NCRLC and continued writing through his work in drafting legislation. Additionally, there are primary source, unpublished materials written by Emerson Hynes including his thesis, numerous letters, notes, course materials, and unfinished articles in the St. John's University Archives.

Geographical Locations

In recent years attitudes have expanded in what is considered archival.³⁰ Kirsch described inquiry into place as a rich source for research, suggesting that being in the actual places where the historical subject lived and worked is valuable for the researcher.³¹ On site research deepens the understanding of the context of the historical life. It may also open to unexpected material and leads. Primary source for *place* for this dissertation includes the Collegeville home of Arleen and Emerson Hynes; the "little house," which was the temporary living quarters and then barn at the Collegeville

³⁰ Kirsch and Rohan, "Introduction: The Role of Serendipity, Family Connection, and Cultural Memory in Historical Research."

³¹ Gesa E. Kirsch, "Being on Location: Serendipity, Place, and Archival Research." In G. E. Kirsch & L. Rohan (Eds.), *Beyond the Archives: Research as a Lived Process* (pp. 20-27). (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008).

homestead; the acreage and village surrounding their home; St. John's University; and Notre Dame, Emerson's alma mater for his Master's program.

Secondary Sources

Additional source materials for this dissertation included short essays published about or that refer to Emerson Hynes. Additionally, because of the historical nature of this dissertation, I used several sources to contextualize the life of Emerson Hynes in the events and history of his time, for example, context includes American Catholic history, the history of St. John's University, and the social movements of the time.

Data Collection: Analysis

My methodology and analysis combined an adapted portraiture method for historical study, biographical study to include any secondary sources as well as consider Shoup's³² categories, archival research, as well as oral histories.

As I mentioned previously, although Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis's³³ approach is phenomenological in nature, that is, working with live subjects, their methodology of portraiture has relevance for historical biographical study. My aim was similar, that is, to perceive an authentic reflection of who the person is, and I used their approach but primarily with archival and oral history data. Portraiture methodology considers that context is critical to documenting human experience, and likewise I continually aimed to be attentive to context, including person, family, and community, as well as social, cultural and historical contexts. Alert to my own assumptions, lenses, and voice, as much as possible, I intended to allow the voice of Emerson Hynes emerge. To do this, I

³² Shoup. *A Collective Biography of Twelve World-class Leaders*.

³³ Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis, *The Art and Science of Portraiture*.

triangulated archival data, oral history, Hynes's writings, and secondary source data, comparing and contrasting evidence.

In the search for goodness, I considered “the roots of their knowledge, the character and quality of the experiences, and the range of their perspectives.”³⁴ My intent was to allow the full humanity of Emerson Hynes to emerge, including strengths, vulnerabilities and human weakness. My aim was to explore and examine goodness, to assess what is happening, what is working, and why. I considered and examined the characteristics, decisions, beliefs, practices, experiences, and relationships that develop, nurture and support the consideration of prioritizing ethical values and living an ethical life as lived by Emerson Hynes.

My main use of Shoup's methodology³⁵ was considering his categories of influence and stages of leadership development as I analyzed secondary and primary source materials. However, I did not limit organizing data to his categories and stages. I found the categories a useful starting point but did not want to rigidly restrict my research to those categories. I aimed to be continually alert to other themes as they emerge from the research, be it primary or secondary source data. I created a visual timeline that included Emerson's life, Colledgeville history, and major events in the world to contextualize the complexities and developments of emerging themes.

Stephen Oates, who wrote *Let the Trumpet Sound: A Life of Martin Luther King*,³⁶ described biography as high adventure.³⁷ As a student of history and a student of human

³⁴ Ibid., 141.

³⁵ Shoup. *A Collective Biography of Twelve World-class Leaders*.

³⁶ Stephen B. Oates. *Let the Trumpet Sound: A Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York, NY: HarperPerennial, 1982.)

³⁷ Stephen B. Oates. *Biography as High Adventure: Life-writers Speak on Their Art.* (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1986.)

goodness, I approached the methodologies of archival research and oral history as one of “following the stitch,”³⁸ trying to be alert to the emerging path of data while also being faithful to the integrity of the data. Elizabeth Danto advised that historical research combine strategies, use eyewitness accounts when available, and use versions emerging from records.³⁹ Using mixed methods and approaches can help decrease bias and assumptions. Thus with archival data, I used Danto’s approach to assess the reliability of the data. Each document was examined for credibility. As much as possible, to determine the external validity of the sources I considered the following:

1. When was the source, written or unwritten, produced (date)?
2. Where was it produced (localization)?
3. By whom was it produced (authorship)?
4. Why was it produced (context)?
5. From what preexisting material was it produced (analysis)?
6. In what original form was it produced (integrity)?
7. What is the evidential value of its contents (credibility)?⁴⁰

Danto further proposed that “given the endlessly subjective nature of our interpretations, thinking critically about the internal contents of a record becomes even more important.”⁴¹ She presented four questions that help to analyze data reliably that I also considered:

1. What is the literal meaning of the document?

³⁸ Rohan, “Stitching and Writing a Life.” 153.

³⁹ Danto, *Historical Research*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

2. Does a specific bias or prejudice validate – or invalidate – the author’s argument?
3. Can the trustworthiness of the author’s conclusions be determined?
4. Does corroborating evidence seem essential to understand the document?⁴²

I compared and contrasted archival material from the various archival sources, oral history, and any secondary sources. I re-interviewed as emerging considerations appeared. Triangulation of all sources became essential to the analytic interpretive process. Also, in the interpretation of archival and oral material I strove to be alert to my own identity, consciousness, and intentions in telling the story of Emerson Hynes.

Validity and Generalizability

Validity in historiography concerns triangulation of sources of the collection of data. Data was collected from four types of sources: primary, secondary, running record and recollections (oral history). Further, validity issues must address “issues of context (culture, community, origin), construction (subjectivity, narrative, migrations), contingency (time, place), and competence (individual or collective assets, resilience).”⁴³ Validity includes searching for disconfirming evidence, engaging in reflexivity, soliciting feedback from those familiar with the setting or person, searching for alternative explanations and searching for discrepant evidence, and comparing and contrasting data.⁴⁴

Striving to examine material from as many sources as are available and being open to the discovery of new sources and new perspectives is essential for validity in a historical study. Triangulation of data is necessary, and validity in a historical study is supported by data management. Specifically, to create an effective assessment, it is

⁴² Ibid., 97-98.

⁴³ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁴ Marshall and Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research*.

important that a data-gathering instrument is created in which the data from primary and secondary sources can be entered into a format that gives shape to the information.⁴⁵ I created various data-gathering formats for this dissertation. Three examples are as follows: an instrument that lists notations from archives chronologically and then thematically by color; a visual timeline that includes individual, community, and world levels of historical events; and a carefully recorded list of all Hynes's publications.

Certain sets of procedures may also help ensure trustworthiness and strengthen validity and credibility. Marshall and Rossman listed four procedures that can be applied to this dissertation.⁴⁶ First, share data and interpretation with participants. In this dissertation, I regularly consulted with a family member who fills the role of Hynes family archivist to be a content expert. I also "member checked" during and sometimes after interviews to validate that I captured the intent and meaning of the interviewee. Second, triangulation from multiple sources can help ensure validity. As already mentioned, I used multiple primary sources from multiple archives as well as multiple oral history sources and secondary sources. The third procedure was using multiple methods, which in this dissertation, as described above, included an adapted portraiture methodology – which inherent to its method allows for disconfirming evidence as well as reflexivity – as well as archival methodology, oral history methodology, and analysis of published and unpublished writings of Emerson Hynes. Oral history methodology requires that the researcher be cognizant of *archival memory* and *indirect memory*, and critically examine "secondary witnesses" in indirect memories.⁴⁷ However, almost all material from oral histories was archival memory data. The fourth procedure, engaging

⁴⁵ Danto, *Historical Research*.

⁴⁶ Marshall and Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research*.

⁴⁷ Danto, *Historical Research*, 54.

reflexivity, that is, using a methodology of self-critique and self-reflexivity, has been ongoing in my dissertation.

Generalizability is brought into question with individual case studies, which I expanded to include biographies. They are often not considered generalizable. Robert Yin suggested case studies are generalizable to theoretical propositions, not to populations.⁴⁸ Thus the emergence of theoretical propositions from a biographical study may be cautiously generalizable to considering other lives, including one's own.⁴⁹ Considering that a purpose of this study is to examine the life story of a moral exemplar, one aim has been to consider any emerging theoretical propositions from the life story of Emerson Hynes. Additionally stories are important for reasons other than generalizability. Noonan described the power of story to, for example, act as counter-story and present alternative viewpoints, to shape meaning, aid in deep learning, dispel feelings of exclusion and alienation, avoid poor decisions, nurture hope, build courage, assist in healing, teach leadership, build bridges, arouse curiosity, encourage creativity, seek justice, and inspire moral living.⁵⁰ In this spirit, I investigated the story of Emerson's life to assist in understanding the role of a mentor and other influences in the life of a college student who became a moral exemplar in order to illuminate transformative possibilities this may hold for myself and others.

Ethics and Confidentiality

Ethical considerations for a historical study as well as biographical study carry their own considerations. To begin with, I attempted to be aware that I bring my own

⁴⁸ Robert K. Yin. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. (Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2009), 15.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Sarah Noonan with Thomas Fish. *Leadership Through Story: Diverse Voices in Dialogue*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Education, 2007).

presence and subjectivity to research, questions, and interpretations. The integrity of the research depends in part on my capacity to be alert and aware of my own assumptions, perspectives, and history and consider the lens I bring to the research.

Edith Wyschogrod pointed out that Nietzsche proclaimed “remembering the past is a sick passion; yet without the necrophilia of the historian who gives herself over to overcoming the past’s passing into oblivion, there would be only the finality of death.”⁵¹ Thus she suggests that in the task of re-figuration of the past, and in this case a life story, the primary role is an ethical role. The “first act is one of promising the dead others to make past events available to the present and perhaps future generations.”⁵² Thus the historian carries the ethical responsibility as “mediator of a legacy,”⁵³ and as such, “assumes liability for the Other.”⁵⁴ The historical narrative is “governed by a promise to provide voice to the dead others.”⁵⁵ On the other hand, Allan Megill argues that the primary ethical demand of the historian is not to speak for others who cannot speak, although that is a task of the historian, but is “the promise of truth,”⁵⁶ therefore there must be “adequate reason for thinking that the voices have been rightly constituted. Otherwise, they might be merely the product of the historian’s own compelling desire.”⁵⁷

As mediator of a legacy, I clearly have an ethical responsibility to portray the life of Emerson Hynes with respect, an open mind, and accuracy, ever open to clues, and alert

⁵¹ Edith Wyschogrod . “Representation, Narrative, and the Historian’s Promise.” In *The Ethics of History*, ed. David Carr, Thomas R. Flynn, and Rudolph A. Makkreel, 28-44. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2004), 30.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 31.

⁵⁶ Allan Megill. “Some Aspects of the Ethics of History-writing: Reflections on Edith Wyschogrod’s *An Ethics of Remembering*.” In *The Ethics of History*, ed. David Carr, Thomas R. Flynn, and Rudolph A. Makkreel, 45-74. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2004), 49.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

to context to the best of my ability. My first aim was to do no harm, and as I recognized and reflected on my own place in the story and in the research, I also endeavored to avoid imposing my own agendas on the life of Hynes. Rollyson quotes Paul John Eakin to describe a danger of “biography as the potential to assault – symbolically – the very person of its subject.”⁵⁸ While I have had my own motives and intentions for studying Emerson Hynes, it is critical that I be faithful, to the best of my abilities, to the spirit of Emerson as he emerged in my studies, recognizing the sacred responsibility of the legacy of a human life. I used the methodology of portraiture,⁵⁹ a methodology that attempts to capture the “richness, complexity, and dimensionality of human experience,”⁶⁰ as an attempt to respond to this ethical concern.

Archival research requires an ethic of respect for the archive itself. It is important for the researcher to understand and follow the rules of archival access and use. For example, most archives do not allow pens. The reason for this is so researchers do not accidentally or intentionally write on any documents. Most archives are irreplaceable, and thus they must be treated with great care in order to allow future researchers access to the same materials in the same condition as I found them. I have been extremely careful with all of the archival materials I accessed, including those of the family and those stored in institutions. Additional, in consideration of the long term care and availability of the Emerson Hynes family archives, I worked with the family archivist to assist in the

⁵⁸ Carl E. Rollyson. *A Higher Form of Cannibalism? Adventures in the Art and Politics of Biography*. (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 2005).

⁵⁹ Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis. *The Art and Science of Portraiture*.

⁶⁰ Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot, “A View of the Whole: Origins and Purposes,” In *The Art and Science of Portraiture* by Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot and Jessica Hoffman Davis, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1997). 3

contribution of selections of the family archives to be donated to the St. John's University collection.

Research that involves live persons, in my case with oral history interviews, calls for an ethic of respect of persons, beneficence, and justice. People should not be used as a means to an end, privacy ought to be respected, and participants should not be harmed by participation in the study.⁶¹ My aim was to conduct all gathering of oral history with a great deal of respect; I had to keep in mind the physical comfort and energy levels of the interviewees as well as recognize and honor the integrity of the person. Further, I attempted to use an oral interview methodology that allowed gathering rich data with flexibility and sensitivity while also responding to the intimate and personal nature of memory. In every single interview I felt greatly privileged to participate in conversations with the remarkable and genuine people I encountered in my interviews. Throughout this adventure in biography, my experience has been that I have tread on sacred ground, and I have genuinely felt honored to participate in these events of memory.

Additionally my ethical intent has been to ensure minimal grammatical and/or stylistic changes in the transfer of interview data to the dissertation to secure the most accurate "feel" for the personality and thought process of the interviewees. I used direct quotes as much as possible and make grammatical or stylistic changes only in circumstances to assist in clarity. Similarly, I endeavored to be true to the voice of Emerson Hynes that emerges powerfully in his written work. As with interview data, I used direct quotes from Emerson when possible and edit only to assist in clarity.

⁶¹ Marshall and Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research*.

Chapter 3

Emerson Hynes – Life Overview

Involved Parents/Happy Childhood

The geography of one's childhood cultivates an inner landscape. For Emerson Hynes this formed of affection for the land. Emerson Hynes's childhood was spent exploring grasslands and small woods and working on the family farm just three and one-half miles east of the small town of Winnebago in southern Minnesota. The 725-acre farm offered a large and open yard facing south and east, wide fields, and a grove that nestled and protected the homestead from the prairie winds of the northwest. Across the farmyard stood the large white arched Gothic barn, a steady partner to the many-gabled house¹ that was home to Emerson's parents, Muerton and Mary (Perrizo) Hynes, who together had ten children, although one child died. Emerson's affections for his home and rural landscape formed his lasting values and life work.

Born in 1915,² Emerson was the youngest of the nine living children.³ Emerson's father – a man, mindful of the poor, who gave freely to those who were hurting⁴ – died suddenly of appendicitis when Emerson was 18 months old.⁵ Following Muerton's death, "the family pulled together very strongly.... It doesn't mean there weren't a hell of a lot of disagreements and all the other things that go with families that have different problems and troubles. But Emerson seemed like the golden child in terms of all ten of

¹ "Hynes Farm was Quickly Identified," *Winnebago Enterprise*, May 4, 1961, 8.

² Owen Lindblad, "Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation." In Linda Kulzer, L. and Roberta C. Bondi (Eds.), *Benedict in the World: Portraits of Monastic Oblate*, (Collegeville, MN: the Liturgical Press, 2002).

³ Michael Kernan, "Growing Up In a Family of 12: The Rituals, Rifts and Rewards." *The Washington Post*: pp. B1, 3, 1977. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁴ Mary Hughes, Mark and Mary Hughes Interview, March 26, 2012.

⁵ Mary Hynes-Berry, Personal Communication, November, 28, 2010.

them.”⁶ In their grief and loss, he was “the one ray of joy in this devastation.”⁷ The siblings felt great compassion for the young toddler and “everyone kind of doted on him.”⁸

The oldest brother, Stanley, became a father figure for all the children, “especially for the ‘beloved child,’ Emerson.”⁹ Stanley, at St. John’s University at the time of his father’s death, was called home and subsequently gave up his dream of becoming a classics scholar.¹⁰ Many years later, Emerson recognized the sacrifice Stanley had made. When Emerson was in college, the family was deciding what to do with the farm and “he wrote to siblings that . . . we must give Stanley title to the farm.”¹¹ He believed this was the necessary ethical response to recognize Stanley’s contribution to the family.¹² In a thoughtful manner, Emerson’s ethical leadership guided the family’s decision for Stanley to inherit the farm.

The “beloved child” and youngest of ten had asthma and allergies. Despite the health difficulties, he was a very appealing child, witty and bright. His daughter reflected, “I think that maybe even the asthma too made him much more sensitive to other people. So he seems to have always been like that and always tremendously inquisitive, very, very bright.”¹³ He had the temperament of his father: calm, even-handed, generous, and thoughtful. He also had eight older brothers and sisters to dote on him in the loving and religious home. At a young age he seemed already drawn to that

⁶ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012. 5.

⁷ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview, June 27, 2011. 4.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation,” 129.

¹⁰ Mary Hynes-Berry, personal communication, October 18, 2010.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Mary Hynes, Interview, June 27, 2011. 4.

which really matters, perhaps an early indication of what would become his lifelong love of ethics. Possibly health problems influenced this. Emerson's daughter Mary commented, "When you struggle for breath it is very clarifying, you are less likely to carp over little things, keeps you from becoming too arrogant if you can't breathe."¹⁴ Mary later added, "But I think the fact that he was so unconditionally loved also probably gave him a very strong basis."¹⁵

Emerson's mother was "very, very kind, good natured person . . . a naturally good woman." Emerson said of his mother, "She never said anything bad about anybody and nobody could say anything bad about her."¹⁶ She would sit up with Emerson when he had trouble breathing at night, praying with him, talking with him. Her faith helped her to go on after Emerson's father died. And yet, despite the difficulties and challenges, the family had a great deal of fun. They could tease each other and laughed often. They loved language and word play and would memorize and recite poetry. In Emerson's family, laughter, humor, debate and music were evidence of two primary qualities, a delightful sense of play and a great intellectual curiosity.¹⁷

Emerson recalled getting ready for a surprise party for his oldest brother Stanley's twenty-first birthday. Emerson was just six years old and the family was hoping to have electricity hooked up by the special day. Since very few farms had electricity at the time – even four years later in 1925 just 3.2 percent of farms in the country were electrified – the special nature of electricity would add tremendously to the party. Two war veterans were there who ate with the family and between meals put in the wiring for the house and

¹⁴ Mary Hynes-Berry, personal communication, November 28, 2010.

¹⁵ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview, June 27, 2011. 4.

¹⁶ Mary Hynes-Berry, personal communication, November 28, 2010.

¹⁷ Ibid.

the barn. They would talk about the war and sometimes his mother would pull him away from the conversation so he would not hear. Emerson had been warned not to touch the fixtures or to stick his fingers in the sockets. Supper time came and went and still the electricity was not hooked up. To get ready for the party, Emerson and his next older brother were in the bathtub, Emerson wrote,

getting the final cleansing before the big party. Kerosene lamps allowed for generous misses behind the ears but we worked diligently on each other. Suddenly we heard a shout ---“Lights”---and half a dozen others echoed it. My brother climbed on the edge of the tub and with me, standing in the water, holding him, he pulled the chain. If I am rightly informed, that would be considered undesirable technique today; fortunately nothing happened except that the room was lighted as never before. That was enough for us. Nude as skinned rabbits, we raced around the house, turning on every light. The fever of excitement increased with the arrival of neighbors for the party. The brilliantly lighted house, people playing five-hundred, midnight lunch, my brother receiving a ruby ring and all of us admiring it under the new lights---my memory of it is as fresh as sunrise dew.¹⁸

Emerson came to play an influential role in his family; he was regarded as someone that the relatives could go to work out a problem or to discuss poetry. The family archives contain stacks of letters from siblings, aunts, uncles, and his mother, many written with humor and great affection. Niece Mary Hughes recalled that her mother, Emerson’s older sister Florence, who was a poet, had a special relationship with Emerson. “My mother was a poet and he had a big appreciation of poetry. So I think he was one of the few people she could talk to about her writing...he was sensitive to her

¹⁸ Emerson Hynes, “The Light and the Power,” *The Commonweal*, XLV: 11 (1946): 276-278, 276.

writing.”¹⁹ Emerson would sometimes recite *The Highwayman*, which he had memorized from beginning to end. “We would all listen – it was like storytelling time. But he would say that whole thing and he was so dramatic when he was reciting this poem.”²⁰ The family also talked about books and politics. “When Emerson was around it was conversation...they wanted to spend their time in conversation with him.”²¹

Emerson also helped with problems, for example, when one aunt suffered from mental illness, Emerson was the one who took her to get help. It was “one of the things he talked about, one of the most difficult things he did in his life.”²² He was also consulted in other important family decisions, such as what would happen with the family farm. Emerson’s son Patrick recalled, “My father, because of his temperament or whatever, because of his strong faith and philosophical underpinnings was able to mediate some of the family difficulties like ownership of the farm. He was expected to play a role, which he did, as a peacemaker between his brothers over who owned what part of the land and how much was given.... That’s what he ended up doing, even though he was the youngest. He was certainly a powerful example for the rest of his own brothers and sisters.”²³

Emerson realized his origins of place, family and faith had provided ongoing wealth in his life, not the wealth of money, but the wealth of a heritage of values and ways of thinking and being. In his dissertation, he acknowledged those who came before him and were, “in a sense, responsible for whatever worth there may be in this dissertation. First, to my ancestors, who pioneered to the prairies of southern Minnesota

¹⁹ Mary Hughes, Mark and Mary Hughes Interview.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012. 6.

²³ Ibid.

in the middle of the last century and began a rural heritage of which I am the beneficiary; and, in particular, to my Mother who, now more than twenty years ago, was suddenly faced with the responsibility of managing a large farm and rearing nine children, ranging from two to eighteen years of age. That I, the last of these, have kept a love for the Land and for Catholicism is proof of her fortitude.”²⁴

Formal Education: Vibrant Intellectual Life

Emerson’s formal education in college will be covered in more detail in chapter five. Here I will briefly introduce general aspects of his college experience and some aspects of Emerson’s life and experience beyond college.

Emerson went to St. John’s University already embracing love of learning. His dorm room was known in college as a place where people would gather for intellectual conversation.²⁵ He had a natural ease that drew both students and monastic scholars to him. He became lifelong friends with Catholic intellectuals such as Emeric Lawrence, O.S.B., Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B., and Stephen B. Humphrey. Eugene McCarthy was also part of this circle of social-minded intellectuals who were significant friends for Emerson Hynes.²⁶

While Emerson’s gift of expression was evident in high school, where he was in the debate club,²⁷ college gave Emerson the venue to hone his skills of expression. He was also known for his mature writing style. He wrote for the student papers the *Record* and the *St. Benedict’s Quarterly*. When he was 22, within six months of college

²⁴ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life: With a Special Consideration of the Church in the United States.” (Master’s thesis, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN, 1939), viii.

²⁵ Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation.”

²⁶ William Cofell, Interview, October 21, 2010.

²⁷ Kilfenora, Sunday Eve, dearest Grandmas and all (n.d.) Hynes family archives.

graduation, *Free America* published his article “Whither Cooperation?,”²⁸ an essay so well written, organized and argued that former student, friend and colleague, William Cofell, continued to be amazed many years later at his mature style and “excellence of expression.”²⁹ The article continues some of the scholarship and conversations begun at St. John’s on distributism, a philosophy based on Catholic social teaching that supports widespread ownership of property and the consequent means of production.³⁰ In a seminar with Virgil Michel, O.S.B., Hynes studied the benefits of the cooperative movement through a Catholic social justice lens as an instrument for economic reform. His background in debate had trained him to analyze multiple sides of an issue, and his article argued the limitations of the cooperative movement. Cooperatives were problematic, he argued, with its overemphasis on the consumer, which posed risks for the producers who have the right to be independent. While the profit system under capitalism has been abused, it does not deny the validity of personal profits, which would then go to the cooperative, as a right return for the work of the producer. Further, he argued, was the risk to the privately owned shop as well as the potential, evidenced in history, for the cooperative system to “evolve into a bureaucratic, collectivist institution, unwieldy and undemocratic.”³¹

Virgil Michel encouraged Emerson to attend graduate school.³² Hynes received a scholarship to attend the University of Notre Dame. The scholarship was quite an honor to receive since only one person was “picked in the whole United States for this

²⁸ Emerson Hynes, “Whither cooperation?” *Free America*. Vol. 1: 12. (Dec. 1937), 4-6.

²⁹ Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation,” 130.

³⁰ The Distributist Review: A Project of the American Chesterton Society. Accessed July 13, 2013. <http://distributistreview.com/mag/>. G. K. Chesterton and Hillarie Belloc were influential in the distributist movement in the early 1900s.

³¹ Emerson Hynes, “Whither cooperation?” 5.

³² Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

scholarship at Notre Dame every yearso it was a prize, it was an honor that you would get this scholarship.”³³ He continued studies of Christian social thought, agrarian reform, cooperative movements, and the philosophy of distributism.³⁴ While at Notre Dame, Hynes built on the work he began at St. John’s and continued publishing. In 1938, “Catholic Rural Life Conference: The Most Vital Movement” was published in *Commonweal*, and “The Dignity and Joy of Work” was published in *The Catholic Rural Life Bulletin*. The latter essay lauded the worthiness and creativity of work and lamented “the loss of human connection with nature and rural living.”³⁵ At Notre Dame Emerson received a master’s degree in apologetics and graduated in May of 1939.

Many people encountered during college were sources of inspiration for Hynes. He met, for example, Dorothy Day, Peter Maurin, and Paul Hanly Furfey. He again encountered and then corresponded with Peter Maurin while at Notre Dame and stayed with Dorothy Day at the Catholic Worker in New York when he returned from a trip to Ireland.³⁶ Additionally, several of the monks at St. John’s were inspirational for Emerson, many of whom he continued to meet and correspond with all of his life. Particularly influential was Rev. Virgil Michel, a key Catholic intellectual and social philosopher.

Virgil Michel, O.S.B., Influential Mentor

Chapter four of this dissertation will address the role of Virgil Michel in the life of Emerson Hynes during the years Emerson was at St. John’s. Virgil Michel was a liturgical leader, social philosopher and Dean of Students when Hynes was a student at

³³ Ibid. 37.

³⁴ Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation.”

³⁵ Ibid., 132.

³⁶ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

St. John's University. Owen Lindblad noted they worked together as teacher and student. In Virgil Michel, Hynes "found a mentor whose philosophy and ideals matched his own."³⁷ Michel was an intelligent and creative leader with a consciousness of justice, the common good, and human rights and a key figure who united social action with the liturgical movement.³⁸ He challenged bourgeoisie, unjust social structures, bigotry, and the philosophical basis of individualism as false and destructive to the common good of humanity. Hynes saw him as a transformational leader, one who "laid the groundwork which has made it possible for others to advance."³⁹ Virgil Michel's message was attuned to the *Rule of Saint Benedict* and took "a new look at unjust structures, materialism, and consumerism. Hynes himself later stated, 'The Rule is a primary source for social principles.'"⁴⁰ *The Rule of St. Benedict* was another significant source of insight and inspiration for Emerson.

The Rule of Saint Benedict, Oblate and Religious Life

Benedictine values were a major influence in Emerson's life. The Rule of St. Benedict, a centuries-old philosophy, prescribes a balance of work, prayer, and study with an emphasis on listening, hospitality and other practices that nurture the possibility to live in the reality of love's potential and difficulties.⁴¹ At a little over 9000 words in length, the Rule has guided religious communities and lay individuals for over fifteen

³⁷ Lindblad, "Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation." 131.

³⁸ Coleman Barry, *Worship and Work: Saint John's Abbey and University, 1856-1992*. (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press. 1993).

³⁹ Emerson, Hynes, "The Social Thought of Virgil Michel, O.S. B." *The American Catholic Sociological Review*, Vol. 1:4 (Dec., 1940): 172-180, 172.

⁴⁰ Owen Lindblad, "Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation." 131.

⁴¹ Ester de Waal, *Seeking God: The Way of St. Benedict*. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1984).

hundred years.⁴² It was written in a time when the Church “was being torn apart by internal disputes” and there was significant social and economic insecurity, when “markets were failing, communication becoming difficult, and there was a huge social imbalance by which the rich were getting richer and the poor were getting poorer.”⁴³ Rather than engaging in disputes or clinging to certainty, Benedict strove to remain a person open and responsive. To cultivate monks with hearts “open to all comers,”⁴⁴ he pointed to a middle way with emphasis on both the solitary and the shared life, holding a dialectic where each informs the other and produces growth.⁴⁵ For contemporary followers, the Rule offers a “treasure of spiritual wisdom”⁴⁶ and a life in balance of prayer, study, work and community.⁴⁷

Lay people who formally choose to live by the Rule of St. Benedict are called oblates, although they do not live in monasteries. An oblate “spiritually affiliates himself with a Benedictine monastery and its community, in order to thereby lead a more perfect Christian life in the world according to the spirit of the Rule of St. Benedict.”⁴⁸ The Benedictine way nurtures “simplicity, moderation, humanness”⁴⁹ and oblates choose to live in that manner in their daily lives. The essence of the Benedictine approach is

⁴² Ester de Waal, *A Life-Giving Way: A Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict*, (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1995).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, xiv.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Jerome Theisen, “The Rule of St. Benedict: Introduction,” *The Order of St. Benedict*, accessed November 2, 2013, <http://www.osb.org/gen/rule.html>

⁴⁷ Theisen, *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Linda Kulzer, “Monasticism Beyond the Walls,” In Linda Kulzer and Roberta Bondi, editors, *Benedict in the World: Portraits of Monastic Oblates*, 5-10. Collegeville, MN: the Liturgical Press, 2002, 6. Kulzer is quoting the 1952 *Manual of the Oblates of St. Benedict*.

⁴⁹ Martin E. Schirber, “Martin E. Schirber.” In *A Sense of Place II*, ed. by Coleman . J. Barry, 205-214. Collegeville, MN: the Liturgical Press, 1990, 213.

expressed by Thomas Merton as “that concern with doing ordinary things quietly and perfectly for the glory of God which is the beauty of the pure Benedictine life.”⁵⁰

Emerson Hynes became an oblate of St. Benedict on April 21, 1941. “Emerson Hynes, the person, the writer, the teacher and philosopher, drew on the age-old Benedictine program of *ora et labora* to root him in a sense of wholeness, dignity, and community. These were balanced elements of the day. The Benedictine motto, ‘Moderation in all things,’ became his byword and guide.”⁵¹

Linda Kulzer stated that Benedictine spirituality is “an invitation to a mysticism of everyday life, a very ordinary way by which our sacred yearnings are wedded to the secular necessities of life.”⁵² Emerson endeavored to bring a “spirituality of the ordinary”⁵³ into the life of his family through teachings, conversation and rituals, which will be discussed later. For Emerson, part of the invitation to the mystical was also his rural philosophy, what I call a philosophy of the soil. He wrote, “Nature is organic, an eternal picture of life and death; and nature is mysterious, suggesting the Divine The rural person is fundamentally religious. He can scarcely live so close to nature and not perceive the design and force of God at work.”⁵⁴ Emerson’s rural philosophy as a philosophy of the soil embraced the understanding that all of life, sustenance and culture depends upon the land. “Rural society,” he wrote, “not only depends on the Land either directly or indirectly for its sustenance, it also views the land as the focal point of all its social and cultural activities. Its entire life is founded in the soil.”⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Ester deWaal, *Seeking God: The way of St. Benedict*, 30.

⁵¹ Owen Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation.” 130-131.

⁵² Linda Kulzer, “Monasticism Beyond the Walls,” 8.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life” 38.

⁵⁵ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life,” 1.

Emerson stayed close to the soil all through his Collegeville years through work in their small rural homestead. He loved gardening⁵⁶ and the agrarian work on their ten acres. Emerson's son Denis recalled the large garden where "they raised food for all of us.... We'd plant potatoes and weed it and have to dig the potatoes up in the fall before you could go to the St. John's football game...They had corn and peas and beans and rhubarb, which still exists. And then he planted an orchard right along the fence line....Had apple and plum trees and grapevines....we tapped trees for maple syrup and boiled it and that kind of thing. Pretty much whatever you could do in the country to raise your own food, they did."⁵⁷ Emerson accepted the invitation to the mystical in everyday life in work with soil and nature devoted to feeding the family.

Emerson and Arleen also practiced Benedictine hospitality and welcomed a stream of visitors from around the world and the local community into their home. Their homes in Collegeville and Washington D.C. flourished in conversation with guests from around the globe.⁵⁸ *The Collegeville Gazette* reported in 1960 that the Hynes family "had guests from Chile, Iran, Iraq, Nigeria, Japan, India, Pakistan, El Salvador and other countries."⁵⁹ A later edition reports "guests from Kenya, Japan, Uruguay, Burundi and other countries."⁶⁰ Students recalled with warmth being welcomed into their home, finding a home away from home⁶¹ or a place to find meaningful conversation about deeply held convictions. For instance, Gordon Zahn⁶² went often to Emerson and

⁵⁶ Arleen Hynes, "Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview." Oral history tape interview, St. Benedict's Monastery Archives. 1998.

⁵⁷ Denis Hynes, Interview, March 26, 2012.

⁵⁸ Mary Hynes-Berry, personal communication, November 28, 2010.

⁵⁹ "Family Enjoys, *The Collegeville Gazette*, (1960), 3.

⁶⁰ Here and There," *The Collegeville Gazette*, (1962), 3.

⁶¹ William Cofell, Personal Communication, October 17, 2010, and Sy Theisen, Interview, June 27, 2012.

⁶² Thomas A. Shannon, "Gordon Zahn, The Prophet of Peace," *America: The National Catholic Review*, (January 7, 2008). Accessed January 14, 2014. <http://americamagazine.org/issue/641/other->

Arleen's home in Collegeville when he was a student at St. John's after he got out of conscientious objector camp. With Zahn, Emerson "used to talk about the old movie *High Noon* in which violence was used, but the issue was that each person has to come to a moral decision for himself, and, it appears, more and more often in our society, choices must be deliberate if we want to avoid being subtly changed by our culture."⁶³ Neighbors also remembered with warmth visiting, spending time together in conversation.⁶⁴ One visitor, after she and another guest said good-bye and went on their way along the windy road, recalled, "we remembered another part of the Rule. St Benedict exhorts his monks: 'Let all guests be received as Christ.' This was the most perfect explanation we could find for the hospitality at Kilfenora [the Hynes home] which had shared its greatest riches with us."⁶⁵

The daily practices of prayer and ritual also functioned to cultivate humility, an awareness of something bigger than one's self in the world, and connections to the cycles of life. For both Emerson and Arleen "it was a sense of humility, it was a sense of transcendence ... an aesthetic sense almost ... the power of language ... a lot of ritual prayer, ...the Divine Office is a very different kind of repetition because it is this cycle of the psalms and it's the recognition ...of seasons when some of them are more appropriate than others but they also change all the time."⁶⁶ The spiritual life and the seasonal natural world interconnected fundamentally in Emerson and Arleen's agrarian approach to life.

[things/gordon-zahn-prophet-peace](#) Called a "Prophet of Peace, Gordon Zahn got a PhD in Sociology, was active in the Catholic Peace group Pax Christie and numerous peace efforts, and wrote *In Solitary Witness: The life and Death of Franz Jagerstatter*.

⁶³ Arleen Hynes, "Dear Aunt Glad" [letter], April 5, 1981, Hynes Family archives.

⁶⁴ Lorraine Cofell, Personal Communication, October 17, 2010, William Cofell, Personal Communication, October 17, 2010, and Jody O'Connell, Interview October 20, 2011.

⁶⁵ Elizabeth Anne Reiten, "Kilfenora," *St. Benedict's Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (Winter, 1944): 16-18. 16.

⁶⁶ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview June 27th 2011.

Daughter Mary reflected, “If you are a farmer, you know better than anybody that the problems are eternal. The seasons do you in, the insects do you in, the drought does you in, the rain does you in – and yet, the earth in the long run has the cycle that keeps us all alive.... renewal happens.”⁶⁷ As in the true Benedictine tradition, daily practices of prayer, ritual and daily work were part of the balance of a life lived engaged in the world.

Emerson’s religious beliefs were nurtured in college in a time of significant social and economic insecurity, but also a time of great hope for Catholics working for social justice and social reconstruction. His religious approach was also intellectually justified in an ethic of the value of each human person; it was a very authentic inner and outer movement that inspired a hope for the future, not a fundamentalist outlook. The grounded approach of the *Benedictine Rule* joined the religious optimism inspired by Virgil Michel’s teachings toward the common good and what might be possible for humanity. The belief in possibility for human transformation toward the common good was a driving force in Emerson’s religious and life philosophy.

As early as 1943 there is evidence that Emerson’s religious sense of the value of each person and the work for social justice meant one must respond to the race problems in the United States. Emerson published a review of Rev. John LaFarge’s book *The Race Question and the Negro*. Here Emerson described the heart of the book as an “attempt to show the force and extent of interracial injustice in the United States,”⁶⁸ and he lamented the shortage of Catholic action in light of “the universality of the Church and the unity of the human race, or, more pointedly, regarding the doctrine of the Mystical Body of

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Emerson Hynes, review of “The Race Question and the Negro,” by Rev. John LaFarge, *Orate Fratres* XVIII, no. 1, (November 28, 1943): 46-47. 46.

Christ.”⁶⁹ News article clippings and other documents addressing race issues from various archival sources indicate that Emerson kept abreast of race issues.⁷⁰ In 1944, for example, Emerson wrote to the *New York Times* objecting that he had never seen a picture of a Black bride in the society section of the newspaper. With glaring lack of analysis, the managing editor wrote back to Emerson, “It just so happens that Negroes do not happen to be socially prominent in New York City, by the standards now in operation in the office of this newspaper as well as in the offices of other newspapers....I think it is only fair to point out that there are no Negroes listed in the New York Social Register.”⁷¹

However, the race question was not just an intellectual endeavor; it was an endeavor toward human dignity to be lived in daily life. Mark Hughes, who dated Emerson’s niece, Mary – they eventually married – recalled being a young visitor at the Hynes home in the 1950s: “I was out playing softball with the kids and somebody called us and said, ‘It’s time for supper, time to eat.’ And we were collecting the balls and the bats and stuff, and I said, ‘OK, last one in is a nigger baby,’ and this got back to Emerson in a real hurry from the little Hyneses, and all he ever said to me was, ‘Why didn’t you say a Scotch Scandinavian baby.’”⁷² The point was made and both recalled this event over sixty years later with the clarity of a moment of a stinging embarrassment and the realization of being called to something greater. Mary Hughes commented, “I felt very embarrassed about it because I just never thought about it. I was [in the class of] ’50 to ’54 and that’s where things were really heating up as far as the racial question in the South. The things that we were hearing, you know, the Klu Klux Klan, all of that was

⁶⁹ Emerson Hynes, review of “The Race Question and the Negro,” 47.

⁷⁰ Documents on race were found in both the St. John’s University archives and the Hynes family archives.

⁷¹ Edwin L. James, Letter to Emerson Hynes, October 2, 1944. St. John’s University Archives, 2470: 16, 11, or 20.

⁷² Mark Hughes, Mary and Mark Hughes Interview, March 16, 2012.

...something to really think about and a measure in our framework for who we were as Christian people.”⁷³

A document prepared for publication or a presentation reflects Emerson’s thinking on what the race issue meant for Christian people:

The first requirement of the Catholic in inter-racial matters is that he be just. You must fulfill the law of justice before you can practice charity, which is the unique mark of the Christian. Justice is simply giving to others what is their due. Justice is concerned with the things we owe to other people. To be unjust is to deprive others of what they have coming to them—on the broad sense it is stealing.

What do we owe to others? The list is long. We owe some things to every fellow man by reason of his nature. These are the basic human rights, including the right to life, liberty, property and pursuit of happiness. And the right to life, for instance, includes the right to make a living in keeping with one’s talents and thus to sustain life; it includes the right to procure housing and food and medical care, which are requirements of staying alive. The right to liberty includes such things as freedom of movement, freedom to select one’s vocation or work, freedom to marry and rear a family, freedom to become educated and develop one’s mind, freedom to worship God, and (under ordinary circumstances) freedom to join with other citizens in selecting the governmental authorities who will govern you.

It does not take much imagination to see how the written and unwritten laws about negroes are often a direct violation of these natural rights. An iron clad segregation that makes no allowance for the moral and intellectual perfection of individual members is certain to deprive innocent people of their rights. It is not a question of “giving” rights to

⁷³ Mary Hughes, Mary and Mark Hughes Interview, March 16, 2012.

other fellow citizens and persons. It is a fundamental law of nature that they have these rights equally with all other created men of God—and when we discriminate against them on these fundamentals, we violate the law which God made.⁷⁴

Emerson took that philosophy forward when he went to work as legislative assistant to Senator Eugene McCarty. The move to Washington D. C. meant they had to find a community and a place of worship. Son Patrick described the effort,

They went to St. Thomas More...an archconservative parish with the iron-fisted Monsignor and the nuns running and ruling the roost. It was just too much for my dad and mom to take and they ended up over at this mission church which was Lady Queen of Peace. It was a black church in the black part of Arlington and it was what they called a universal parish and it was the Catholic Church's way of getting around desegregation of the Virginian Catholic Church. In other words, the blacks could go to the Catholic Church but they had to sit in the back, they were the last to go to communion. And they were tired of this, so they built their own little church and they were served by the Holy Ghost fathers who were missionary – Black African missionary American...So when my mother and father got here and found out the situation...they lobbied the Bishop and they formed letters, got a lot of support. And my father used to say, 'The President of the United States, a political secular office under the Constitution, is further ahead in his thinking on desegregation than the Roman Catholic Church. This is wrong'.... Within a year, two

⁷⁴ Emerson Hynes, "Religion and Racism," 160, 161, John's University Archives, 2470: 1. This document appears to be written by Emerson. At very least it was edited by him and this section was to be included in what was to be a text on ethics for college students to be co-written with Fr. Leo Ward.

years, that Lady Queen of Peace became a geographic parish, part of the Diocese, no longer a mission church.⁷⁵

Life in Washington D.C. took many turns from the life in Collegeville. In Washington, daughter Mary explained, “They really made a decision that they weren’t going to go into the power circle cocktail club kind of thing.”⁷⁶ Instead, the practice of Benedictine hospitality and interest in religion as life’s activity endured. They formed a Catholic Family Movement group to study, reflect and act. Son Patrick said, books were “all set up so you take up a topic and then at the end of every chapter the group decides, ‘What is our action that springs out from this scripture that we did?’ And so they were very active.”⁷⁷ In true ecumenical spirit and with a “larger sense of universality of Christ in the world rather than limited to sect or faith or religions,” Emerson and Arleen also started an interfaith group with Jewish couples, Protestant couples and Catholic couples. People came to their home for conversation. Patrick recalled, “Karl Rahner would come over – just show up at the house on Sunday and visit for a couple of hours with Emerson. They would talk philosophy, religion, and all of that other good stuff, all that good stuff.”⁷⁸

Just as the work of the land was part of spirituality and religious life for Emerson in rural Collegeville, much of the work in Washington also sprang from those same religious and social justice values. For example, Eugene McCarthy and Emerson were involved in migrant worker legislation designed to protect workers in the concerns of housing, schooling, and fair wages, a legislative battle they ultimately won. Son Patrick

⁷⁵ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

⁷⁶ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview June 27th 2011.

⁷⁷ Patrick Hynes, Interview July 10, 2012.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

described the religious impulse of this work, “We have to work...we work on our faith and our belief that this is the way we need to be in the world around us, we succeed or at least try it. That is what we want, we want people to try it.”⁷⁹ For Emerson, the religious life was a life to be lived working for social justice in the world.

Marriage: Who Shall Find a Valiant Woman?

Emerson met Arleen McCarty (1915 – 2006) when he was a student at Notre Dame. Arleen took a trip to Chicago to meet her twin sister Eileen. While Arleen was visiting, Tim Donahue, a mutual friend, suggested to Emerson that he call Eileen and meet her. They met in Union Station and Emerson subsequently invited them to Notre Dame with Eileen as his date. Emerson also suggested, “Why doesn’t Arleen come and go with my roommate.” Apparently Emerson had noticed that both young women had their missals in their purses, not trusting to keep them in the suitcase and this had impressed him.⁸⁰

The story of their encounter is a family legend:

The twins went to the Spring Ball, Eileen blind dated with Em and Arleen with their Sheldon friend Tim Donahue. They knew something about Emerson because Tim had sent them all the St. John’s Records that included Emerson’s editorials. Coming back to their room after the dance, Arleen announced to Eileen that she was going to marry Emerson Hynes – she was in love with him. Eileen was astonished and she exclaimed, “But what about Robert!” Arleen said she cared very much about Robert but loved Emerson and would marry him. Eileen reported, “It was like a divorce in the family” but that she immediately said that if Arleen had made her mind up she knew it was what she would do.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 20

⁸⁰ Arleen Hynes, Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview.

Emerson mentioned he had tickets for a concert in Chicago a week later and wondered if Arleen would still be there. Arleen immediately said yes though she had almost no money. She spent the week on Eileen's floor, budgeted a nickel a day for food – alternated a loaf of bread and a can of pork and beans. Obviously it paid off fed by love!⁸¹

Years later Arleen recalled, “I looked at Emerson, and he had large eyes and long lashes. I just looked at him and said to myself, h-m-m-m, that's the one I want to marry. And I didn't change my mind, and I'm most happy that it turned out that we agreed. But it took him a longer time to decide that this was an inevitable conclusion.” Emerson continued at Notre Dame and Arleen at the College of St. Catherine in St. Paul, Minnesota. “Then after that we wrote. It was about four years before we finally married. He finished at Notre Dame and he went to Ireland for the summer and came back on the last passenger ship that came in '39 before the war started.” Emerson began teaching at St. Johns and thought Arleen should also work for a year, which she did; she taught in Mandan, North Dakota.

They married June 26th of 1941 in the St. John's Abbey Church with Emerson's good Benedictine friends conducting the ceremony.⁸² It was difficult to choose just one friend to conduct the ceremony, since Emerson had several good Benedictine friends. “But Father Walter Reger was the, you know, he was the wonderful Benedictine. He was the epitome of the good Benedictine qualities”⁸³ and thus Father Walter Reger was the

⁸¹ Arleen McCarty Hynes and Mary Hynes-Berry, *Chronology of Arleen McCarty Hynes: Based on Letters to her Twin Eileen*, 2006. Accessed July 14, 2013.

<http://www3.nd.edu/~hgberry/parts/Chronology%20of%20Arleen%20McCarty%20Hynes.pdf>

This is a transcription of letters with additions based on memories and records.

⁸² Arleen Hynes, “Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview.”

⁸³ *Ibid.*

celebrant, and “Fr. Godfrey was the master of ceremonies.”⁸⁴ Emeric Lawrence, O.S.B and Father Martin Schirbir, O.S. B. were deacon and sub deacon.⁸⁵ With typical Benedictine hospitality, they invited both families to a party the eve of the wedding and then Mass and breakfast the next day. “We got married and we went on our trip up to Canada through the National Superior Forest. It was very nice. I certainly had never been in a forest before. We didn’t see anything but trees, but it was very beautiful.”⁸⁶

Emerson had found a courageous and insightful woman to be his partner in life and he wanted all who entered his home to know the measure of Arleen’s goodness. Painted on the kitchen cupboards, at Emerson’s insistence, was the verse from Proverbs 31:10, *Who Shall Find A Valiant Woman?* When a visitor inquired about the verse, Emerson found it and read the quote:

Who shall find a valiant woman? Far and from the uttermost coasts is the price of her.

The heart of her husband trusteth in her, and he shall have no need of spoils.

She will render him good, and not evil all the days of her life.

She hath sought wool and flax, and hath wrought by the counsel of her hands.

She is like a merchant’s ship, she bringeth her bread from afar. (Pr. 31: 10,14)⁸⁷

The ideals and ideas Emerson took away from his studies at St. John’s and Notre Dame were embraced by Arleen and “they found a way to put it into practice.”⁸⁸ Emerson and Arleen “were a unit.”⁸⁹ Arleen was a true partner to Emerson in religious values, the

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation,” 130-133.

⁸⁶ Arleen Hynes, “Sister Arleen Hynes, interview.”

⁸⁷ Reiten, “Kilfenora,” 16.

⁸⁸ Mary Hynes Berry, personal communication, October 18, 2010.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

liturgical movement, the rural family life movement, and many intellectual pursuits.

While “Emerson gave her a framework, they actually complemented each other.”⁹⁰

Arleen was a strong, intelligent and gifted woman in her own regard, a bibliotherapist and pioneer in using the power of poetry for healing purposes.⁹¹ She had a particular wisdom in how to live and how to be. For example, she knew the inner worth of aesthetics and said, “Where beauty is perceived, an integration of self takes place.”⁹² The nature of each person’s being is, quite obviously, the foundation of a marriage and Arleen’s insights and compassion were profoundly powerful in their marriage. They had a respectful and caring marriage. Letters show concern and affectionate teasing. For example, Emerson wrote a happy birthday letter, possibly to Arleen’s twin, “[Arleen] is not as young as she used to be; especially not as young as she was thirty years ago. But she says she is happier because now she has such a big wonderful husband.”⁹³

Along with lighthearted teasing were times of learning and growing through the support of one another. One story reveals Emerson’s ethical approach to life. When Arleen’s mother died in childbirth, she and her twin, Eileen, were adopted by the wife of a blood uncle. The uncle died when the twins were twelve. The adoptive mother had been addicted to laudanum, which contains ten percent opium by weight,⁹⁴ but was able to quit when her youngest was five years old and then later adopted Arleen and Eileen. Thus the twins got what her birth children had not: a mother who was not using a potent narcotic.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Yvonne Shinoster Lamb, “Arleen Hynes, 90; Bibliotherapy Pioneer, *The Washington Post*, September 15, 2006. Accessed October 31, 2010. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/09/14/AR2006091401712_pf.html

⁹² Hynes family, personal communication, 2006.

⁹³ Dear little girl, letter, 1949, p. 1, Hynes Family Archives.

⁹⁴ “Laudanum,” 2013. Accessed July 1, 2013.

<http://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Laudanum.html> Laudanum (also known as Tincture of Opium) is an alcoholic herbal preparation containing approximately 10% powdered opium by weight (the equivalent of 1% morphine).”

It was hurtful to Arleen when she and Eileen were left out of the will. Emerson helped Arleen work this through by scrutinizing the deeper values, “None of us had a right to anything...the inheritance is who we are,” and trying to see how to live with the reality without resentment, “You need to let this go. You need to think of how those siblings supported you.”⁹⁵ Emerson assisted Arleen through the issue toward gratitude for an inheritance of a life made possible by the adoption and consequent family experiences of love, as well as avoiding a life of bitterness and pain by choosing acceptance and seeing the good.

A glimpse into Emerson’s love for Arleen is captured in *The Colledgeville Tales*, a prose poem he originally wrote for his daughter Mary’s twenty-first birthday. It was a meaningful work for him. Years later, shortly before his death, Emerson, spent many hours revising his earlier work. Weakened from strokes, perhaps sensing impending death, it became for him a poetic memoir as he looked back with deep affection on his life with Arleen in Colledgeville.⁹⁶ His love is apparent in this section of the poem:

But before I go further it would be best
 To let you know some things about the rest.
 There was his wife, a classic daily witness
 Of nuptial blessing and feminine finesse.
 Her skills were varied, her love immeasurable.
 She turned a pickle barrel into a table,
 Made drapes of unbleached muslin, painted walls
 In vivid colors; on cabinet doors drew symbols

⁹⁵ Mary Hynes Berry, personal communication, February 10, 2014.

⁹⁶ See Appendix H for full poem.

Of liturgy and land. She printed carefully
“In green pastures the Lord hath settled me”
Above the window which commands and captures
The distant hills, creek and valley pastures
Where cattle graze and on a winter night
Deer come to browse and play by full moonlight.
A brown haired girl, a trifle more than thin
With light blue eyes, tiny freckles, fair skin,
She had the radiance of Irish innocence.
She made her dresses of bright gay prints
And proudly served the products of their land:
Peas and golden sweetcorn, the surplus canned;
Eggs from hens; syrup from maple trees;
Rich Guernsey milk, butter, cottage cheese;
Asparagus tips, first triumph of the spring,
Apples, plums and fruits that fall days bring;
Fried chicken, baby-beef home corn fed;
Honey from orchard hives; whole wheat bread;
Gooseberry, chokecherry jelly; wild grape wine;
Strawberry jam; pickles of watermelon rind.
She took her kitchen tasks in easy stride
And carried on an active life beside,
Shopping, visiting, responding to requests
To lead the March of Dimes, having guests

At open house, talking with the faculty,
 Avoiding women's talk of woes and treachery.
 She liked to travel, dance, go to plays
 And symphonies, read poetry and essays,
 Study art and sketch with colored chalk.
 She was thrilled before her son could talk
 By the spoon-beating response she got
 From reading him Hopkins and T.S. Eliot.
 She resolutely set aside each day
 An afternoon nap and a time to pray.
 Enthusiasm was her strongest virtue;
 She followed each prospective avenue
 To learn the truth or make a better world
 And kept the banner of reform unfurled.
 Her countenance was eager when she smiled,
 She moved with easy grace though big with child.
 She was a true, a perfect rural queen,
 Scripture's Valiant Woman. Her name was Arleen.⁹⁷

Kilfenora

Emerson and Arleen moved into marriage and family with a great sense of purpose and vision. They built their house in order to transform it into a home, but were first thoughtful about location and community. Emerson explained, they

⁹⁷ Emerson Hynes, "The Colledgeville Tales," *Colledgeville Gazette*, June 26, 1966. 2-8, 3, 4. Hynes family archive. This is the original published version.

chose a spot where there was a little group of six families strung along a half-mile road, in the country, but still a community. The only drawbacks were the absence of electricity and the imposition of a railroad between our house on the hill and the little stream in the [Watab] Valley below. Magnanimously, we accepted the train and decided not to interfere with it. Actually it became something of a friend, a very impersonal friend to be sure but one with a gay toot for us every time it went by and approached the crossing. The problem of electricity seemed soluble.⁹⁸

It was a great adventure to plan and build a home, an adventure Emerson wished for others. He understood fully that building a home is not the same as building a house; the house is the structure, but a home is, he quoted Webster, an “abode of one’s family....The abiding place of the affections....The social unit or center formed by a family living together.”⁹⁹ In building the house, one ought to use proper materials and every step in the process “must be tested to see whether it aids or hinders home-making.”¹⁰⁰ While Emerson put the principles of home-making first, he fully engaged in the adventure of building the house and homestead,¹⁰¹ a place he loved and affectionately named Kilfenora.

The name Kilfenora transpired from a trip Emerson took to Ireland during the summer following his graduation from the University of Notre Dame. With colleagues from Notre Dame, he took a bike trip through Ireland. Son Patrick heard the stories from his father. “When he got to Ireland he went to the ancestral home, he saw Ireland close up and he was very familiar with all the history of Ireland and its struggles to be a free

⁹⁸ Emerson Hynes, “The Light and the Power,” 276, 277.

⁹⁹ Emerson Hynes, “Building a Home,” *The Marianist* 39, no. 8 (October, 1948): 11-13, 26-29. 11. Emerson quoted *Webster’s Dictionary*, n.d.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

country.”¹⁰² While in County Clare he came across a small cathedral “which he associated with the Hynes family. It was called Kilfenora, meaning ‘church of the north.’¹⁰³ Hynes kept the name in mind for his own future home, ‘a little church,’ built in upper Collegeville.”¹⁰⁴ In contrast to the rocky landscape of Ireland’s small church of the north, the Collegeville Kilfenora was situated “atop a hill in the country, banked behind a forest of birch and oak and overlooking a valley split by a lazy creek and checked with alternate patches of pasture and corn and grain stubble.”¹⁰⁵

In a section of his poetic memoir, *The Collegeville Tales*, Emerson places himself and home in the locale:

He lived in Collegeville
 Many years ago in a white house on the hill
 Overlooking Watab Valley, a modest place
 He helped construct himself in an open space
 On his ten acres among the white birch trees,
 A homestead loomed in rural tapestries.
 Collegeville is not a crowded civic center –
 Four homes on the hill and four down further
 On route to the Great Northern railroad station
 Serving St. John’s: fourteen century’s tradition
 Of the Holy Rule of Benedict taking root

¹⁰² Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

¹⁰³ “History,” *County Clare, Ireland*. Accessed Nov. 3, 2013, <http://www.kilfenoraclare.com/about/history/> Various websites interpret the meaning of Kilfenora, often similar to “church of the white place.”

¹⁰⁴ Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation.” 130-132.

¹⁰⁵ Emerson Hynes, “Building a Home,” 11.

In forested wilderness, producing fruit
 Of learning through its men's university
 Where he was teaching ethics and sociology....¹⁰⁶

The building of Kilfenora joined practical and aesthetic considerations. Despite a very tight building budget, Emerson was true to his aesthetic sense, often connected to experiences in the natural world. Emerson put in a “wide shining window which reached from floor to ceiling and opened the room to the far-spreading pine-dotted valley below. It was as though the room were turned inside out and the beauty of the outdoors brought in.”¹⁰⁷ A visitor described the stone fireplace and atmosphere, “Over in one corner a rough stone fireplace gave off a warm glow and lighted the red Swedish spinning wheel at its side. Above on the wall hung the crucifix of the glorified Christ. The golden oak chair was inviting and we sat and talked. There was a warmth in this room like no other, not the warmth of a hot air furnace, but the warmth of sincere good will.”¹⁰⁸

The stones of the fireplace reflected the soft light from the window overlooking the valley. They were picked by Emerson in the field and placed when they first built the house. Mary recalled,

Daddy was remembering how he had picked up a lot of them on a rainy day and how the sun had just gleamed on those stones and that was what made him want this stone as opposed to that stone. So he had decided that would shellac or varnish...the stones. Jim Powers and Don Humphrey were over and they were giving him a terrible time. They said, “These stones are here in the house now, they're not out there in nature, this is the way the stone is – the stone is not always wet from the rain, the stone is more like this so you

¹⁰⁶ Emerson Hynes, “The Collegeville Tales,” 3.

¹⁰⁷ Reiten, “Kilfenora,” 16.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

should leave the stone in its natural state.” And I still see my father and he had his pipe and he was casually continuing to varnish on and he said, “Yes, but my memory is of the sun hitting these stones and making them so beautiful and I decided that I’d rather have that memory every time I look at the stones rather than their natural state. You’re absolutely right, it’s not their natural state.” And so the stones are still shellacked. It’s quite beautiful.¹⁰⁹

Emerson had been interested in building a rammed earth house, a “method of building houses which is centuries old – houses of earth. Constructed by tamping a mixture of common earth, sand, and clay, such houses become more durable than concrete, and it is witnessed that there are some in use today in France which were built at least nine hundred years ago.”¹¹⁰ He tried out the rammed earth method with a group who built a rammed earth smoke house for Rupert Reisinger, a janitor at St. John’s they all loved.¹¹¹ Emerson wrote,

A few years ago several of us, with like enthusiasm, rammed an earth smokehouse, completing the project just before Minnesota’s famous Armistice Day blizzard. The freezing temperature on the uncured walls caused dire predictions for the project, variously known as the ‘pounded sod’ and ‘smashed clay’ house. They proved unfounded and the building is substantial today. Earth from your own acres is cheap but it takes a lot of work, much more, we thought, than the savings in materials justified.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Mary Hynes, Interview, June 27, 2011.

¹¹⁰ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life,” 21, 22.

¹¹¹ Arleen Hynes, Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview.

¹¹² Emerson Hynes, review of *The Rammed-Earth House*, by Anthony Merrill, *Commonweal* XLVI, no. 1 (April 18, 1947): 19-20.

Considering the amount of labor to make rammed earth walls, that walls were “only one-fourth to one-eighth of the cost”¹¹³ of a house at that time, and that the bank would not lend money to build a rammed earth house, they chose to build with locally made cinder blocks.¹¹⁴

Building the house inspired local decentralists – a movement having to do with “living on the land and growing organic food and buying into cooperatives instead of into the regular capitalistic system...and build one’s own home”¹¹⁵ – who became involved in the building. It became an adult education project for enthusiasts of the teachings of Catholic social thought in the tradition of Virgil Michel who came to St. John’s for social action weekends. Several monks, seminarians, and friends from St. John’s – Frank Sieh, Father Martin Schirbir,¹¹⁶ Father Emeric, Gene McCarthy, and “various of his friends”¹¹⁷ – also helped. Within two weeks they had built “the little barn, which is what is [now] called ‘the little house.’”¹¹⁸ Emerson and Arleen and eventually their first son, Denis, lived there for the two year project of building the house.¹¹⁹ Daughter Mary explained the spirit of the effort and the connection to creating a meaningful life, “The building of the house was an act of fellowship in the end because ...he and various of his friends did almost all the work themselves.... It was the doing of it and it was the conversations they were having as they were doing it ... so that when he wrote that poem [what he put] in

¹¹³ Ibid., 20.

¹¹⁴ Arleen Hynes, “Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview.”

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Mary Hynes, Interview, June 27, 2011.

¹¹⁸ Arleen Hynes, “Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview.”

¹¹⁹ Denis Hynes, Interview, March 26, 2012.

there is that power of the work of your hands, and the good earth kind of idea and making the world meaningful.”¹²⁰

With the planning help of architect friend Edwards, they began building the house that was to become Kilfenora. Remarkably, they stayed within the 5,000 dollar limit. Even when they ended up digging four wells before they got decent water – water was difficult to come by in that area – and having spent over one thousand dollars to get one well, they stayed in the budget by cutting five feet from the house plan. The eager help and resources of friends furthered the project. One friend knew where they could rent a bulldozer to help dig the basement, which otherwise would have been dug by hand. Another friend, Gene McCarthy, knew someone who had built a cement house and borrowed the frames from him. They mixed the cement by hand and Emerson pumped and hauled all the water that was needed to make cement for the foundation.¹²¹ He wrote, “I pumped by hand all the water for the basement of the house, and even though 130 sacks of cement can get awfully thirsty when mixed with dry sand, it was cheery work.”¹²² It was also difficult work and one can imagine exhaustion and sore muscles. Yet there are humorous recollections, for example, of words from one of the monks helping to dig the sewer line, “‘the god damn ditch’ and ‘all the stones in the god damn ditch.’”¹²³ With the energy of conviction and diligent persistence, Kilfenora emerged out of the disciplined labors of Emerson and of a supportive community.

Over the course of several years the house was a work in progress. Emerson wrote, “We moved into our house when the walls were up and the roof overhead. No

¹²⁰ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview, June 27, 2011.

¹²¹ Arleen Hynes, “Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview.”

¹²² Emerson Hynes, “The Light and the Power,” 276, 277.

¹²³ Denis Hynes, Interview, March 26, 2012.

conveniences were available for several weeks. It was five years before the labyrinth of electric wires was connected to the power line. It was more than a year before all the downstairs rooms were painted; over six years before the two big upstairs ‘dormitories’ were completed.”¹²⁴ The long process of completing the house was part of the organic process of the house being adopted by the family and a process that Emerson saw as beneficial and part of a life lived engaged with meaning. He wrote, “It is not necessary that everything be built when you move in. I am not sure that it is even desirable. The fun of finishing the house which has not been completed yet has been one of our deepest satisfactions. Every room has more meaning and charm to us because whatever quality it has, we gave it.”¹²⁵

When Emerson looked back on building his house he wrote, “We were innocent of any original thoughts but we were lucky enough to be near places and persons where sound principles could be learned.”¹²⁶ Yet there were creative approaches that brought a unique and charming individuality to the house. The architect had suggested corner windows in the kitchen, unusual at that time, but an approach that allowed a brighter corner and a wider vista.¹²⁷ There was a study for Emerson almost in the middle of the house, which was built with “a little see-through that held a telephone...so that he could get it or somebody in the kitchen could get it,”¹²⁸ and it also functioned for quick communication between Emerson and Arleen. Upstairs was one dormitory for the girls and one for the boys. The basement stored potatoes and preserves and the laundry

¹²⁴ Emerson Hynes, *Seven Keys to a Christian Home*. Des Moines, IA: National Catholic Rural Life Conference, 1948. 10. Accessed February 9, 2014. <http://www.ewtn.com/library/FAMILY/7Keys.TXT>The *Seven Keys to a Christian Home* first appeared in the *Marianist* under the title, *Building a Home*.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹²⁶ Emerson Hynes, “Building a Home,” 11.

¹²⁷ Arleen, Hynes, “Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview.”

¹²⁸ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview, June 27, 2011.

facilities. And there was a door that “led directly outdoors so that in hanging out her washing, Mrs. Hynes need not climb laborious steps. ‘I would never have thought of it,’ [Arleen] said, ‘but Em insisted on putting it in.’”¹²⁹ In addition to the Valiant Woman quotation on the cupboards, a kitchen wall also declared, “Work is Love Made Visible,” later humorously adapted verbally by the children to “work is love made miserable.”¹³⁰ In the living room over the large window looking out over the valley were the words, “In green pastures the Lord has settled me.”¹³¹

Emerson and Arleen followed seven principles in building their home. Emerson wrote:

The principles that guided us are:

A home should be designed for family living.

A home should be independently owned.

A home should be built for permanence and growth.

A home should provide privacy.

A home should be part of a community.

A home should be a productive unit.

*A home should be beautiful.*¹³²

Emerson likewise wrote that they had not found any cause to regret any of the principles upon which they build their house. He urged others to create their own list to point to the individual circumstances and terms of one’s own family. He also cautioned,

¹²⁹ Reiten, “Kilfenora,” 18.

¹³⁰ Mary Hynes-Berry, Personal communication, October 18, 2010.

¹³¹ Mary Hynes-Berry, Personal communication, Nov. 12, 2013.

¹³² Emerson Hynes, “Building a Home,” 12.

It would be misleading to say that it can be done easily. Discouragement and obstacles and fatigue are going to win a day now and then. But over all, the continuous process of building a home is an adventure in living, joyous and rich. It should not be approached as a worry and a headache. It should, and can, be a refreshing experience calling for creative thought by the intellect, important decisions by the will, and deep satisfaction of making something for oneself, by oneself.¹³³

Family Life in the Collegeville Years

Within seven years Emerson and Arleen had five children, eventually to become ten. In a letter Emerson humorously described managing children at mass and the near chaos of going to communion. “It was a little startling to realize that so many could be accumulated in so short a time...Anyway, this is the day, 7 years after, and not either of us have a single regret.”¹³⁴

With deliberate thoughtfulness, Emerson and Arleen gave their children names that held meaning for them. Denis, the oldest, was named after Emerson’s grandfather and St. Denis. Brigid was named after the saint and in honor of her mother’s twin, Brigid Eileen. Patrick Benedict was named after both saints, Peter McCarty was again after the saint, “make me a rock of faith” and after his mother’s family. Michael Paul was named after the archangel and his uncle Stanley Paul, Timothy John for one of Paul’s epistles, “I will fight the good fight of faith” and St. John, and Christopher Leo was named after the legend of St. Christopher bearing Christ and also after good friend and mentor Father Leo Ward and Pope Leo.¹³⁵ All of the children’s names became part of the family prayer every evening before leaving the dinner table in the Collegeville years. Along with the

¹³³ Emerson Hynes, “Building a Home, Part II” *The Marianist* 39, no. 9 (November, 1948):16-18, 27-28. 28.

¹³⁴ Emerson Hynes, letter, Hynes family archives.

¹³⁵ Mary Hynes-Berry, personal communication, Nov. 6, 2013.

psalms from the Divine Office, they would do a litany prayer of call and response in which every child's name was called and that child would heartily respond with a corresponding prayer line fitted to their name.¹³⁶

Eldest daughter Mary recalled being eight or nine years old and fed up with her name, which seemed to her so boring compared to the more interesting names of her siblings.

I said to Daddy, "Why did you give me such a boring name? I hate being Mary."

Emerson explained, "My dear, both of your grandmothers were named Mary and they were wonderful women worth remembering. I certainly know my mother was." He added, "But, I didn't call you Mary, I called you Mary Hynes and this is why I did it – because Blind Raftery, the ancient Gaelic poet, wrote a poem, *In Praise of Mary Hynes*, who was the most beautiful woman in Ireland, in the poem, and he said she had shining hair and so did you. But the poem also said "and she was as good as she was beautiful" and so I've named you Mary Hynes in hopes that you will grow up – of course you'll be beautiful but I want you to be as good as you are beautiful I think that he really felt that a name is an invitation to be your best self."¹³⁷

Mary embraced the name with delight and went on to write a paper for an Irish Literary Revival class gladly titled *Mary Hynes by Mary Hynes*.

The children's names were imbued with meaning, but there was also playful humor in names and naming. Mary recalled her parents debating about what to call eighth child, T. More.

¹³⁶ Mary Hynes, personal communication, February 10, 2014. See attachment I for complete litany.

¹³⁷ Mary Hynes, Interview, June 27, 2011.

The conversation was, ‘We named all these children basically after religious – Denis, bishop of France, and Patrick...Irish, and Hilary as a matter of fact is from a fourth century saint who was a sort of philosopher and mystic but it’s the same work as Isaac and it means laughing boy’....So, when we had our family litany, each person sort of had this tag with their name so Hilary’s was, ‘Make me a laughing boy and a priest,’ although he dropped the priest pretty soon. But it was this idea that you should be joyful and actually Hilary was a good natured little boy. So they were talking about that but then they said, ‘But, you know, we believe very strongly in the importance of the laity and so we need to start putting that into practice.’ And so they decided they would name T. More, Thomas More, after St. Thomas More, and so they did. And my mother was saying, ‘... You can call him Thomas More or anything else but you can’t call him Tommy because that drives me out of my mind.’ And so some of us came up with T. More.... It’s unique and it suits him completely – it gives him an individual personality, it’s subject to puns, which is always a good thing. More tea, T. More?¹³⁸

Emerson suggested that the wonder inherent in children is of a metaphysical nature and wrote of it in poetry; he also created family rituals to foster spiritual growth. In his poem, *The Colledgeville Tales*, Emerson interconnected his philosophy and understanding of children’s capabilities:

On telling tales, I would be more at ease
 And would be better able, I think, to please
 If I could lead you in a colloquy
 On ideas and concepts of philosophy.
 As you will see I have no story talent

¹³⁸ Mary Hynes, Interview, June 27, 2011.

But more than that there is enjoyment
In philosophizing, perhaps a hidden link
With questions children ask before we think
They understand. They relish wondering
Until they learn the fear of not-knowing ---
What is this and that and what is mine?
Who made the world and me and puts the shine
In stars? Ten thousand times they ask us "Why?"
And our dull answers make their wonder die.
Philosophers pose these child-like questions
Of ultimate causes, natures and connections.
How much we value facts and mass statistics,
How little time we have for metaphysics
And other branches of that pure wisdom
The Greeks held to be the highest kingdom
Of thought. It is said to lack utility
But it calls forth and tests agility
Of intellect as no other science can.
Is there a moral law that governs man?
Are universal concepts formed by me
Since individuals are all I ever see?
Can I be sure that anything is true?
What can transcendental properties do
To help me know reality of being?

To state “What is, is,” is only asking
 How essence and existence come and go,
 While saying something “is” means to know
 At once the most and least that can be said
 Of it. No, philosophy is never dead
 But we to it are sadly so. I won’t go on --¹³⁹

Emerson wanted to create a home where children could wonder and think about life. Just as Emerson had been intentional in the building of the house, he was also purposeful in creating home as “the abiding place of the affections,”¹⁴⁰ setting the tone of the family in rituals and daily practices, much of it designed in the sentiment of Benedictine spirituality to be lived in family as “an invitation to a mysticism of everyday life.”¹⁴¹ Emerson’s son Patrick recalled the spirituality fostered in his early home life:

My father and mother both worked hard to imbue our lives with a whole liturgical approach so that the liturgical year came alive in our lives, in Advent with the Advent wreath and Epiphany, we dressed up as the Three Kings and we had role to play... They used to have pilgrimages, my father and mother were part of this and all the neighbors in the community would get in the car and we’d go up to St. Michael’s and see the old stone church built in 1903 So those were fascinating aspects of my early life that Emerson and Arleen made part of our lives.¹⁴²

Daughter Mary also recalled with fondness the family rituals and her father’s facilitation of participation and understanding. “We always had family prayers...at

¹³⁹ Emerson Hynes, “The Collegeville Tales,” 2, 3.

¹⁴⁰ Emerson Hynes, “Building a Home,” 11. Emerson quoted Webster’s Dictionary n.d.

¹⁴¹ Linda Kulzer, “Monasticism Beyond the Walls,” 8.

¹⁴² Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 1912.

Sunday dinner [Emerson] always read the epistle for the day and we talked a little bit about what it meant. . . . For family prayers they started a litany that had a saying for each of us that we would say as part of family prayers. And when the new breviaries came out, they got seconds of it and all the children got one, and for family prayers we said the Divine Office and would alternate saying the psalms back and forth. . . . It was always my father who would sort of orchestrate this conversation and make sure we all had a chance to say [a part].”¹⁴³

Central to establishing ritual and daily practices was conversation. One example – Emerson and Arleen wrote about developing Lenten practices – illustrates how Emerson approached family practices. “An occasional discussion between husband and wife and between parents and children helps to set everyone thinking about the way *we* will observe Lent this year. What will each of us do individually? Do other members of the family think it too much or too little? What will the family do together as a unit? How will we arrange time schedules and make adjustments? What books should we get to read?”¹⁴⁴ But practices and ritual were not sufficient unto themselves, they must hold true meaning and access authentic engagement. “Parents must be careful also that the children have some understanding of *why* the Lenten practices are adopted. They should not be intimidated or forced to submit to actions against their will.”¹⁴⁵

Rich events of conversation also took place around the daily dinner table. Mary recollected, “A bunch of us were school age, we were expected to have a question or comment about current events to talk about at the table. So there was supposed to be

¹⁴³ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview June 27th 2011.

¹⁴⁴ Emerson and Arleen Hynes, *Lent and Holy Week in the Home*, Collegetown, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1957, 4.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

conversation at the meal that was about real things and then he always made sure that the little boys had a chance to say something.”¹⁴⁶ (The four youngest, Michel, T-More, Timothy, and Christopher were referred to as *the four little boys*.¹⁴⁷) Neighbor and friend Lorraine Cofell recalled being present at a meal; she was impressed by how Emerson facilitated family conversation, getting everyone involved and how engaging it felt to have the whole family participate at the family dinner.¹⁴⁸

Conversation was also playful, humorous and traversed into storytelling.

Daughter Mary recalled her father telling stories:

He told us stories – so Mom is there with six and more coming, and so Daddy came home from work and I think they both had agreed that what meant more to Mom than anything else was to be able to fix dinner and not have anybody at her. So he’d lie down on the couch and he’d put the baby on his chest and the bigger kids would hold his legs and so we’d all be more or less around him, and then he’s tell us a story. And he told us these stores about Veronica and Alfred who lived in a big white house on the hill.

“Daddy, we live in a big white house on the hill.” And there were woods all around.

“Daddy, there’s woods.” And he would just smile and keep going and then we’d go out into the...Veronica and Alfred would go out into the woods and they’d get into some kind of difficulty and Winnie the Pooh would come along and save them just in time for mom to say dinner is ready. It was really wonderful, but he was very playful, he was very clever....

¹⁴⁶ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview June 27, 2011.

¹⁴⁷ T-More later said, “I could live to be 94, but I’ll still be one of The Four Little Boys.” Michael Kernan, “Growing Up in a Family of 12: The Rituals, Rifts and Rewards,” *The Washington Post*, May 11, 1977, B1, 3. 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁴⁸ Lorraine Cofell, Personal conversation, October 17, 2010.

It would not surprise me if he threw in a little Plato or another character or something that we would have no idea of. . . . It's also really typical of his sense of humor.¹⁴⁹

Emerson also published about family living. He wrote, as already noted, on building a home and seven keys to a Christian home. He wrote on the sacramental protection of the family, where he said we must not see the basis of the future as starting at the top with international organization, but with the family as the basic unit of society where each person can do effective work. Furthermore, one ought to be struck by the grandeur of the commonplace work of family. The family, he wrote,

In itself it is "wild and elemental." It is dwarfed by the whole field, yet it is a supreme object in itself. It is the place where the basic processes of life occur by nature: birth, growth, and death. It is able to produce the greatest love and the greatest hatred, too; the greatest joy and equally the most stinging sorrow. So we must recognize the importance of the family in the lives of men. We must share our thinking to better the family; and in so doing we shall be performing the most important and most revolutionary work possible.¹⁵⁰

Two important places to begin improving family life were in the realm of the spiritual and environmental. At its essence, the marriage, Emerson contended, is a spiritual vocation, where one helped the other in growth toward serving God and to sanctify the everyday life, "to *sanctify* our baking, our meals, our action."¹⁵¹ Emerson's environmental consideration was similar to the approach he had to building his home, and it included the presence of privacy, ownership of dwelling, and constructing a productive

¹⁴⁹ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview June 27, 2011.

¹⁵⁰ Emerson Hynes, "Sacramental Protection of the Family," *Catholic Culture*. Accessed June 24, 2011. 2. www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/view.cfm?recnum=4252, From a talk by Emerson Hynes to the Rural Life Summer School, St. Bede College, June 25, 1945.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

homestead. He also proposed that the best environments for the family were rural, small town, or small cities; all of these represented the “flowering of culture.”¹⁵²

While Emerson was writing and speaking on the family and rural culture, he was also a busy college professor with many professional and student concerns. He had a growing family, eventually ten, and giving to each individually became more time challenging. Yet with home as “the abiding place of the affection,”¹⁵³ Emerson’s son Denis said, “Since he wasn’t around most of the day he thought everybody ought to have their own special time.” Daughter Mary described a strategy Emerson employed shortly after she was born and how it has continued through the generations.

I actually was a very colicky baby or something and so my father said, “Well we can’t just hold Mary, all of our children need loving. Every day they must know they are loved.” And then he laughed and said, “Of course there isn’t time to do much so we’ll give them thirty seconds of loving every day.” And so every day, usually at bedtime, whether you were good or bad – whatever, you just cuddle with that child and you count to 30 and you end with their name and kiss and a hug and so that happened. . . . I mean, everybody did it and as adults we give each other thirty seconds of loving when we need it and we gave Mom thirty seconds of loving that week she was dying. And my boys give their daughters thirty seconds of loving and Denis gave Johanna and Paul thirty seconds of loving. It was very wonderful. . . .¹⁵⁴

Emerson’s thirty seconds of loving his children was a practice to recognize each child individually and affirmatively and became a family language of love, a legacy now carried forward by the children and grandchildren.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁵³ Emerson Hynes, “Building a Home,” 11. Emerson Quoted Webster’s Dictionary, nd.

¹⁵⁴ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview, June 27, 2011.

In the Hynes family, home as “the abiding place of the affection” meant children should be shown love. The “home as the social unit or center formed by a family living together”¹⁵⁵ meant children were expected to contribute to the common good of the family. “Emerson Hynes believes that since our society doesn’t have any rites of passage (puberty rites) as other societies do, our teen-agers need to be helped to see how privileges go hand in hand with responsibilities.”¹⁵⁶ Mary explained, “Everybody had a job. So my mother had this serious spreadsheet document with everybody with a job and rotating...so you’d do it at the level that you can do it.”¹⁵⁷ Emerson contributed to the work charts organization; “Emerson had been the family’s great organizer.”¹⁵⁸ Mary recalled that the children were expected to help in the garden, “I would say by five we all were responsible for a row – planting the row and cultivating the row and if you didn’t like it, that is too bad, you still did it. And so there were some things that were built into the rhythm of daily life.”¹⁵⁹ As the oldest son, Denis recalled helping out a good deal. He remembered making oatmeal for everyone in the morning, helping with laundry every day of the week, scrubbing floors and baking bread, cakes and cookies.¹⁶⁰ Everyone took their turns “cleaning, washing dishes, shopping for occasional groceries, helping with meal planning, setting tables, cleaning staircases and otherwise oiling the wheels of the household.”¹⁶¹

Problems that inevitably occurred in the course of children doing their jobs and getting along were dealt with in individual dialogue and family councils. Denis recalled

¹⁵⁵ Emerson Hynes, “Building a Home,” Emerson quoted Webster’s Dictionary, nd.

¹⁵⁶ Meryle Secrest, “Youngest of 10 Raises Another 10.” *The Washington Post*. June 25, 1961, F4.

¹⁵⁷ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview, June 27, 2011.

¹⁵⁸ Kernan, “Growing up in a family of 12: The rituals, rifts and rewards,” 3.

¹⁵⁹ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview, June 27, 2011.

¹⁶⁰ Denis Hynes, Interview, March 26, 2012.

¹⁶¹ Secrest, “Youngest of 10 Raises Another 10.” F4.

his father's disciplinary style, "He always was very careful about what he said. He always wanted us to learn from whatever the experience was and the punishment was you had to explain to him why what you did was wrong and that used to upset me a lot. I'd just say, 'Why don't you just spank me and get it over with?' but he was a role model too. You had to know why what you did was bad and explain it. He didn't believe in physical punishment and we didn't get any, I don't recall any of us ever getting spanked."¹⁶² There were also family councils, which became another form of indispensable conversation.

Family councils were conversational events. "Emerson and Arleen believed that there ought to be family councils and the family would sit down and discuss together the roles we played, the jobs we had, how we related to one another, what the roles were."¹⁶³ Councils began quite early in Collegeville and continued into their life in Arlington, often meeting every two or three weeks.¹⁶⁴ This is where they met to solve problems and deal with "whatever issues might be coming up."¹⁶⁵ Family meetings served an organizational role in the family, a place to assign jobs, duties, and whatever "needed to be done around the house that would help Mom manage."¹⁶⁶ Emerson acted as chairman, but others had roles as well, secretary or parliamentarian. All was not idyllic; one son recalled that he rebelled against his father and there were some unpleasant years. However, Emerson was not one to burn bridges, and time brought them back together again.¹⁶⁷

Family council meetings, Mary recalled, also had to do with

¹⁶² Denis Hynes, Interview. March 26, 2012.

¹⁶³ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

¹⁶⁴ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview, June 27, 2011.

¹⁶⁵ Denis Hynes, March 26, 2012.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Kernan, "Growing up in a family of 12: The rituals, rifts and rewards," B1. 3.

ethics and respecting others.... You began with appreciations or recommendations to somebody else. [Emerson] said, ‘Find something nice to say about one of your brothers and sisters.’ And then you could bring up problem issues...So the problems are eternal – kids fighting, people aren’t doing their jobs, the house is a mess. I mean, it’s just on and on and on and so people make recommendations and you try to work on the problems – but it was absolutely him who said, “We have to function as a family, we have to function as a unit and so if we keep coming back to these things, we just have to keep coming back to them.”...I don’t know that we particularly loved having family councils because it was a reminder of how very fallible we all were. I think what came out of it is that idea that you have a continuing responsibility to try to resolve problems and that there are some ground rules – everyone has a voice, if they’re the littlest or the biggest, everyone has a voice. But I think that idea that you begin by saying something positive was ... how he saw the world.¹⁶⁸

Conversation was the starting point for solving problems. Mary recalled, “Conversation was considered a highly desired good.”¹⁶⁹

As a hub of Benedictine hospitality, the Hynes children experienced home as a place for conversation with laic and monastic community members and, as mentioned, visitors from around the world. Patrick explained, “They were kind of a safe place not only for the monks to come down and let their hair down...there was a whole sense of lively community that they brought along.”¹⁷⁰ Friends and family, too, would gather for conversations, the Powers, the O’Connells, Erlers, Cofells, Hughes, and others. Often conversations with friends were late, after the children’s bedtime. Emerson’s daughter

¹⁶⁸ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview, June 27, 2011. 12.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁷⁰ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

Mary recalled “wonderful conversations. We were supposed to be in bed. We sat at the top of the stairs where they couldn’t see us and we could listen.” [My father said,] ‘We can’t stop you from listening, but you cannot use what you overhear.’ . . . I could use it to build my understanding, but I could not exploit it . . . [I had a] powerful responsibility to use whatever I picked up there with respect.”¹⁷¹ Denis also recalled this rule and reflected on his own life. “You could sit on the stairs and listen but you couldn’t ever repeat anything, which I lived by at least. I think pretty much everybody sat on the stairs.”¹⁷²

As in the home of his origin, Emerson, with Arleen, nurtured an atmosphere of intellectual curiosity and fun. Emerson and Arleen had a language of love, and they also had a love of language. Emerson “loved to read, to write, he was creative in that sense and that was encouraged in the family, that kind of verbal repartee . . . humor and everything that was involved was pretty much based on the in-jokes that families have plus the knowledge of the human nature in and of itself.”¹⁷³ He recited poetry to his children and encouraged their own interests and discussions. Son Denis recalled,

A lot of verbal punning and that kind of thing, but in terms of games, we did play Chess. But there wasn’t a lot of time for games. And most of what everybody did was read – a lot of reading. We did have softball games in the summer out in the triangle there between our house and your house. Dad played horseshoes and taught us to play horseshoes. We went tobogganing in the winter and played checkers and chess . . . Dad liked a good game of cards. He played Five Hundred.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Mary Hynes-Berry, Personal communication, October 18, 2010.

¹⁷² Denis Hynes, Interview, March 26, 2012, 3.

¹⁷³ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

¹⁷⁴ Denis Hynes, Interview, March 26, 2012, 14.

Emerson also liked football. He would watch the Viking and the Twins, “He loved the Twins.”¹⁷⁵ He also was a fan of his alma mater and went to St. John’s football and basketball games with family or friends. For Emerson, leisure time functioned naturally to build relationships, foster creativity, and, quite simply, enjoy life, often in ways that intersected intellectual endeavors with other enjoyable activities.

Emerson’s son Patrick, who spent his childhood years in Kilfenora and Colleeville, seeing his father’s ventures, also later spent hours commuting with his father to the Senate where he worked as a page. Occasionally Emerson would pepper his insights with humor. Patrick described one conversation:

I would say, “Dad, do you know, these senators don’t seem to be friendly, they always seem to be going different ways.” And he’d say, “Well, Patrick, in politics when you have a position and you disagree with somebody, it’s not a friendship basis, it’s a political basis – getting re-elected or whatever it is. But the worst politics in the world, much worse than that are academic politics because they think they know something.” He said, “But the worst of all is ecclesiastical politics because they think they’re talking to God.”¹⁷⁶

Patrick reflected on the influential role his father had in his life as teacher and role model:

He was a teacher first and foremost and I think that’s how I saw him. I had thousands of questions for him on where he came from and who our ancestors were and what life was all about. I was able to ask every one of them that I wanted to because he was still around for me to do so. That would be my memory as the son of the father is that he taught me how to live – he showed me how to live, not that I live that way all or even

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 19.

¹⁷⁶ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

would honor some of his vision or try to do that, but I could see where he was definitely an exceptionally, for me exceptionally loving and teaching father. He taught me all he could and let me make my own decisions so that was the other freedom – I never felt like I was trying to please my father. I'm sure I did, but, you know, I never felt like he put on me, "This is what I want you to do or be." He let us pretty much be who we were....

Well I do think it is age-old wisdom, but informed by his own life and his experiences in life. He would believe that living together as a Christian community where we love one another, share with one another, dialogue with one another, is the proper way of living and that's what he gave me as a legacy to work toward that and to be that kind of person so that, you know, if you think of the idea we're all part of the one greater whole – at least theologically you can think that way – I'd say that would be what I got out of my dad's vision of how to live. You live in your community, you do your share to help, and when others have less, you do for them so that later it will come back to you if you need it later; and if you don't, it still good stuff – it's still good, you could always use it at the golden gates if there is such a thing. You can always say, 'Well, I had so much but I thought I gave as much. I tried to give away as much as I'd gotten.' When God sees that, then he usually smiles and says, 'Well, I'll let him in.' But I'd say that's the kind of life he led, he lived it as well as talked about it and he shared that pretty consistently with everybody he came in contact with. I think you'll find that's true too.¹⁷⁷

Rural Living and the National Catholic Rural Life Conference (NCRLC)

Emerson Hynes was a key intellectual and writer in the NCRLC. He was part of the theological conversation of the American Liturgical Movement and the NCRLC that contributed to the groundswell toward Vatican II. The NCRLC acknowledged rural

¹⁷⁷ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

living to have global significance in that one's relationship to the land and "the farmer's way of life was given universal significance since he participated in the Church's worldwide mission of constructing a more just social order."¹⁷⁸ Emerson taught at St. Bede College Rural Life Summer School in Peru, Illinois and Grailville in Loveland, Ohio where "members practiced a self-subsistent lifestyle that immersed these women into nature's full rhythm of planting, harvesting, and animal care."¹⁷⁹ Grail, founded in the Netherlands in 1927 and arrived in the United State around 1940, was an international women's movement closely associated with the rural movement and sought to unify spirituality (liturgy), connection to the land (rural living), and human dignity.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, Emerson was one of the authors of *The Land*, which updated the NCRLC *Manifesto* written in 1939. *The Land* presented an inclusive vision for rural people throughout the world and described the essential elements that the first international rural life conference set forth.¹⁸¹ The cooperative movement, established in many countries, was part of the NCRLC agenda.¹⁸² Emerson Hynes envisioned rural life enriched with ethics of conversation and human dignity and a philosophy of the soil. He was deeply committed to the possibility of rural living to enhance the common good.

Rural living was, for Emerson Hynes, a practical, political, intellectual, and spiritual endeavor. Rural living enabled both family privacy and community to be possible and particularly the capacity to fully develop the human person and deepen relationships with others. For the Hyneses it was also an effort to live a decentralist way

¹⁷⁸ Woods, M. J. "The Intersection of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference and the American Liturgical Movement, 1920-1960." (PhD dissertation. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 2008.) 74.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² Emerson Hynes. "Whither cooperation?"

of life – the same philosophy with which they built their house – an approach that promoted widespread ownership of productive property which increases security, provides intrinsic incentive to good work, and represents just return for labor.¹⁸³

Rural living was an ideal place to embrace the dignity of work. Work, for Emerson, was primarily an “activity of creatures with intellects and wills.”¹⁸⁴ Work was an intellectual endeavor, weighing the advantages and disadvantages of rammed earth or cinder block, the aesthetic considerations of shellacking stone for the fireplace, and learning about keeping bees or whatever the next project was. He acknowledged, “it is mainly practical speculation, and therefore not as noble as contemplation.” But still, “as practical applications go, the work of the rural person ranks high for stimulating the use of the intellect.”¹⁸⁵ Additionally, Emerson enjoyed physical work. His son Denis commented, “His idea of relaxation was to do physical labor.”¹⁸⁶ Along with a philosophy of good work and decentralist living, there was the very practical aspect of a growing family. Growing as much food as could be eaten and doing one’s own building was essential to make ends meet. Work to help sustain the family wasn’t an option.¹⁸⁷ Mary said it was part of their economy, “There just wasn’t money. So some of it was sheer necessity.”¹⁸⁸ With purpose of mind, heart, and economic necessity, the rural locale was an ideal place for Emerson to flourish. Mary explained, “He had sort of these two

¹⁸³ Emerson Hynes, “Catholic Rural Youth Information Center,” *National Catholic Rural Life Conference*, February 18, 1940, Hynes family archives.

¹⁸⁴ Emerson Hynes, *The Catholic Church and Rural Life*, 35.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ Denis Hynes, Interview March 26, 2012.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview, June 27, 2011.

instincts – one highly, highly abstract, symbolic, philosophical, and ... what he got through his hands, and that always was very, very important to him.”¹⁸⁹

Emerson took great satisfaction in homesteading. In addition to the venture of building their own home, they also raised chickens and a cow, had an apple orchard, a large garden, and a magnificent view.¹⁹⁰ Their cow was named Lucia, after Lucia di Lammermoor. Emerson wrote in a letter in 1943,

Lucia the cow birthed a bull calf, Leopold, and thus arose a double joy, the flow of milk and (though not directly) cream, which in turn became precious butter; and the ever increasing weight of Leopold. He was tenderly fed all summer. Gladly did the master carry his choice peas, beans, soyas, and as a climax, golden corn and juicy stalks. Few calves have had such solicitude. When late November came—the Thanksgiving season—it was apparent that Leopold was ready. With the aid of a seminarian the killing was accomplished. And then began a demonstration of one of man’s most ancient and most vital arts.¹⁹¹

They also had twelve to fifteen chickens, which supplied the eggs. There was the very large garden, the orchard with apple and plum trees and the grapevines. As mentioned, they tapped maple syrup and kept bees. His letter continued,

So it was with other products of the land. Thirty pounds of comb honey and enough left to keep the bees happy. Hundreds of pints of fruits, vegetables, soups, pickles and relishes canned. Popcorn, a generous supply of beans and carrots and potatoes and squash and pumpkins. Only one casualty. The supply shortage made impossible the

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ Arlene Hynes. *Sister Arleen Hynes, interview.*

¹⁹¹ Emerson Hynes, Christmas letter, Dec. 30th, 1943, St. John’s University Archives, 2470:8.

fermentation of that most Catholic drink – wild grape wine. There is nothing which can compensate for that loss.¹⁹²

For Hynes, rural living was ideal for people to seek good work, exercise self-control and pursue objectives to which they are committed, with potential for creativity and goodness. Essentially a transformational leader, Emerson wanted to enlarge the capacity for others' self-determination. One leadership action that Emerson took in the community was to get their small village electricity. The location of their house was only a quarter-mile away from a high voltage line of the private utility that serviced the area. Emerson recalled, "I approached the local representative and talked glowingly of seven customers in a neat little pocket, all anxious to have service. He laughed at me. They weren't going to put in a big transformer for a few houses and it wasn't worth their time to put in a lower voltage line from the town four miles away."¹⁹³ For the time being they had to get along without electricity. Then the county rural electrification co-op – the REA – was established, and by 1944 there were poles within two miles of them, and Emerson soon began securing forms and signing up neighbors. He wrote,

Somehow the Private Utility heard about it. The representative appeared and asked questions. "Had we sent our forms in yet?" We hadn't. "When did the REA think they would be in?" In late summer of 1946. "We can have it for you in May." I do not blame those who changed their minds and recalled the REA blanks they had signed. They had hungered for electricity so long that every day seemed important. The majority voted

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Emerson Hynes, "The Light and the Power," 277.

to connect with the Private Utility rather than the REA. The outcome of the vote left us no practical choice.¹⁹⁴

Although Emerson supported the movement for rural electrification, not every land movement appealed to Emerson. He thought that some lacked a crucial principle, “the conviction that rural life is good in itself as a way of life.”¹⁹⁵ For example, the “back to the land” slogan of the time inferred a step backward, as if one only went to the land when the urban life fails. For Emerson, rural life as a way of living could provide spiritual stability as well as economic stability. Economic security was not sufficient argument to return to the land, “but ‘Beauty of way of life’ is far stronger.”¹⁹⁶ He argued for wholeness and that being on the land could “contribute to the development of the full human person and not merely to that of the human body.... Anyone contemplating a return to the land must recognize *that rural life does offer a full human development if the individual will cooperate.*”¹⁹⁷ He cautioned, however, that unnatural conditions of farming – “commercial, large scale farming, of share croppers, of rural slums... nearly destroyed the true concept of agriculture as a way of life, as a family heritage and the finest of family traditions.” Emerson envisioned that the land offered “the opportunity for a man to exercise his intellect and will while at work; that the Land offers the freedom and independence in which the human person can turn, stretch, and rise; that the Land offers those conditions which bring out the religious intuition from man’s soul, pressing

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 278.

¹⁹⁵ Emerson Hynes, “Rural Life Holds Key to Freedom,” *The Social Forum* 5, no. 4 (April, 1940): 1,7. 1.

¹⁹⁶ Emerson Hynes, “Rural Life Holds Key to Freedom,” 1.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 7.

on him as it does in its every activity of plant and animal birth and growth the wonder of God the Creator.”¹⁹⁸

Emerson hoped two land movements could restore balance and rural values in ways to benefit the culture and fiber of the nation. One was decentralism and the other was the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. Decentralism, Emerson wrote, “asserts the necessity of widespread private ownership, and thus it dovetails with agrarianism, the second of the two movements.”¹⁹⁹ Emerson had an article published in *Free America* on the benefits of decentralism.²⁰⁰ An organizational meeting of Minnesota Association of Decentralists was held at St. John’s University on November 9, 1941, with sixty people present. At a committee meeting two weeks later Emerson was elected chairman and the executive secretary. In the first publication of the group Emerson wrote, “Decentralism has as its purpose the building of a social order in which the fullest development of the human person can be attained. This means that the social structure, of which all men are naturally a part, must be so devised and protected as to support personal independence, freedom and security; and to encourage self-reliance and the use of those distinctively human powers—intellect and will.”²⁰¹ He went on to describe the means to achieve the end, characterized by face to face relationships, personal or cooperative ownership of homes and productive property, a gradual process of decentralization of cities, business organizations where workers have no voice, industrial and corporate farming and

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 1.

¹⁹⁹ Emerson Hynes, “Sod Breakers,” *Christian Social Action* 5, no. 9, (November, 1940): 283-287, 283.

²⁰⁰ “Emerson Hynes, “Whither Cooperation?”

²⁰¹ Emerson Hynes, “The Official Statement of Principles of the Minnesota Association of Decentralists,” *The Periodic Bulletin of the Minnesota Association of Decentralists*, Number 1, December 1, 1941, p. 2.

“centralized government which subordinates the person to the state and usurps functions naturally proper to smaller societies.”²⁰²

The NCRLC was “the official Catholic contribution to agrarianism,”²⁰³ the second movement Emerson supported. The twentieth century Catholic agrarian movement connected rural living to liturgical life; it was a deeply spiritual endeavor with the land as a connection to God and the possibility for social justice and true community. The NCRLC maintained “land (especially soil) was ‘the greatest material gift from God’ and possessed a sacramental quality to it. The conference later declared soil stewardship the ‘11th Commandment.’ God’s gift of material creation coupled with human reception, cooperation, and stewardship constituted this fundamental theological relationship between liturgy and rural culture.”²⁰⁴ Emerson was a key contributor to the NCRLC through publications, teaching, and presentations. Hynes wrote, “A true rural society is founded in the soil and receives its tone from it. There is a mutual cause-effect relationship between person and soil; the person cultivates the land, and is in turn influenced and shaped by it. A discussion of liturgy and land will have meaning only if one understands that land is the source of the transcendental quality which makes farming a *way of life*, not merely an economic occupation.”²⁰⁵

In the NCRLC Emerson worked with Msgr. Luigi Ligutti, well known and energetic advocate for rural life and executive secretary of the Conference. Emerson wrote of his first encounter with Ligutti at a national rural life conference, “I had resorted to doodling, and while the speaker purred on, I sketched a rural church. I added trees, a

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Emerson Hynes, “Sod Breakers,” 283.

²⁰⁴ Michael J. Woods, M. J. (2009). *Cultivating Soil and Soul: Twentieth-century Catholic Agrarians Embrace the Liturgical Movement*. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2009, xxi.

²⁰⁵ Emerson Hynes, “Land and Liturgy,” *Orate Fratres XIII*, no. 12: 540-544. 540.

cemetery, the sun, and finally drew a picket fence around the church; then my imagination failed. ‘Put a cow inside the fence,’ someone whispered from behind. I turned to see a big man beaming impishly. I had my first introduction to Father (now Monsignor) Luigi Ligutti.’²⁰⁶ Ligutti was to become friend and colleague in the NCRLC, as well as ongoing correspondent through letters and visitor in the Hynes home.

In Emerson’s rural life work he crossed paths with many individuals who were active in the rural life movement. For example, he met and corresponded with editor and author on interracial justice Rev. John Lafarge. There were numerous conversations and correspondence with priests, bishops, and lay leaders throughout Minnesota and the United States. He was a requested speaker on rural issues at large and small events. Many of the saved letters – the letters number into thousands – mentioned rural issues and the NCRLC and many were from NCRLC individuals. Many letters reveal a great sense of purpose, vitality, and hope in the efforts to promote the value and dignity of rural life. In the broad network of the NCRLC Emerson’s ability was recognized, and he was asked to write a section of the revised NCRLC rural life manifesto, which he did. He also wrote articles on rural life for *The Commonwealth*, *The Catholic School Journal*, *Orate Fratres*, *The Social Forum*, *The Catholic Rural Life Bulletin*, *Land and Home*, *The American Catholic Sociological Review*, and *The Marianist*. Additionally, he wrote pamphlets, numerous book reviews on rural issues, and a section on rural society in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*.

Emerson worked with the Catholic Rural Youth Information Center, part of the NCRLC. He advocated for educating rural youth, believing it one of the most important

²⁰⁶ Emerson Hynes, “The Flying Shuttle: And the Loom of Rural Life,” *The Commonwealth* XXXV, no. 3: 63-66. 63.

tasks of the NCRLC. The trend toward larger farms was causing the displacement of thousands of farmers and workers and had particular implications for the youth. For Emerson one response involved the “entire philosophy of agriculture.”²⁰⁷ Emerson attempted to reach out to rural pastors and leaders to tap work already being done. He also offered lesson outlines for youth meetings that aimed to show that rural living provides for the social needs of persons, that the rural environment has advantages over the urban environment, and the importance of ownership of productive property.²⁰⁸ He planned for rural youth study clubs and prepared guides, discussion questions, and acted as a resource person and assisted with conference planning.²⁰⁹

Emerson’s son Patrick reflected that the rural life movement was not only about raising your crops and feeding your family, it was also about

having enough to share with others in the community who needed it . . . and that nature brought you close to the God of your understanding. It was a way you’d want to live in not only a community, but it would be a peaceful way because each would share with the other – it’s all Christian, it’s all tied up with the Christian idea of being, supportive of yourself and being able to support others who are less fortunate within the community . . . I don’t want to call it proselytizing, but it was putting forth those ideas of why this is a good way to live and why it’s a more Christian way to live as well because . . . you are using the resources that are God-given and available for you, that’s what you’re using and you’re not exploiting other people.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ Emerson Hynes, “Catholic Rural Youth Information Center,” 1.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Emerson Hynes, “Catholic Rural Youth Information Center,” *The National Catholic Rural Life Conference*, December 12, 1940. Hynes family archives.

²¹⁰ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

The way Emerson and Arleen lived was, Patrick Hynes said, “based on Christianity and the Benedictine sense of community – this communist with a small “c” and that was always very attractive to my father for whatever reason throughout his life. But remember, he studied Aristotelian and then Thomistic basis of philosophy.”²¹¹ Although Emerson had studied those philosophies, he also conveyed a philosophy born from the land, that is, “the workings of nature which taught him about life. Of how a young plant could recover from a bruise and still grow stronger. Of how hair on the animals grows thicker in the fall; and just so men must fortify themselves when trouble is foreseen. Of how roots grow deeper in dry weather, and in the same way, men must turn to the deep spiritual reserves when prosperity fails.”²¹² Emerson’s philosophic training and religious and rural understandings converged into an explanation of the essential nature of community as he considered the persistent problem of thistles, which are very difficult weeds to get rid of. “Thistles in nature are just like sickness, injustice and pain in human lives. It’s the problem which has always bothered man. The only satisfying explanation I know of is to attribute it all to Original Sin. But from a philosophical standpoint we can say that the only way to eliminate evil is to eliminate everything that exists. For there is nothing in the world as we are able to see it that is perfect; everything in some way is dependent upon something else.”²¹³ Coming together in human interdependence in community and in church, helping each other in our human need, was

²¹¹ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012. 10.

²¹² Emerson Hynes, “The Cornstalk Philosopher,” *The Ave Maria, Catholic Home Weekly* 50, no. 5: 129 – 133. 132.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 132.

a way to keep the thistles in check; like the alfalfa planted to keep the thistles down, rural community and church could foster human flourishing.²¹⁴

St. John's University

When Emerson returned to Minnesota after traveling in Ireland for the summer after his completion of the Master's program at the University of Notre Dame, he was offered a position at St. John's University. His monastic friend, Rev. Walter Reger, had made the arrangements for Emerson to join the faculty,²¹⁵ and he taught sociology and ethics at St. John's from 1939 to 1959. It was a role Emerson relished; here he would flourish as mentor, cherished colleague, writer, requested lecturer, speaker in the churches, organizations, and various movement activities.

Students

Some of Emerson's students were deeply influenced by him in classes and also by his model of rural living. One former student, Frank Roehl, recalled being aware of the respect and admiration the monks had for Emerson and commented, "Because of what we heard from the monks or through the monks, and I suppose from the other few lay men who were on the faculty at that time you just thought of Emerson and Arleen as a model Christian, model Catholic family.... someone who lived very much everything that he believed – as a Christian, as a father, as a spouse, as an instructor – professor."²¹⁶ Emerson's son Patrick, who kept in contact with many individuals at St. Johns, commented, "People at St. John's ... were fascinated by this experiment by one of their

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Owen Lindblad, "Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation."

²¹⁶ Frank Roehl, Interview, March 9, 2012.

professors, to live out in a rural area, self-supporting, raising crops, canning food – that kind of stuff, when you can go to town and buy it.”²¹⁷

Former student William Cofell remarked that Emerson was the best teacher he had – among some very good teachers – a teacher with a gift for conversation with notable capacity to listen and respond deeply.²¹⁸ He took five classes from Emerson, including Fundamentals of Sociology, Introduction to Philosophy, History of Rural Sociology, Fundamental Ethics, and Social Ethics. He said, “I thought Emerson was a kindly teacher but also projected a depth of thought on the topic he worked on. He was not repeating what someone else had projected. He also was a man with a deep respect for each student even though he did not agree with you. He manifested interest in the student while being interesting in himself.”²¹⁹ “He maintained his idealism despite the injustice and despair that had swept the country. He was a fine philosopher and ethicist concerned about systematic justice and ethical economic behavior.... He was a calm, reflective teacher... a powerful influence on my life.”²²⁰ Cofell, who came to St. John’s as a student through the GI bill after World War II to study rural sociology, visited the Hynes home, played with the children, and appreciated the warm hospitality after the long years abroad. Cofell’s relationship with Emerson began as student and developed into a valued friendship both as neighbors and as faculty colleagues at St. John’s.

Another former student was Sylvester (Sy) Theisen, who also later returned to St. John’s to join the faculty. In an interview Theisen spoke highly of Emerson as a valued mentor. He noted that Emerson had an influence on his life as a student and his work as a

²¹⁷ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

²¹⁸ William Cofell, Personal communication, October 17, 2010.

²¹⁹ William Cofell, Interview, June 10, 2011.

²²⁰ Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation.” 136.

teacher. He commented, “When you talk about a college teacher, one of the rules is first of all about their attitude towards the students but also about individual counseling I’d say Emerson Hynes certainly had an influence on me as an advisor and when I was a teacher.”²²¹

Karl Vander Horck’s education at St. John’s was interrupted by the war. He left St John’s in 1941 as a pre-med student and returned, changed, in February of 1946. Before having Emerson as a professor, something happened that created a first impression:

Even before my entering a class with Emerson I had an experience with Emerson that made me aware of his kindness and gentleness. One noon I was summoned to the Prefect’s room – which was a den of pipe smoke and tobacco smoke generally. Called by Emerson Hynes. I could not imagine what this might be. Emerson got me out of the cloud of smoke near the door and said that my cousin Phil Vander Horck had called to say that “Aunt Ollie had died and that he understood that she was a very special person.” I nearly burst into tears, but did not – Emerson sensed my sudden grief, and with a kind hand on my shoulder, said, “I’m sorry.” Somehow that was very soothing to me.²²²

Later Vander Horck took a philosophy class from Emerson, an experience that altered his life’s direction. Vander Horck wrote,

It was a curious class. The teaching was different than others I had experienced. Socratic, puzzling, and Hynes. To this day I don’t know what happened to me, but I got fascinated with the field. Years before I had read a considerable amount of Aristotle’s stuff on science, but this was different. In the mean time I was trying to figure out how I could graduate on time and find a job – and convince the woman I loved to marry me. It all

²²¹ Sy Theisen, Interview, June 27, 2012.

²²² Karl Vander Horck, Letter to the author, August 3, 2011.

turned out to be a substantial challenge. I had changed considerably since my only interests were the sciences. Now I was interested in anything that had to do with human behavior. So, I approached Fr. Arno with my proposition – a major in philosophy, a minor in history, and certification as a secondary teacher. This required a load of 26 to 28 credits per semester for two years – and all of this shift because of Emerson Hynes. My GPA dropped seriously from 4.00 of the old days, but I married my love, got my first job at Holdingford, my second one at the University of Minnesota --all this because of my fascination with my first philosophy class by Emerson Hynes.

I believe I told you that somehow Emerson Hynes lured me into an area of study that I had never, under the wildest circumstances, imagined myself getting the slightest interest. I have no idea how it happened, although I suspect that it had something to do with my junior year leap to change my major from chemistry-physics to almost anything else. That is too simple a thought, but certainly the change had much to do with Emerson's lure of questions of philosophers. Philosophers ask questions, they never provide the answers.²²³

Another student, Mathew Ahmann, was “greatly influenced by Emerson Hynes” during the time he was a student at St. John's.²²⁴ Ahmann was a social science major who had a lifelong passion for social justice, a passion ignited by St. John's and the Benedictines. Ahmann visited Kilfenora, where he engaged in discussions with Emerson and other visitors who might be present. Emerson encouraged Ahmann to pursue graduate studies in sociology at the University of Chicago. Ahmann became a prominent

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Brendon Duffy, “Acting on Faith,” *Saint John's Magazine*, Saint John's University, Summer/Fall, 2013: 24-31, 29

figure “in the history of Catholic support for the civil rights movements in the 60s.”²²⁵

Ahmann worked for the Catholic Interracial Council, was founding director of the National Catholic Council for Interracial Justice, and organized the National Conference on Religion and Race in 1963. Matt stepped up as the Catholic presence where bishops were reluctant to do so. His wife said Matt “might have liked to have a life like Hynes, being either an attorney or a professor, but he was always called to service.”²²⁶

A former student of Hynes, Ed Henry, wrote years later, “He was a twentieth-century Socrates...All the students who had him respected his quiet and humble approach and his respect...There is no doubt that his deep respect for learning was responsible for steering me in the direction of becoming a teacher...His high ideals impressed me with the responsibility of helping others get insight into the lofty heights of the true philosopher...and it was not only his high attachment to ethical ideals...but his willingness to live a life that called for sacrifice.”²²⁷

Colleagues

Colleagues had high regard for Emerson and they shared a strong value of conversation and community. William Cofell, who was a colleague at St. John’s with Hynes, recalled that the years Emerson was there were some of the best. Cofell remembered being present in Fr. Emeric’s office where Emerson was a respected presence at informal faculty gatherings.²²⁸ Emeric’s and Emerson’s offices in St. Mary’s Hall were both popular gathering places²²⁹ at the end of the day for many of the faculty

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 26.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

²²⁷ Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation.”135-136.

²²⁸ William Cofell, Personal communication, October 21, 2010.

²²⁹ William Cofell, “William Cofell,” In *A Sense of Place*, edited by Coleman Barry and Robert Spaeth, Collegetive, MN: Saint John’s University Press, 1987.

including Father Martin, Father Godfrey, Steve Humphrey, Frank Schoffman, Fr. Dunstan Tucker, Fr. Walter Reger, Ed Henry, and sometimes guests such as Hubert Humphrey, Eugene McCarthy, Governor Orville Freeman, and “former Communist Grace Carlson, who had returned to the Church.”²³⁰ Cofell particularly recalled Emerson being there, “this remarkable person . . . [gave] rational, delightful responses to questions.”²³¹ Both educational and entertaining, discussions in the faculty lounge and in offices, all informally arranged and attended, Cofell explained,

would now be called continuing education of the faculty It was a part of a real community that stimulated us and allowed us to come together as a group of people engaged in a mutual enterprise. We learned to appreciate the personalities and knowledge because we had first-hand access to it through discussion. We had some idea what each professor was teaching in the classroom. It was a faculty working together. We were individual persons in a community, not individualists in a society. The thought occurs to me now that the individualist did not often appear in the faculty room.²³²

Steve Humphrey wrote, “Those were indeed great days for all of us. And you are quite right about the quality of the conversation then. But it was Emerson, not I, who was the great focal figure of the conversation, both at Kilfenora & at Emeric’s coffee hour”²³³

Fr. Arno Gustin wrote that many colleagues regarded Emerson as a contemporary Saint Thomas More.²³⁴ When Emerson was approached by newly elected Senator Eugene McCarthy to be his legislative assistant in Washington D.C., Hynes “shared misgivings

²³⁰ Emeric Lawrence, “Emeric A. Lawrence,” *A Sense of Place II*, edited by Coleman Barry, (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press), 124. Cofell, “William Cofell.”

²³¹ Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation.” 136.

²³² Cofell, “William Cofell,” 18, 19.

²³³ Steve Humphrey, “Dear Arleen” (letter to Arleen Hynes), Sept. 27, 1982. Hynes Family Archives.

²³⁴ Arno Gustin, “Arno A. Gustin,” In *A Sense of Place II*, edited by Coleman Barry, Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1990.

with a number” of colleagues, who, although they felt it a great loss to the community, were supportive of this transition.²³⁵ While everyone was saddened when Emerson accepted Senator McCarthy’s offer to work in Washington,²³⁶ he “was urged with one voice to accept, not only as a challenge but as an obligation. This man of established human and social concerns, great talent, and singular integrity simply had to become an active presence on the levels of national and world affairs.”²³⁷ He was granted an indefinite leave of absence and was welcomed to return at any time.²³⁸ Emerson, reflecting on his decision, wrote, “The family, the church, and the state are the basic social institutions... To defend and support them is an obligation.”²³⁹

Activities

During his professional life at St. Johns, Emerson was involved in many community activities. Much of the work in the NCRLC intersected with work at St. John’s. One reason is that many of the monks at St. John’s were also interested and involved in rural issues. Another reason is that St. John’s was itself a rural college involved in the work of rural life. One student of Emerson’s, Frank Roehl, recalled, St. John’s “had this operation – a big dairy herd and they had the farming operation in the sense that they were raising food and producing milk ... and a lot of the food was for the students and the monastery and so it was raised on monastery grounds. I sensed through the four years I was there... a lot about St. John’s at that time was rural or was kind of living to some extent National Rural Life movement tenets and beliefs.”²⁴⁰

²³⁵ Ibid., 87.

²³⁶ Emeric Lawrence, “Emeric A. Lawrence.”

²³⁷ Arno Gustin, “Arno A. Gustin,” 87.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation,” 138.

²⁴⁰ Frank Roehl, Interview, March 9, 2012.

As mentioned earlier, Emerson also worked to bring electricity to rural Colledgeville, which allowed for the lay people on what is now Old Colledgeville Road to eventually get electricity. Emerson also worked closely with the Colledgeville Community Credit Union in its early days. Emerson's son remarked, "The Credit Union would be like a very practical aspect that my dad worked on with the farmers and the laborers and the janitors to form a credit union."²⁴¹ The establishment of a credit union composed of local investors was no small matter. Mark Douvier, current president and CEO of the Colledgeville Community Credit Union, heard the story of a charter investor, Joe Seitz, who came with his five dollars, hands shaking at the risk of investing a week's income to the venture.²⁴² In 1946 Emerson was the Acting Chairman of the Conference on Credit Unions, organized in Minneapolis. Emerson's work with the local Credit Union and the Conference on Credit Unions was a way to support a philosophy to be self-supporting and yet include everyone else in the community.

There was also a movement among the lay community of St. John's that surrounded and included the Hyneses. Some thought of Emerson as a center of "the Movement," a group of like-minded mostly Catholic social-minded people. According to son Patrick, the movement was the Christian Family Life Movement, "moving back to the land, self-supporting and yet including everybody else that you could help within that community."²⁴³ A loosely knit group, the movement, "a collection of liberal Catholic artists, writers and thinkers,"²⁴⁴ included, to varying degrees, Leonard and Betty Doyle, J. F. and Betty Powers, Karl and Kay Vander Horck, Mary Catherine and Carlos Cotton,

²⁴¹ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

²⁴² Mark Douvier, Personal communication, November 19, 2013.

²⁴³ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

²⁴⁴ Lamb, "Arleen Hynes, 90; Bibiotherapy Pioneer."

Jack and Rita Dwyer, Lorraine and William Cofell, Fred and Rosemary Petters, Art and Monica Erler, Joe and Jody O’Connell, and Don and Mary Humphrey.²⁴⁵ Collegeville neighbor Jody O’Connell recalled that it was part of the liturgical movement, “people getting interested in liturgy, and recalled Emerson as the “the top rung so to speak.”²⁴⁶ Another neighbor, Art Erler, also thought of Emerson as the person everyone looked up to.²⁴⁷

While at St. John’s University, Hynes was part of a delegation to France, traveled to Rome,²⁴⁸ and then returned to Minnesota to give about twenty talks on NATO.²⁴⁹ In August of 1957, the House of Representatives selected Congressman Eugene McCarthy to attend the Parliamentary Conference of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) held in Paris in November of that year. McCarthy invited Emerson to serve as consultant and aide to the congressional delegation. Hynes noted his leadership role by referencing Webster: “aide: one who assists and advises the principals.”²⁵⁰ Just before the conference, Emerson flew to London to spend one day with his college friend Cleve Cram and his wife Mary. After the conference he traveled to Rome where he was a guest of Msgr. Luigi Ligutti, colleague in the NCRLC, and had a private audience with the Pope Pius XII, a moment Emerson treasured. “The two minutes or so in which the Holy

²⁴⁵ My apologies to others who were also part of this group that I neglected to mention. There was a Movement Reunion July 9, 2011, and another a year later. Many of the second and third generation of these families were able to come. I was also there and had a chance to visit with members of families of several people mentioned.

²⁴⁶ Jody O’Connell, Interview, October 20, 2011.

²⁴⁷ Art Erler, Interview February 18, 2011.

²⁴⁸ Mary Hynes-Berry, Personal communication, November 28, 2010.

²⁴⁹ “Talking Collegevillians,” *Collegeville Gazette*, IV: 4 (December 23, 1958), 1.

²⁵⁰ Emerson Hynes, “Collegeville—Paris—Rome Diary,” *Collegeville Gazette*, Christmas Edition, 1957, 4.

Father talked with me and asked me about the family are precious memories, especially the warmth with which he gave his ‘most affectionate blessing’ upon our family.”²⁵¹

The NATO conference was momentous for Emerson; for one thing he had never flown for travel.²⁵² The House delegation took a military transport plane. The group of about 20 included the representatives as well as secretaries, stenographers, military aide, and Emerson and one other individual acting as civilian aide. The flight “had something of the character of Canterbury Tales, with one person and then the other telling stories of his experiences.”²⁵³ The stories took them over Nova Scotia, Ireland – “all members of Irish descent rushed to the left side of the plane to gaze as long as they could” – and then over England. Typical of one’s first flight, Emerson marveled at formation of clouds and “the rugged quality of forest, river and rock over Nova Scotia.”²⁵⁴

The flight was the beginning of an unforgettable week. Emerson wrote, “This week is memorable beyond description, and I shall not really try to give a summary of the Conference nor of NATO and its future, because it would be misleading to try to put so great an event into a tiny capsule. Sufficient to say that one cannot be a part of a Conference which included the 180 leading legislators of the 15 nations that make the NATO group without a justified pride in the honor of being able to aid in a very small way.”²⁵⁵ With optimism for NATO and hope for the common good, Emerson noted,

They do not view NATO simply as a military alliance to act as a shield. The great majority of them expressed positive hopes that NATO would be the rallying point for

²⁵¹ *Ibid.* 6.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 4. Emerson had once been in a plane when “Jack Kipp took me up for cleaning his Cub for a week, back in 1929.”

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

asserting the common cultural and moral and even religious bond that binds the NATO nations together. There was great emphasis on the point that an alliance is not worth much unless its members have unshakable convictions that they have a mutual set of values worth allying themselves for! And, further, if nations do share these values, then they must begin to act like friends: that is, they must trust one another (and that involves at least a willingness to share scientific knowledge); further, they will try to coordinate their economic knowledge and production so that all members will have a better livelihood. Thus the NATO alliance is seen in its broadest light as a device, a practical instrument, for promoting the common market and a number of other steps of genuine international cooperation. Finally, it is ever so much more apparent at a meeting like this that no nation can be an island any longer. Gene McCarthy made the point effectively in a speech he gave to the assembly on Thursday: that what happens in the “internal” affairs of one nation really affects all the NATO nations. France and her problem of Algeria or the United States and Little Rock – every move is watched by the Communist world, and any weakness on our part will be exploited, to try to prove to the 2/3rds of the world’s population who are colored, that the values of Western civilization and of the NATO countries specifically are only for the white man.²⁵⁶

Impressed by the spirit of cooperation as well as the deep conviction of moral and religious principles, Emerson felt hope. “In NATO, however, we have the basis for genuine growth in international agencies and of peace at least among the NATO nations themselves.”²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Many of the activities Emerson engaged in while at St. John's also had laid a foundation of experience and understanding that was to benefit his work and the work of Eugene McCarthy in the Senate. Emerson's son Patrick commented, "He was not an ivory tower intellectual though. He was a very active man, fully engaged in the community at large around him and even in the larger world. And I think that's maybe why he acceded to the idea that it would be good to go work for Gene McCarthy."²⁵⁸ In 1959 Emerson left St. John's to be legislative assistant to Eugene McCarthy.

Leaving St. John's

When the Hynes family left Collegeville to go to Washington, friend J.F. Powers did not approve – in light of Emerson being so committed to rural life – yet hosted a party for them. J.F. teased Emerson a good deal about the rural man going to the big city. The party was, in part, a mischievous statement. Everybody dressed formally, in tuxedos and long gowns, and teased the Hyneses about entering high society.²⁵⁹ Despite the bantering and fun, the decision to leave St. John's and cherished rural community to serve in Senator McCarthy's office was not an easy decision. In Collegeville, Emerson and Arleen were living the life they dreamed for their growing family. Emerson and Arleen deliberated the decision privately, and Arleen was fully supportive of his consideration to be legislative assistant to Senator Eugene McCarthy.²⁶⁰ There were consultations with colleagues.²⁶¹ A family council was held where each child had the opportunity to voice their position. Patrick recalled, "Emerson put it before the family at the family council, the decision to move to Washington. He made it very clear that he and Arleen were

²⁵⁸ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

²⁵⁹ Jody O'Connell, Interview, October 20, 2011.

²⁶⁰ Arlene Hynes. *Sister Arleen Hynes, interview.*

²⁶¹ Gustin, "Arno A. Gustin."

leaning that way but he wanted to know what us children thought. He wasn't making a declaration that that's what was going to be done, he was very clear that he wanted to know what your position was."²⁶² All favored going to Washington but Patrick, who ended up living and working in Washington first as a page and later as majority assistant and other positions.

It was a profound shift for the children as well. Moving from Colledgeville, a life steeped in ritual and rural community, to the urban experience in Washington was a monumental transition.²⁶³ At the time they thought it was temporary, for a year or two or three.²⁶⁴ The Colledgeville Gazette reported, "This is not a permanent move. Mr. Hynes has been granted a leave of absence from St. John's, where he is now in his 20th year of teaching. The family home, Kilfenora, is being kept intact, and it will continue to be 'home' and we will spend a few weeks next year here."²⁶⁵ Neighbor Jody O'Connell recalled that on the day of departure, they piled into the "wonderful old station wagon – the Prairie Schooner."²⁶⁶ A few friends, the O'Connells and Steve Humphrey, gave them some gifts and waved good bye as they turned the corner to a new life. Jody remembered, "There they go.... you had to know it was going to happen, but it was still sad."²⁶⁷

Legislative Assistant and Advisor to Senator Eugene McCarthy

Emerson Hynes understood that valuable leadership does not always mean being in the forefront; it also happens in the critical acts of listening and advising. When McCarthy was elected to the Senate in 1958, he asked his closest friend to accompany

²⁶² Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

²⁶³ Mary Hynes-Berry, Personal communication, October 18, 2010.

²⁶⁴ Denis Hynes, Interview, March 26, 2012.

²⁶⁵ "Hynes Family to Move to Washington: Gazette Temporarily to Suspend Publication," *Colledgeville Gazette* IV, no. 4. (December 23, 1958): 1.

²⁶⁶ Jody O'Connell, Interview, October 20, 2011.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

him to Washington.²⁶⁸ For the last 12 years of his life, Emerson was an aide and counselor²⁶⁹ to McCarthy and assisted with drafting legislation and advised the senator on issues. As someone who had been teaching ethics and social teachings of the church, Emerson wanted to be the legislative assistant, where he would have a wider impact.²⁷⁰

I consider Hynes's move to Washington as evidence of Colby and Damon's criteria for a moral leader, that is, one who risks his own self-interest for the sake of his moral values.²⁷¹ Going to Washington, D.C. was a very difficult decision for a man who seemed called to teaching and rural living. He flourished in academia; his classes were popular, he was widely published, and involved in wide-ranging conversations. He deeply valued rural living and "rural life ran in his veins."²⁷² Further, by this time he and Arleen had ten children and were key contributors in community life. Even in light of the community work they were doing, Emerson felt the opportunity in Washington was a chance to contribute to the common good of the larger community of the nation and the world.

The Washington years changed the dynamic of family rituals and traditions. The daily practice of reading the Breviary and saying the psalms fell away. Son Patrick explained,

They can't be sustained, I don't believe, in an urban situation where family members are not only involved in different activities but they have different means of

²⁶⁸ Dominic Sandbrook. *Eugene McCarthy and the Rise and Fall of Postwar American Liberalism*. (New York: Anchor Books, 2004.)

²⁶⁹ Eugene McCarthy. *The Hard Years: A Look at Contemporary America and American Institutions*. (New York, NY: Viking Press, 1975.)

²⁷⁰ Arlene Hynes. *Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview*.

²⁷¹ Ann Colby and William Damon, *Some Do Care: Contemporary Lives of Moral Commitment*. (New York: The Free Press, 1992.)

²⁷² Gustin, "Arno A. Gustin." 87.

getting to and from – you know, you’re not in a rural community without a car and you can’t go anywhere, right?...The liturgical year was still very much alive in terms of Epiphany and Easter and Lent and Advent, we were still doing those activities but they became less community oriented and involved more family and therefore, more difficult to get the whole family together....Plus the fact that evening meals migrated away from [daily] toward the weekend meals.²⁷³

Also, Emerson worked later into the evening.

I think the first thing to go, that I noticed was different was the family dinner. It didn’t disappear but it became more Friday, Saturday, Sunday type of affair – family dinner, and that was always very important to have the family dinner where we were all around the table. But that was one of the things I noticed during the weekdays – get home a little later, the kids going to school, there were activities we had so there was a degradation there of the family unity and togetherness in the growth of the family. Denis was at prep school, Mary stayed one semester and then came back and went to Trinity. So the cohesiveness of the family changes as it always does as the kids get older.²⁷⁴

Despite the inevitable changes in the family that come with a move from rural to urban living intensified by a change in profession, Emerson found his work as legislative assistant meaningful.²⁷⁵ Emerson described his work and the duties of the staff.

The staff, as in any business, assist in the work of an office. We are here to help him in any way we can, to assist him with cases and problems that arise. There is scarcely a letter that comes in for the Senator’s attention that doesn’t demand specific information, perhaps involving the existence of a statute or the bearing on an issue of present law or

²⁷³ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012. 16.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Arleen Hynes, Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview.

proposed legislation. In any case, the Senator must have the necessary background and facts to answer such letters. Most legislation that's proposed requires research into existing statutes on the subject and of the hearings that have been held. These facts have to be assembled. The staff should also be familiar with the interests and problems of the states and the particular fields that are the major concern of the Senator. Senator McCarthy, for instance, is a member of the Finance Committee and the Public Works Committee.²⁷⁶

His wife Arleen recalled many years later that Emerson did not want to be an administrative assistant who went around making political contacts and raising funds. He wanted to be a legislative assistant. He wanted to “deal specifically with the legislation that the Senate would initiate and would be responding to, and that we would be helping draft the legislation and advising Gene if he asked for advice on different issues. And that is why Emerson really loved it there. He had been teaching ethics and about the social teaching of the Church. And of course the Senator understood that that would be the main project.”²⁷⁷

Emerson's son Denis thought “he felt that he was doing good work – they did a lot of work on the migratory labor bill, he and McCarthy, to get migratory workers some rights. And there were labor issues that they were involved in – obviously the whole war business.”²⁷⁸ Reflecting on what work might have been particularly important to Emerson, Denis said, “success is measured in inches ...around the capital.... I guess the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and those kinds of things were obviously a resolution and were important and they were involved in all of that in the Kennedy and Johnson era and all

²⁷⁶ Harry W. Flannery, “Assistant Senator,” *Ave Maria, National Catholic Weekly*, (May 14, 1960): 20 -25. 22, 23. The quotes are direct quotes from Emerson.

²⁷⁷ Arleen Hynes, Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview.

²⁷⁸ Denis Hynes, Interview March 26, 2012.

the legislation was going through Congress at the time. And so that was the kind of thing he was working on a daily basis.”²⁷⁹

Hynes was legislative assistant to Eugene McCarthy during both terms in the Senate. Noting that many people have a cynical view of politics, Emerson said, “I was warned that I would probably end up a cynic after seeing Congress in action. I am happy to report that my viewpoint is quite the other way. The typical Congressman today is a conscientious citizen, working hard at a hard job.”²⁸⁰ He also explained,

Much of Congress’ work is bipartisan. Partisanship is not as controlling as it sometimes seems to be – though of course, there are clear differences between the two major parties. In the last Senate there were only 215 roll-call votes. That means a majority of bills were sufficiently bipartisan so there was no strong opposition from either party. And many of the roll-call votes were on the same bill. Even in the roll-call votes, 52 per cent of the Senate bills had the support of a majority of both parties in 1959. In 1957, 64 per cent of the bills, or two thirds of those passed on a roll-call vote, had the support of a majority of both parties. Political parties are important, particularly at the state level, to provide choice between men, trend of political thinking and platforms. And they’re important in Congress, especially for organization, but they can be over-stressed.²⁸¹

One of the things that impressed him most in his first year working for McCarthy was “the tremendous complexity of the national government. There are no simple problems and no simple answers. The question is always one of balancing many different policies – of trying to maintain equity on all sides and still to promote the

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 25.

²⁸⁰ Flannery, “Assistant Senator,” 21. The quotes are direct quotes from Emerson.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 25. The quotes are direct quotes from Emerson.

common good.”²⁸² Emerson reflected on the role of government and his first year assisting McCarthy,

There’s a tremendous responsibility in making a judgment as to how to divide the \$80 billion so that the national welfare is promoted - so that one part of society is not treated unfairly as compared with another, to see that the Federal Government does enough and yet not too much, to see that the economy keeps an even keel. There’s the whole question of trying to maintain fiscal responsibility, from the standpoint of revenues raised to such items as the interest rate on government bonds. The art of lawmaking is not scientific. It involves the virtue of prudence.

People say, “We’re against inflation.” Or, “We want justice for the farmer. We want justice for business. We want justice for the taxpayer.” I’m certain there are no Congressmen and no one on their staffs who disagree. All are agreed on these general objectives and upon democracy and keeping freedom. The art of legislating involves determining *how* you prevent inflation, *how* you secure justice for the farmer, the businessman, the taxpayer. These are all treacherous problems. They’re jellylike. You press too hard here, and they squirt out there.

This is the thing that impresses me since I’ve been here. I’ve spent 18 years in school and I’ve taught at the college level for 20 years, and I think I can honestly say that I’ve never studied as hard, or learned as much, as in the past year. It’s been exciting, interesting, challenging – even, at times, awesome.

So much of importance can happen on any day. I think only one day was devoted to debating and voting on the bill to extend the draft for another four years. That was a decision that affected every family in the nation with a son from 14 to 18 years of age. His

²⁸² Emerson Hynes and Mary Hynes, “Editor Interviews Senator’s Assistant,” *Collegeville Gazette*, 1959, 3.

life is going to be altered considerably by just that one of the many hundreds of decisions that Congress makes. Nearly every law the Congress passes affects everyone in one way or another. It isn't as though the Federal Government were a long way off in Washington; the government affects individuals, families and local communities.²⁸³

Emerson's respect for the work being done by Congress enlarged during his first year. "My respect for the work done by Congress and of the general efficiency of the federal government has increased since I have seen firsthand. The great majority of members of Congress, their staff assistants and federal employees on Capitol Hill are intelligent, hard working and conscientious far beyond the popular image of them."²⁸⁴ When asked if he is optimistic or pessimistic about the trends in government, he answered "Optimistic."²⁸⁵

Emerson had in college, graduate school and in his professional work at St. John's lectured and written on the importance of individuals becoming involved in civic action. This dedication to the common good was, as mentioned, what compelled him to leave the rural community and rich life he had in Collegeville to serve as legislative assistant. After his first year in this new role, he observed how important it was for citizens to be involved beyond the basic act of voting:

The citizen, on the other hand, cannot assume that if he just votes everything is safe. He should be as active in politics as he can find time to be. He should give every candidate a hearing. I think one of our most important responsibilities as human persons is to know the facts about our government and its people. Not only families and educational

²⁸³ Ibid., 24-25. The quotes are direct quotes from Emerson.

²⁸⁴ Emerson Hynes and Mary Hynes, "Editor Interviews Senator's Assistant," *Collegeville Gazette*, 1959, 3.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

systems, as I said, have a responsibility here, but also the press, civic organizations, business groups, the pulpit and trade unions.

As more people know about our government – and the more they know – the better it is for democratic government. And a good place to start is with a deeper appreciation and knowledge of the Congress.²⁸⁶

Working with McCarthy meant being engaged with national and international issues and Hynes was in the midst of the Senator's work on international matters. When Emerson arrived in McCarthy's office, work was already underway to "limit the role of the CIA in the making of foreign policy. He has also been a strong supporter of legislation to reduce U. S. arms sales abroad, and an advocate of greater Senate responsibility in shaping foreign policy."²⁸⁷ In 1965 McCarthy acquired a seat on the Foreign Relations Committee.²⁸⁸ He was chairman of a special subcommittee on African Affairs. The Senator was also a member of the Council on Religious Freedom and Public Affairs of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Emerson also assisted in McCarthy's run for the presidency as the major peace candidate during the Vietnam War. Although McCarthy did not win the election, as a moral voice in contentious times, he significantly influenced the discourse on the war. In times of profound social and religious change and political upheaval, through his work with McCarthy, Hynes's gentle presence and intellectual ability reached into many different realms, agricultural, liturgical, political, and ethical.

²⁸⁶ Flannery, "Assistant Senator," 25. The quotes are direct quotes from Emerson.

²⁸⁷ Eugene McCarthy, *The Year of the People*. Garden City: New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc. 1969). 322.

²⁸⁸ Sandbrook, *Eugene McCarthy and the Rise and Fall of Postwar American Liberalism*, 127.

During his time as assistant, Emerson brought valuable and necessary skills in research, history and ethical thinking to issues and problems.²⁸⁹ McCarthy clearly valued the depth and the breadth of thinking that Hynes brought to his work. McCarthy wrote about Emerson, “One did not start from scratch in discussing a problem with him. Few other members of the Senate, if any, had aides such as he to whom they could turn and ask, expecting an answer, ‘What did Plato or Thomas Aquinas or Jacques Maritain have to say about this?’”²⁹⁰ Al Eisele, a former journalist on Capitol Hill, wrote in a letter, “Clearly McCarthy relied on Emerson’s judgment and wise counsel, and often remarked to me and others that he consulted Emerson on matters large and small...He was a good man who brought a much-needed sense of perspective, both spiritual and historical, to the Senate.”²⁹¹ One of Emerson’s strengths was his vision. Patrick reflected, Emerson “was always true to the vision and true to the principles and I think McCarthy needed that kind of guidance as much as the other and that’s why he loved Emerson and kept him on.”²⁹² Eugene McCarthy, when stating that a good person was not so hard to find, wrote about Emerson Hynes: “Emerson had a vocation to conversation. He was most appreciated by people with truly desperate causes. When persons in great distress, or with problems for which there was no political solution, came by the Senate office, he would never say, ‘Don’t send them in to see me.’ Often the same persons would come to me later and say, ‘Thank you for letting us talk to that man.’”²⁹³

Illness and Death

²⁸⁹ Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation.”

²⁹⁰ McCarthy, *The Hard Years*, 189.

²⁹¹ Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation.”138.

²⁹² Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

²⁹³ McCarthy, *The Hard Years*, 189.

The additional demands placed on Emerson during McCarthy's 1968 bid for the Office of the President took a toll on his physical health.²⁹⁴ Emerson's son Patrick recalled the emotional vulnerability and the difficulties. "In the 1968 campaign, right in the middle of it, he had a stroke. It's devastating to you physically, physiologically and mentally, to have a stroke. So he lost his power of articulation and speech. It was difficult for a strong man who knew how to speak and talk and write, and he couldn't do any of those things."²⁹⁵ He did recover sufficiently to resume work during McCarthy's second senate term.²⁹⁶ When McCarthy announced he would retire, he wanted Emerson to apply for disability benefits. Patrick recalled, "He would have qualified for a medical disability and therefore a check based on a senate salary... but he was so sick in his mind at the time, he just could not. He was so determined that he wanted to go back and recover and teach in Minnesota, at St. John's, and end his life there.... It was a terribly difficult time."²⁹⁷ As though he had a premonition,²⁹⁸ Emerson urged his wife to seek employment out of the home. Arleen agreed²⁹⁹ and was hired as a patients' librarian at St. Elizabeth's Hospital, where she expanded services, got interested in poetry therapy, and eventually authored a seminal text on bibliotherapy.

In the fall of 1970, tragedy struck the family. It was a hot day and Emerson's sons did not want to swim in the racially segregated pools. Instead they opted for the Potomac River, which, although seemingly placid, could be treacherous with a lot of undercurrent. Eighteen-year-old Michael grew tired and was carried away by the current

²⁹⁴ Mary Hynes, Personal communication, May 23, 2009.

²⁹⁵ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

²⁹⁶ Lindblad, "Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation."

²⁹⁷ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

²⁹⁸ Kernan, "Growing Up in a Family of 12," B3.

²⁹⁹ Mary Hynes, Personal communication, May 23, 2009.

and drowned. “It was hard on Emerson, terribly hard on Emerson... Michael’s death was just very hard on him...really very crushing. That was in September, and Emerson died in July of 1971. His health had gone down very much.”³⁰⁰ Emerson was not physically or emotionally able to go down and identify the body. Someone else had to do that painful task.³⁰¹ “It broke [Emerson’s] heart,” said son, Hilary, “He aged 20 years.”³⁰² His friend and St John’s colleague, William Cofell, commented, “I think [Michael’s death] is what killed Emerson.”³⁰³

Complications from the stroke continued. Medications for strokes were limited at that time, and a side effect from the medication for Emerson was debilitating depression. Patrick recalled being home with Hilary and T. More when his father had a serious attack. He called his mother, who called an ambulance. But his heart was too worn, perhaps from stress, perhaps from loss, or perhaps simply the heredity of the heart;³⁰⁴ months after Michael’s death, Emerson Hynes died on July 29, 1971. He was 56 years old.

Friend Emeric Lawrence, homilist at the funeral held at Our Lady Queen of Peace Church, declared that “Emerson in his life was pleasing to God. Eugene McCarty added, ‘He was also pleasing to men.’”³⁰⁵ Owen Lindblad summarized Emerson’s short life: “Emerson Hynes was a voice for our world. His profound insights, schooled in Benedictine tradition, examined human life and linked our happiness and well-being to the unique treasure of family and community, to the simple balance of meaningful work

³⁰⁰ Arleen Hynes, Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview. 32.

³⁰¹ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

³⁰² Kernan, “Growing Up in a Family of 12,” B3.

³⁰³ William Cofell, Interview, October 21, 2010.

³⁰⁴ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

³⁰⁵ Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation,” 139,140.

and prayer, to the re-union of land and nature for human artistic inspiration and spiritual energy, to justice and hospitality. In a word, to *conversatio*.³⁰⁶

After his death, Emerson's daughter, Mary, in France at the time with a newborn baby and unable to attend the funeral, captured his life and legacy in a poem. Her husband, Gordon, dictated the poem over the phone to brother Denis so that it could be read at the funeral as a token of her presence.

It will not do to heap his grave with flowers.
 Flowers wilt and die.
 Rather let us shelter him as he has sheltered:
 Gather words, soft-spoken, deliberate, love tipped,
 Deep rooted thoughts, nurtured with tolerance.
 More vital even than the cinder-blocks and wood,
 These walls he built have made the world home for us.
 And this great gift remains good:
 Because he was, we are ourselves.
 For he is living still:
 So still, there is no longer breath.
 So living, he is beyond all death.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁶ Lindblad, "Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation," 140.

³⁰⁷ Mary Hynes, with permission by email, March, 2014.

Chapter 4

Mentor Virgil Michel

This chapter will examine the influence of Father Virgil Michel on Emerson Hynes's life during college. Specifically, I assert that Rev. Virgil Michel was an influential mentor for Emerson Hynes during Emerson's college years, an influence that likely altered his life's path. Two factors of John Shoup's¹ framework will be considered in the developmental context of the emerging ethical leader in college – favorable fate and prodigious patrons. I will then discuss the writings by Hynes and some events that support the argument of Virgil Michel's influence. Some facets of Rev. Virgil Michel's life will be examined to establish the moral nature of his influence as a prodigious patron and connections to Emerson's ethical life. I then consider both Michel and Hynes as living an ethic of conversation, followed by Michel's considerations for education and Emerson's participation in Michel's educational effort. Last, I will discuss other intersections between their lives and speculate on how this influence was lived out in the adult life of Emerson Hynes.

Prodigious Patron, Development, and Introduction to Michel's Influence

To study how individuals and institutions can better support developing exemplary leaders, John Shoup conducted a biographical investigation into lives of leaders. Rather than examining leadership as trait theory,² managerial,³ situational,⁴

¹ John R. Shoup, *A Collective Biography of Twelve World-class Leaders: A Study on Developing Exemplary Leaders* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2005).

² Bernard M. Bass, *Bass & Stodgill's Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research & Managerial Applications* (3rd ed.), (New York: The Free Press, 1990). See also Peter G. Northouse, *Leadership: Theory and Practice*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997).

³ Robert Rogers Blake and Jane Srygley Mouton, *The Managerial Grid*. (Houston, TX: Gulf Publishing, 1964).

⁴ Paul Hersey and Kenneth. H. Blanchard, "Life Cycle Theory of Leadership," In Harold W. Boles, *Multidisciplinary Readings in Leadership*, (New York: MSS Information Corporation), 188-199.

transformational,⁵ or other strands of leadership theory, Shoup's framework examines ethical leadership development within the whole context of the life of emerging leaders. He considers influential developmental factors as well as the historical and social contexts of the lives of various leaders.⁶

Shoup's leadership model suggests seven major influences in developing exemplary leaders, all of which provide some insight into the life of Emerson Hynes. Five of the categories of primary influences are discussed elsewhere: involved parents; a happy childhood; formal and informal education with perceived purpose; opportunities to apply learning and skills, or what might be called mini apprenticeships; and critics and adversaries who help to hone and clarify thinking and skills. Two additional influences, prodigious patrons, that is, ones who mentor and/or open doors and opportunities, and favorable fate – or what might be called luck – converged in powerful ways when Emerson arrived at St. John's University. Favorable fate suggests that while leaders are active agents in their destiny, at times fate intervenes toward some fortuitous advantage. The convergence on campus of Hynes and Rev. Virgil Michel seems an extraordinary fate of timing that was serendipitous for Hynes.

A transformational leader serving as a prodigious patron could potentially have powerful effects in the life of a developing moral leader who is at the college level. John Shoup suggests that prodigious patrons who “guide, encourage, support and goad”⁷ would ideally permeate every stage of leadership development. He suggests that prodigious patrons are those who “with a providential timing...become strategic catalysts

⁵ Bernard M. Bass and Bruce J. Avolio, *Improving Organizational Effectiveness Through Transformational Leadership*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994).

⁶ Shoup, *A Collective Biography of Twelve World-Class Leaders: A Study on Developing Exemplary Leaders*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Preface.

for the leader to make it to the next plateau of success...”⁸ The patron – this study will also use the terms advisor and mentor – is someone who does something on behalf of the person. Examples of support by a mentor are encouragement, advice, guidance in thinking, and providing opportunities. Shoup used the term prodigious as it suggests a sense of timing and also because it means “monumental or consequential effect or outcome from a particular influence”⁹ to the degree that if that person had not played that role for the emerging leader, the outcome would have been altered significantly. Moreover, it was the nature of the prodigious patron, advisor, or mentor that set exemplary leaders apart from competent leaders. Specifically, “exemplary leaders cited a ‘moral voice,’ ‘the nudging moral elbow,’ or a ‘surrogate moral conscience’ of some significant other guiding their thinking.”¹⁰ Given the formational period of college, it would seem that the influence of a prodigious patron, that is, a mentor, at this promising time of life could have a particularly significant impact in the emerging adult’s growth. Rev. Virgil Michel, esteemed by a generation of American Catholics, appears to have engaged as prodigious patron in three significant ways: Michel influenced outcome, expressed in the direction of Hynes’s future studies and thinking; the nature of Michel’s voice as a moral visionary cannot be overlooked; and he was present at a key developmental time in Hynes’s life.

Erik Erickson brilliantly conceptualized a foundational theoretical framework of human development that has supported subsequent ongoing research. His theory is grounded in the *epigenetic principle*, a term he used to mean that “anything that grows has a ground plan...and that out of this ground plan the parts arise ...to form a

⁸ Shoup, *A Collective Biography of Twelve World-class Leaders*, 41.

⁹ *Ibid*, 42.

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

functioning whole.”¹¹ This principle embraces the complex interactions between the physical-biological self and the historical and social – and thus socializing – environment in which one grows.¹² Erickson was particularly interested in identity development, which he saw as the central task of late adolescence. Adolescence is the stage that is considered the transition from childhood to adulthood, which developmental scholars understand to include the typical college student aged eighteen to twenty-two.¹³ The developmental tasks of this stage are to “develop their core sense of self, values, beliefs, and goals. They become more independent, begin to deal with complexities of life and seek answers to the question, ‘Who am I?’”¹⁴ Adolescents who do not successfully navigate toward a “stable, consistent, and reliable sense of who one is and what one stands for in the world”¹⁵ risk identity diffusion, confusion, and a lack of purpose.

Part of the social context for students in college is the opportunity for various encounters with professional adults they meet in the college environment including professors, advisors, visitors, and administrators. Erickson’s theory would place professionals in the college environment in the fully adult stage he described in part as *generativity*. The major work of this stage is to “actively engage in giving back to society and deciding what legacy to leave behind.... Adults are concerned with *generativity* or cultivating the next generation, which includes ...directing efforts toward providing opportunities for others through mentoring, community involvement, or activism.”¹⁶

¹¹ Erik Erickson, *Identity and the Life Cycle*. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton. 1980), Original work published 1959. 53.

¹² Susan R. Jones and Elisa S. Abes. *Identity Development of College Students: Advancing Frameworks for Multiple Dimensions of Identity* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass, 2013), 28.

¹³ Jones and Abes. *Identity Development of College Students*, 29-30.

¹⁴ Nancy J. Evans et al., *Student Development in College: Theory, Research and Practice* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass, 2010), 50.

¹⁵ Jones and Abes. *Identity Development of College Students*, 30.

¹⁶ Evans et al., *Student Development in College: Theory, Research and Practice*, 51.

Adults who do not successfully navigate this stage risk stagnation and likewise despair in old age. This suggests an interdependence of the tasks of development between adolescents and adults. That is, Erickson's theory could suggest the possibility for the full expression, development and potential in the human individual, either adult or adolescent, mutually hinges on the expression/action of generativity of the adult on behalf of the next generation, in this case, the college student.

In relational and intersecting stages, the developmental promise of college students meets synchronistically with the generative potential of adults to provide mentorship support. This syzygy in human developmental possibility seemed to come alive in Emerson Hynes and Virgil Michel, a meeting of two individuals, one young, one fully adult, both with intellectual vibrancy united with purpose and capacity for envisioning what could be possible in a society dedicated to the common good.

Emerson arrived on the St. John's University campus in the fall of 1933. The fortuitous timing of Emerson's transition from his small rural high school to first year student at St. John's occurred simultaneously with a significant transition in the life of Father Virgil Michel, acknowledged leader of the liturgical movement in the United States. During that same year, Father Virgil Michel, was asked by the Abbot of St. John's Abbey to return to St. John's from the mission at Cass Lake to take the reins as dean of the college,¹⁷ which was to be only for about five years, but years that contained the entirety of Hynes's time as an undergraduate student at St. John's. The synchronicity of these events allowed for Virgil Michel to be a significant, that is, generative influence – a prodigious patron – throughout the four years that Emerson was a student actively

¹⁷ Paul B. Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*. (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1957), 163.

pursuing intellectual and spiritual growth as well as skills in dialogue and writing. Michel was to be dean, teacher, and mentor to Emerson.

Virgil Michel's presence on campus broadly influenced the entire college during the years he acted as dean. St. John's student and eventual professor at St John's, William Cofell,¹⁸ who arrived as a student nine years after Emerson's undergraduate years, speculated that Virgil Michel's tenure as dean supported some of the greatest years of St. John's. He suggested that the opportunity for the type of influence Michel likely had on Hynes was possible not only because of the substance of character of Michel, but also the small size of the college and the historical context of the time.¹⁹ Although Virgil Michel had deeply regretted leaving Cass Lake to return to St. John's, his work in the next – and last – five years of his life are considered his most fruitful,²⁰ much of it directed at a curricular transformation of the college toward liberal education that “should probe deeply into the most serious and difficult problems of life and the world,”²¹ and toward vital engagement with the social justice tenants of Catholic teachings. Between the time Emerson arrived and left St. John's, Virgil Michel directly and indirectly influenced Emerson's thinking and commitments.

Supporting the Argument of Virgil Michel's Influence

¹⁸ William Cofell is also my father.

¹⁹ William Cofell, Personal communication, June 7, 2012.

²⁰ Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, 166.

²¹ R. W. Franklin and Robert L. Spaeth, *Virgil Michel: American Catholic* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1988), 139.

Both Emerson's wife, Arleen,²² and son, Patrick, stated emphatically that Virgil Michel was an influence on Emerson. "He mentored my father and got him to go to Notre Dame and get his master's.... Virgil Michel saw him as a man of the community who was leading a secular life but was deeply involved in the Benedictine community and commitment to those ideas."²³ Three additional sources illustrate the potency of Michel's influence on Hynes, a dedication and two published articles. (A fourth source, numerous notations and articles regarding Dean Virgil Michel in the student publication, the *Record*, will be discussed later.) The dedication is in Emerson's master's dissertation from the University of Notre Dame. In this major academic work of his life to that point, Emerson wrote, "To the memory of Rev. Virgil Michel, O.S.B., under whom I had the privilege to study at St. John's University, whose broad vision and great intellect instilled in me a keen appreciation of agrarianism."²⁴ Perhaps the strongest evidence of the impact of Virgil Michel on Emerson Hynes is the two articles he published on Virgil Michel. The first, coauthored with Leo Ward, was published within a month after Michel's death.²⁵ While this article illustrates certain influences of Michel's thought, it particularly reveals the influence of the man on Emerson.

Published in *Commonweal*,²⁶ the article conveys a sense of shock at the death of a man who seems to have just reached "the full stretch of his power."²⁷ It describes Michel

²² Arleen, Hynes, "Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview."

²³ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 1912.

²⁴ Emerson Hynes, 1939. *The Catholic Church and Rural Life: With a Special Consideration of the Church in the United States*, (Master's Thesis, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN., 1939), viii.

²⁵ Leo R. Ward and Emerson Hynes, "Virgil Michel," *Commonweal* XXIX, no. 9 (December. 23, 1938): 237-38.

²⁶ Founded in 1924 and currently published twenty times per year, the mission is described on the webpage: "*Commonweal's* mission is to provide a forum for civil, reasoned debate on the interaction of faith with contemporary politics and culture. Read by a passionate audience of educated, committed Catholics, as well as readers from many other faith traditions, *Commonweal* presents well-argued,

as a “strong, iron little man, full of initiative, full of drive, afraid of no labor”²⁸ and notes the long work days, the great amount and breadth of work in translating, publishing, lecturing, and teaching. The article suggests that Michel’s genius “got its chance in the gigantic every-day labors.”²⁹ It comments on Michel’s understanding and thinking on St. Thomas, his creative ability, and especially his visionary capacity to see what could be, particularly in Catholic thinking. “He was out front in alertness. He was alive and thoroughly awake, he knew what was going on and what was not going on.... He knew too well how sterile our educational life and even our moral and religious life can be: what a mild and cowed copy of something secular, something far from Christian.”³⁰

Hynes and Ward then note Michel’s educational approach; he rejected the textbook and engaged the students in a vitalized approach: “What would be a vital Christian sociology? And then: Is there any such sociology? This was his living approach. He set his students to work to find out. He himself never let up; he loved to elaborate a tenable reply to that vital inquiry.”³¹ Michel introduced his students to Christopher Dawson, Jacques Maritain, and the *Quadragesimo Anno*³² – an encyclical written in 1931 by Pope Pius XI on ethical considerations of social and economic conditions of the time while calling for a reconstruction of the social order. They read

respectful points of view from across the ideological spectrum.” *Commonweal* can be accessed at <http://www.commonwealmagazine.org/about-magazine-1>.

²⁷ Ward and Hynes, “Virgil Michel,” 237.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Pope Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*, 1931. Accessed January 14, 2014, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19310515_quadragesimo-anno_en.html

Catholic rural life material, *Commonweal* and *Free America*³³ a publication of the agrarian distributist movement, and followed the *Catholic Worker*,³⁴ the newspaper started by Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin to promote the social justice teachings of the church.³⁵ They read Emmanuel Mounier, French philosopher and guiding spirit of the personalism movement.³⁶ The social thought of Saint Thomas almost certainly integrated throughout the thinking in the courses since Michel was then creating a set of booklets to bring those principles to bear on the current world problems. The article suggests it was not merely the quality of textual authorship Michel brought to education, it was the approach of intellectual discipline with ongoing synthesis to “key concepts involved, such as ‘justice,’ ‘the common good,’ ‘person,’ ‘property,’ ‘human rights,’ and ‘capitalism.’”³⁷ Equally influential may have been that “Virgil Michel was a modern man and was always intelligible to modern man. He knew their problems much better than they knew them. He felt confident that men could find solutions. But he never gave the impression, and never had the impression, that all solutions were simply to be deduced from some facile major premise....a man who made honest courageous effort and who, even then thought his conclusions ‘tentavisional (sic).’”³⁸ The characteristics Ward and Hynes brought forth in this article indicate their discernment of Michel’s vital intellect

³³ “Editorials,” *Free America* II, no. 6 (June 1938): 2. This issue states, “*FREE AMERICA* stands for individual independence and believes that freedom can exist only in societies in which the great majority are the effective owners of tangible and productive property and in which group action is democratic. In order to achieve such a society, ownership, production, population, and government must be decentralized. *FREE AMERICA* is therefore opposed to finance-capitalism, fascism and communism.”

³⁴ More can be found at <http://www.catholicworker.org/index.cfm>

³⁵ *The Catholic Worker* newsletter was started in May of 1933, the same year Emerson arrived as a student on St. John’s campus and Virgil Michel returned as dean.

³⁶ Mounier “articulated the ideas of personalism, of human persons whose responsibility it is to take an active role in history, even while the ultimate goal is beyond the temporal and beyond human history.” <http://cjd.org/1999/08/01/emmanuel-mounier-personalism-and-the-catholic-worker-movement/>

³⁷ Ward and Hynes, “Virgil Michel,” 238.

³⁸ Ward and Hynes, “Virgil Michel,” 238.

and moral depth as well as suggest the qualities that may have most influenced and inspired them.

The second article written by Hynes on Virgil Michel was published in *The American Catholic Sociological Review*³⁹ two years after Michel's death. Here Hynes looks at the man and his thinking. This article indicates the range of influence of Michel on Hynes as it summarizes the wide array of considerations and substantive accomplishments of Michel. It also provides analysis on the thinking of Michel, indicating his philosophical foundations and the powerful inspiration of the liturgy, inspiring him in what became his remarkable work in the American Liturgical Movement (ALM). Hynes says Michel "laid the groundwork which has made it possible for others to advance,"⁴⁰ suggesting a transformational approach to Michel's leadership style and perhaps giving him credit for some of Hynes's own growth. It is noteworthy for Hynes that Michel "distained the logico-experimental method...but was a stickler for logic, for correct form, for exactness."⁴¹ Hynes also valued Michel as a synthesizer and seemed to foster this skill in himself. "It may be deduced that Virgil Michel was not so much an original thinker as a coordinator. But these are the times when a coordinator is necessary. Periods of transition and unrest are marked by hundreds of social ideas and theories; most of them have good aspects and a coordinator is necessary to sift and save, to unify the good and to anchor the whole to a solid foundation. He was able to do this effectively, so that those who before had but a notion, afterwards had a true general pattern."⁴² Later in Emerson's life, for example in the sixties, a period of transition and unrest marked by

³⁹ Emerson Hynes, "The Social Thought of Virgil Michel, O.S.B.," *The American Catholic Sociological Review* 1, 4 (Dec., 1940): 172-80.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁴² *Ibid.*

many social ideas and theories, Hynes was in the position of being the synthesizer, an ability he had seen modeled in Virgil Michel.

Hynes mentions some particularly compelling aspects of Michel's contributions to social thought. One was "reconstructive ideas around what may be called *personalism*"⁴³ – referring to a philosophy of the uniqueness of a human person in nature with unique values and free will. He also denounced bourgeoisie and "the false philosophical basis of individualism."⁴⁴ and their insidious menace to spiritual values. Importantly, Michel made "distinctions between Christianity and Christians, he also condemned the 'Catholic in name only,'"⁴⁵ alluding to tolerance of social injustices of the time, for example the injustices suffered by sharecroppers and discriminations against Negroes.⁴⁶ Michel radiated a sense of hope and purpose during a tremendously important time. Hynes writes, "The future is our responsibility. Something must be done.... A new philosophy is necessary,"⁴⁷ perhaps expressing an internalized challenge to himself to work for a better social order with justice for all. Several of Michel's considerations for social regeneration mentioned in this article, including personalism, considerations of labor, "cooperatives, decentralism and widespread ownership,"⁴⁸ concerns for the poor, all girded in the underlying moral principles expressed in *Quadragesimo Anno*, were prominent in Hynes's master's dissertation on the Catholic Church and rural life, essentially a manifesto on his philosophy of life based on the soil.⁴⁹ These principles, the

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 177.

⁴⁶ As a historical study, I here use *Negroes* as the term used during this historical era and in these historical documents, which now would be *People of Color*, *Blacks*, *African Americans*, or *Americans of African Slave Descent*.

⁴⁷ Hynes, "The Social Thought of Virgil Michel, O.S.B." 178.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 179.

⁴⁹ Hynes, *The Catholic Church and Rural Life*."

new necessary philosophy, were not just academic in nature, but also were applied in Emerson's life through involvement in credit unions, guilds, rural living, family dynamics, and respectful and dialogic relationships.

Hynes ends his article noting that Michel was more than a "Catholic social philosopher. He was and he is a contemporary social philosopher."⁵⁰ Hynes remarked "Virgil Michel was immensely tolerant of persons" and was "continually searching for common ground with those not of his Faith." He actively made efforts to "establish common ground between Christians and others with ideals."⁵¹ Much of the intellectual work Hynes began at St. John's, greatly influenced by Virgil Michel, was developed in his dissertation, and it seems evident that Hynes also found in Michel a model for life. Although Emerson came from a tolerant family, Michel affirmed this way of life in both intellectual thinking and in moral example. For example, family records document a steady stream of international guests from around the world in the Hynes's home,⁵² documenting a way of living out Michel's call for seeking common ground with others.

The Moral Nature of the Prodigious Patron/Mentor

Intellectual and ethical development, according to William Perry,⁵³ consists of a continuum of positions of thought that progress from dualistic right-wrong/good-bad thinking toward relativism, which is complex and critical examinations of ideas, potentially with commitment in the contextual world. Concepts that express the "meaning making process are *duality*, *multiplicity*, and *relativism*. Commitment signifies another

⁵⁰ Hynes, "The Social Thought of Virgil Michel, O.S.B.," 180.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² "Family Enjoys Company of International Guests," *The Collegeville Gazette*, (Dec. 25, 1960) 3, and "Here and There," *The Collegeville Gazette*, (Dec. 1962): 3.

⁵³ Evans et al., *Student Development in College*.

important idea within the scheme.”⁵⁴ While Perry’s theory implied a continuum, there is no assumption about duration or assurance of movement toward any position. While college students could potentially be in any of these positions, one of the goals of a college education is to move students from dualistic positions toward more complex thinking. Multiplistic thinking honors diverse views whereas relativistic thinking goes further by recognizing the need to critically examine ideas and support ideas, something Virgil Michel steadfastly fostered. Still more involved and mature is the process of “*commitment in relativism*, which...involves choices, decisions, and affirmation that are made from the vantage point of relativism.”⁵⁵ Here, perhaps is the crux of Rev. Virgil Michel’s influence on the young Hynes, his strength as a role model of a complex and committed thinker, “his vigorous and ordered intellect, his vitality, his probing curiosity, his sharp censure of anything less than the best,”⁵⁶ yet one who was “deeply committed to ...openness in operation as well as in theory.”⁵⁷

Rev. Virgil Michel, torchbearer of the American Liturgical Movement,⁵⁸ scholar, writer, lecturer, teacher, dean, and advocate for the common good, had the respect of a generation of Catholics. Michel’s “widening vision”⁵⁹ stressed “‘the supreme focal importance of the human person,’ which means that the person ‘must necessarily be social rather than individualistic.’”⁶⁰ As prodigious patrons, the strong moral voice of mentors strengthens the moral compass of the emerging leader. As noted earlier, Shoup proposed that it is the caliber of the mentors that set apart exemplary leaders from

⁵⁴ Ibid., 86.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 57.

⁵⁶ Hynes, “The Social Thought of Virgil Michel, O.S.B.,” 172.

⁵⁷ Jeremy Hall, *The Full Stature of Christ*, (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1976), p. 11.

⁵⁸ Ibid., xi.

⁵⁹ Hynes, “The Social Thought of Virgil Michel,” 175.

⁶⁰ Hynes, “The Social Thought of Virgil Michel, O.S.B.,” 179. Quote by Virgil Michel.

competent leaders. As a leader in Catholic social thought and one “fully engaged with worldly questions,”⁶¹ for Emerson, Virgil Michel was a mentor with a strong moral voice.

Virgil Michel, O.S.B.

Virgil Michel started life as George Michel, born in 1890 in St. Paul, Minnesota. He attended high school at St. John’s Preparatory School in Collegeville, Minnesota, and entered the Order of Saint Benedict at St. John’s Abbey in 1910 and took the name Virgil.⁶² Virgil Michel took part in the liberal policy – begun by Abbott Peter and continued by Abbott Alcuin – of sending monks for advanced study in both Europe and the United States.⁶³ He received a doctorate of English from Catholic University of America. During doctoral studies he also attended Columbia University summer sessions in the field of education.⁶⁴ Then in 1924 Michel was sent to Europe for advanced philosophical studies.⁶⁵ He stayed at Louvain University in Belgium, where he was inspired by liturgical renewal. He then studied at Sant’ Anselmo in Rome, where he met Dom Lambert Beauduin, whom Michel later consulted in his liturgical work at St. John’s.

While Virgil Michel was greatly influenced by the liturgical renewal occurring in Europe, he corresponded with Abbott Alcuin encouraging the abbot to begin a major work at St. John’s, that is, to establish St. John’s as the center in the United States where the works of the liturgical movement in Europe could be introduced to America through a liturgical magazine and “Popular Liturgical Library.”⁶⁶ Although other priests in America

⁶¹ Franklin and Spaeth, *Virgil Michel*, 8.

⁶² Hynes, “The Social Thought of Virgil Michel, O.S.B.,” 172.

⁶³ Coleman J. Barry, *Worship and Work: St. John’s Abbey and University 1856-1992*. (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1993), 263. In Alcuin’s administration alone, 101 monks were sent to 46 universities in Europe and the United States, which consequently had a considerable effect on the academic life of the university.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 228, 262-63.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 265.

had worked toward building interest in liturgical renewal,⁶⁷ the liturgical movement expressed in its uniquely American form was launched by Virgil Michel and Abbot Alcuin.⁶⁸ Particularly compelling in the American expression of the liturgical movement was that Virgil Michel saw “with clear realism ... the connection of social justice with a new social spirituality.”⁶⁹ Virgil Michel joined the liturgical movement with social justice. The American Liturgical Movement has been exhaustively studied and has been considered by some historians of Catholicism to be one of the most vital movements of the time and even “the most significant aspect of contemporary religious life.”⁷⁰

Virgil Michel was a focused and energetic scholar, translator, and writer. He brought this focus to ignite the American Liturgical Movement when he returned from Europe to St. John’s in 1925; he immediately embarked on two significant endeavors. The first was the monthly review concerned with liturgical renewal, titled *Orate Fratres*, now published as *Worship* by Saint John’s Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota. The second was the ‘popular Liturgical Library’ that was to become the highly regarded Liturgical Press, also in Collegeville.

A lifelong student of St. Thomas, who Virgil Michel considered to be “‘the prince of theologians’ and ‘the great Catholic teacher of all time,’”⁷¹ Michel’s approach to Thomism was both vital – diving deeply into the center of questions – and open, seeing the need for and possibilities of contemporary insights.⁷² Thus he was a “monk of the

⁶⁷ Ibid., 267.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 265-67.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 268.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 264. The author is referring to a statement by Theodore Maynard in his book *Story of American Catholicism*.

⁷¹ Hall, *The Full Stature of Christ*, 11.

⁷² Ibid.

world,”⁷³ deeply concerned with challenges in the contemporary world. He was engaged not only in confronting fascism and communism, but he also questioned the problems that capitalism, materialism, and individualism pose to the common good. The answer to these societal problems was social justice:⁷⁴

Social justice is “properly defined as the virtue by which men regulate all their actions in proper relation to the common good.” And what is the common good? Michel affirmed “the traditional Christian concept of the common good, which is based on the concept of the social nature of man together with an emphatic acceptance of the supreme value of human personality.”

For Michel, two distinct conditions in society were necessary before one could say that the common good was being served. The first he called “the common conditions of social life” such as “social organization, peace, and order, opportunities of education, of work, of self-development, freedom for the higher things in life, etc.” The second is “the maximum attainment of the good life by all individuals,” which must be achieved by the individuals themselves; therefore, “the fundamental rights of all... must always be respected, in fact guaranteed, by any common action or attitude of the whole.”⁷⁵

Virgil Michel’s approach to many aspects of his life demonstrate a strong commitment to ethical living. His work aimed to address social concerns of the day toward the common good. Fully immersed in the consuming work of launching the liturgical movement, Virgil Michel was not only writing, editing, and organizing, he was also teaching, giving retreats, traveling and lecturing, guiding young monks as prefect,

⁷³ Franklin & Spaeth, *Virgil Michel*, 10.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 10-14.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

and consulting with visitors to Collegeville.⁷⁶ He had been working at a “feverish pace for five years”⁷⁷ when in 1930 he experienced “a near nervous collapse.”⁷⁸ Consequently on doctor’s orders, Michel had a regenerating shift in duties when he went to White Earth and Cass Lake Indian reservations to work in northern Minnesota in the Saint John’s missions. He was recalled to St. John’s in 1933 to assume the deanship of the college,⁷⁹ the same year that Emerson entered as a first year student at St. John’s University.

Virgil Michel was unquestionably a passionate and unusually committed and hard worker. Even after returning to St. John’s from Cass Lake, within months, suffering from severe eye strain, he returned up north for a brief reprieve.⁸⁰ “He worked fifteen, even seventeen hours a day over long periods, and he got an incredible lot of work done....perhaps what we take for creative genius in him was merely his capacity for hard work.”⁸¹ Even in his death he was held up as a model of hard work, despite that some thought he had worked himself to death. Abbott Alcuin, knowing Michel was close to death, passed a message from Michel and exhorted the community, “If there is any one characteristic of his life which stands out it was the way he always made proper use of the time given to him in his life; he even would write articles while riding on trains. I recommend him to you as an example in this.”⁸²

The vigorous intellectual vitality and almost punishing work ethic can be understood as a moral response to the historical conditions of the time. Marx summarized

⁷⁶ Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, 127.

⁷⁷ Barry, *Worship and Work*, 275.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ “Father Virgil, Dean, Returns From North.” *St. John’s Record* 46, no. 32 (Dec. 7, 1933): 1. The *St. John’s Record* changed to *The Record* in 1937. For simplicity, in text I often refer to the student newspaper of any year as the *Record*.

⁸¹ Emerson Hynes, “Virgil Michel.” *Commonweal* XXIX, no. 9 (Dec. 23, 1938): 237.

⁸² Barry, *Worship and Work*, 278.

the historical era that surrounded Emerson Hynes's matriculation and Virgil Michel's return to St. Johns:

History's worst depression was heavy upon the land. In the years 1930-32 alone 5,000 commercial banks, about twenty percent of all banks in the United States, had failed. . . . Soup kitchens and breadlines dotted city streets, as the number of the unemployed reached 15,000,000 by March, 1933; and there continued to be some 10,000,000 unemployed through most of the decade. At one time about one-fourth of the nation's families were on relief. In the midst of plentiful resources there was a hunger march upon Washington. Beginning its noble work of teaching the social doctrine of the Church to the working man in May, 1933, the *Catholic Worker* in its first editorial addressed itself to "those who are sitting on benches, huddling in shelters, walking the streets." After droughts, dust bowls formed, and farmers were leaving the land to swell the city slums. . . . "The whole economic life has become hard, merciless, and sinister," Pius XI had written in *Quadragesimo Anno* in 1931. If conditions in the United States were ripe for communism, they were also ripe for social and economic reform. Yet, in 1933 there was practically no organized lay apostolate among American Catholics; nor were there social action groups such as exist today.⁸³

Virgil Michel spent considerable energy addressing many facets of social problems while dean at St. John's. He wrote on social problems, published books on social thinking and analysis and Christian perspective of social justice. He spoke on economic problems and problems of money. He started the Social Study Institute to analyze social problems in the community, which will be discussed at a later point. He

⁸³ Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, 177.

argued that individualism and materialism are contrary to “Christian philosophy, and pleaded for a reestablishment of spiritual objective in modern life.”⁸⁴

While the economic and social conditions in the United States deteriorated in the years that brought Virgil Michel and Emerson Hynes to St. John’s, there was also considerable social unrest occurring world-wide: the Nazis were gaining seats in the German government; Hitler was elected chancellor in Germany and granted dictatorial powers in 1933; Gandhi was arrested in India in 1933 in the struggle for self-rule;⁸⁵ Mussolini was about to invade Ethiopia;⁸⁶ and there was starvation in the USSR.⁸⁷ In the United States, with 15 million Americans were out of work,⁸⁸ the future was uncertain. Many challenges would be evident for the aware and thoughtful college student arriving at maturity during times of this era of serious national and world problems. Clearly times were exceptionally difficult and planning for the future would require dedication and fortitude as well as advanced critical thinking and moral discernment. Yet despite the complexity of national and world problems in those years when the lives of Emerson Hynes and Virgil Michel most deeply intersected, the college years of Emerson, they were lively years of great promise as Virgil Michel’s response as college dean was to create an environment that prepared men to thoughtfully engage in a response to these problems.

An Ethic of Conversation

⁸⁴ “Reverend Virgil Addresses New Social Institute: Delivers Lecture on the Unchristian Mode of Modern Life,” *The Record* 50, no. 2 (Jan. 21, 1937): 1.

⁸⁵ “Years of Arrest & Imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi,” *mkgandhi.org*, Accessed June 29, 2013, <http://www.mkgandhi.org/arrestofmahatma.htm>

⁸⁶ Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, 178

⁸⁷ Bernard Grun, *The Timetables of History: A Horizontal Linkage of People and Events*. (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster 1982), p. 505.

⁸⁸ “Essay: The Federal Emergency Relief Association,” *Digital Collections*. University Libraries, University of Washington, Accessed June 28, 2013, <http://content.lib.washington.edu/feraweb/essay.html>

There is evidence of the importance of conversation as part of the ethical life for both Virgil Michel and Emerson Hynes, that is, conversation as foundational to engagement toward the common good. Conversation is a pivotal mechanism by which the development toward Perry's relativistic thinking is fostered. The etymology of *conversation*, from the Latin *conversari*, literally "to turn oneself about," or "to turn to and fro,"⁸⁹ and historically was used to mean "the action of living," or the "manner of conducting oneself in the world."⁹⁰ Conversation is an engagement of turning with another human being, suggesting an engagement with the experience and thinking of another. The related word *dialogue* contains the roots *dia* and *logos*. *Logos* has a complex history of meaning yet can be understood as "word" or "meaning." *Dia* can be understood as *through* and, thus, to dialogue suggests "a stream of meaning flowing among and through and between us."⁹¹ It is simple common sense that engaging in authentic listening and being listened to, that is, to cross bridges of meaning and understanding, is necessary to foster the relativist thinking capable of critically examining ideas and perspectives that Perry describes as leading toward cognitive growth and commitment toward ethical action the world. At the foundation of moving social justice and moral action forward in the world is the practice of an ethic of conversation.

⁸⁹ "Converse" *The Oxford English Dictionary: The Definitive Record of the English Language*, Accessed June 29, 2013, <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.csbsju.edu/view/Entry/40763?rskey=YdyQvE&result=4#eid>

⁹⁰ "Conversation," *The Oxford English Dictionary: The Definitive Record of the English Language*, Accessed June 29, 2013, <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.csbsju.edu/view/Entry/40748?rskey=xPXXOj&result=1&isAdvanced=false#id>

⁹¹ "What is Dialogue?" *Difficult Dialogues*, Clark University. Accessed June 29, 2013, <http://www.clarku.edu/difficultdialogues/learn/index.cfm>

Developing the art and skill of authentic conversation appeared to be part of the self-authoring⁹² of Emerson's ethical identity in the college years.

Emerson was known and is remembered as a man who cared deeply about ethics and throughout his life as one who lived by an ethic of conversation.⁹³ His mentor, Virgil Michel, also deeply engaged in conversation as action toward the common good. For Michel, how this action took place was critical. "If we refuse to see the standpoint of others, or ignore their sincerity, we are not only shutting off all possibility of assisting them, but we are actually building a wall around ourselves and closing to them all avenues of approach."⁹⁴

Virgil Michel was also an example of one with a well-developed philosophical approach to life as well as discerning eye for moral action in the world, an example that almost certainly influenced Hynes and may have particularly appealed to Hynes's approach to the world. Virgil Michel's openness recognized that in order to have meaningful relationships that truly cherish the dignity of the human person, one ought to have an openness to contemporary insights and the needs of the time. Committed to openness in practice as well as theory, Michel exemplified an ethic of conversation. Dorothy Day wrote after Michel's death:

(Virgil Michel) was at home anywhere. He could sit down at a table in a tenement house kitchen, or under an apple tree at the farm and talk of St. Thomas and today with whoever was at hand. He never noticed whether people were scholars or workers... He has

⁹² The complexities of self-authorship in the college years is explored in *Authoring Your Life: Developing an Internal Voice to Navigate Life's Challenges* by Marcia B. Baxter Magolda. (Stylus Publishing: Sterling VA. 2009).

⁹³ Multiple interviews indicate a cohesive perception among several individuals including Mary Hynes, William Cofell, Sy Theisen, Roger Nierengarten, Patrick Hynes, Erlers, and others.

⁹⁴ Hall, *The Full Stature of Christ*, p. 11. (Hall quotes Virgil Michel from "Intellectual Confusion Today and *Philosophia Perennis*." *Fortnightly Review* 33 (May 15, 1926), 211.

such faith in people, faith in their intelligence and spiritual capacities, that he always gave the very best he had generously and openheartedly. He seemed to trust their understanding whether or not they were articulate in that understanding....He did not care whether he was giving of his wisdom to two or three or to an audience of hundreds....He made us feel...that we were working with him.⁹⁵

Interestingly, after Emerson's death, Eugene McCarthy made a statement about Emerson's "vocation to conversation"⁹⁶ that echoed what had been written about Virgil Michel. For Emerson, conversation was an ethical act, and he would not turn away people with problems or in need. Like Michel, Emerson was also at home with people and part of his goodness was his generous and openhearted capacity to listen and talk with people, and people responded to Emerson's listening ear and wise counsel.

Michel, Hynes, and Education

For both Michel and Hynes, education was part of the moral response. Michel wanted to foster the growth of men who could deeply understand the problems of the day and wisely consider how to respond in action. He opposed the mechanization of colleges and wanted to create a college environment where students would gain a broad liberal education as a foundation and grow into the ability to take charge of one's own education. By the senior year, the student ought to be attaining the aim of education, that is, intellectual independence.⁹⁷ He did not intend a misshapen independence, but rather a

⁹⁵ Dorothy Day, "Fellow Worker in Christ," *Orate Fratres* 13, 3 (January 22, 1939), 139-40.

⁹⁶ Eugene McCarthy, *The Hard Years: A Look at Contemporary America and American Institutions*. (New York, NY: Viking Press, 1975), 189.

⁹⁷ Franklin and Spaeth, *Virgil Michel*, 142.

true independence that must “include knowledge of all the major opinions regarding the problems of the day, and of their historical solutions; and only then, the holding of one’s own opinions for reasons understood by oneself, independently of the mere dicta of other persons.”⁹⁸ “In short, to become intellectually independent requires the personal discipline to acquire a great deal of knowledge; the knowledge in turn gives a student the right to his or her own opinion.”⁹⁹ For this he wanted to go further than the “study-plan system,” which allowed for students to independently study with the professor as a resource. He recommended “broad courses of synthesis”:

. . .for instance, courses in the historical manifestations of democracy (theory and practice); in contemporary religions, their thought and practice; the place of science in modern civilizations; cycles of art in the life of man; social economy in ancient, medieval, and modern times, etc., always with a study of causes and implications, not a mere mention of data alone.¹⁰⁰

With this aim Virgil Michel designed the course, Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory, taken by Emerson Hynes. The course was labeled “Sociology 47-48,” which employed the term *sociology* as it was then used to mean “a broad and multidisciplinary study of society.”¹⁰¹ His syllabus stated the course’s ambitions: “[This course] will endeavor to convey a mastery of the best Christian thought of the day, with particular reference to forward-looking ideas and programs in regard to every phase of social and cultural reconstruction.”¹⁰² The topics included the following:

⁹⁸ Ibid., 142. Quote by Virgil Michel.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 143. Quote by Virgil Michel.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 145. Quote by Virgil Michel.

¹⁰² Ibid., 145. Quote by Virgil Michel.

1. The Writings of the Christian Sociologists.
2. The Personalist and Communitarian Movements.
3. The Writings of Christopher Dawson, Maritain, e.a.
4. Corporative Order vs. Totalitarianism.
5. The Catholic Revival of Our Day.
6. The Theological Basis of Sociology.
7. The Liturgical Movement.
8. Social Life and Ideas of the Middle Ages.
9. The New Money Theories.
10. The Agrarian Movement.¹⁰³

Michel selected four students for the course¹⁰⁴ based on criteria of having completed at least three years of college with high grades. The class was intended to be especially valuable to individuals who “expect to occupy places of leadership....and who desire to function more effectively as true Christian apostles.”¹⁰⁵ One of those students was Emerson Hynes. More than a lecture based course, Michel attempted to put his educational philosophy into practice. “The work of the curriculum shall be conducted entirely on the basis of mutual cooperation and exchange, after the ideal set by Cardinal Newman for a true university,”¹⁰⁶ referring to Newman’s idea of university as an assemblage of men “zealous for their own sciences” and perhaps rivals, who nonetheless adjust together in a capacity to “respect, to consult, to aid each other. Thus is created a

¹⁰³ Ibid., 146-7. Quote by Virgil Michel.

¹⁰⁴ “Catholic Backgrounds, Culture Courses Offered,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 19 (Sept. 17, 1936): 2.

¹⁰⁵ Educational Venture will be Undertaken: Course Will Deal with Catholic Reconstruction,” *St. John’s Record*, 49, no. 17. (May 28, 1936): 2.

¹⁰⁶ Franklin and Spaeth, *Virgil Michel*, 146. Quote by Virgil Michal.

pure and clear atmosphere of thought, which the student also breathes...¹⁰⁷ In this spirit, in the Catholic Backgrounds course the “association between instructors and students would have more of the nature of informal intercourse between men of kindred ambitions, which is the best type of social intercourse.”¹⁰⁸ If there were lectures, they were of a Socratic nature, which would encourage a partnership of learning and hard questioning, “the kind designed to lead on to deeper and deeper problems in human understanding.”¹⁰⁹ Conveying an ethic of conversation, Virgil Michel’s course seemed uniquely designed as a prototype for moving social action forward.

Many of the same people whose works were part of the course, particularly Emmanuel Mounier, Hilaire Belloc, G. K. Chesterton as well as Dawson and Maritain were also referenced in Hynes’s graduate work at the University of Notre Dame. The foundation laid in Michel’s course continued to influence the outlook of Emerson Hynes as he gained more knowledge and grew in his own philosophy and positions. The study, dialogue, and opportunities in the course resonated with Emerson and he focused and expanded the investigation into his master’s dissertation *The Catholic Church and Rural Life with a Special Consideration of the Church in the United States*.¹¹⁰

Emerson was remembered by many individuals for his capacity for informed thinking and able conversation as a way to think through and work toward meaningful solutions to problems large and small.¹¹¹ This attraction to meaningful conversation and

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. Quote by Virgil Michel.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 144. Quote by Virgil Michel.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Hynes, *The Catholic Church and Rural Life*.”

¹¹¹ Multiple interviews including William Cofell, Mary Hynes, Karl Van der Horck, Sy Theisen and Patrick Hynes.

dialogue was perhaps one of the factors that enabled Hynes to look toward Virgil Michel as a model.

Virgil Michel also valued thoughtful conversation and dialogue. Furthermore, he made pointed effort to enable occasions of conversation. Part of Michel's skill in attracting listeners was his ability to draw people, both novices and the more experienced, together into conversations. "It was the special gift of Virgil Michel to attract people to the cause....whatever he undertook attracted dedicated listeners."¹¹² During Emerson's college years "a group of younger monks and lay professors cooperated with Father Virgil in applying principles of Christian social teaching to modern problems."¹¹³ The Catholic Central Verein, an association "with its roots in Germany...a benevolent society for German immigrants"¹¹⁴ working to implement Pope Leo's XIII's *Rerum Novarum*,¹¹⁵ took interest in social questions and assisted in sponsoring an Institute for Social Study at St. Johns.¹¹⁶ Michel organized monthly workshops and several series of lectures and publications, all taking place during the time Hynes was in college. At Michel's invitation, many individuals came to St. John's to take part in the conversations and sometimes to lecture. Among the visitors were Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin from the Catholic Worker, the Baroness Catherine de Hueck of the Friendship House, Ade Bethune and other artists from the Liturgical Arts Society, Edward Skillin, editor of *Commonweal*, Mortimer Adler from the University of Chicago, individuals from the

¹¹² Barry, *Worship and Work*, 277.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, 276.

¹¹⁴ Hall, *The Full Stature of Christ*, 198.

¹¹⁵ Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*. Accessed April 18, 2013.

http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum_en.html. *Rerum Novarum* is a papal encyclical on justice, capital and labor published in 1891.

¹¹⁶ Barry, *Worship and Work*, 275.

Nova Scotia Cooperative, and a number of others.¹¹⁷ “All of these people were working in their several ways to find a solution to the crisis of Western civilization during the worried 1930’s as economic collapse, totalitarianism, and Communism prepared the way for World War II.”¹¹⁸

Michel wanted students to be part of those conversations. An essential aspect of Michel’s educational philosophy was a dialogic approach that began with students investigating real world issues and engaging in active exchange of ideas. Further, Benedictine institutions ought to be “a dynamo generating a genuine Christian spirituality”¹¹⁹ as well as centers for Christian scholarship and culture that could grasp God’s world outside the monastery.¹²⁰ Certainly the focus of learning should not be on grades; Virgil Michel lamented the focus on grades, credits and learning rote facts, which was inefficient and not true learning. His vision for college was to emphasize students’ individual research and inquiry.¹²¹ Further, education was not for purely academic instruction and inquiry, but ought to “include in a high degree the social responsibility of the intellectual aristocrat in a democracy...”¹²² Education “was one of the most vital factors in social change and betterment.”¹²³ In one of his regular talks with the student body, he urged students concerning their work and prodded them to take their studies seriously, cautioning them of the dangers of indifference and irresponsibility, he “warned that it was the building of a foundation for fascism.”¹²⁴ In another talk he urged students

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 275-76, 568.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 276.

¹¹⁹ Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, 348.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 348-49.

¹²¹ “Dean Laments Frenzied Scramble for Credits,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no.16 (May 21, 1936): 3.

¹²² Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, 367.

¹²³ Ibid, 348.

¹²⁴ “Dean Prods Laggards at Student Assembly,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 28, (Nov. 19, 1936): 1.

to develop initiative as an “instrument for the development of self-reliance and personal responsibility....That feeling of irresponsibility which is cultivated by the student in high school is often carried over into college, and it is this same feeling which gives rise to mob violence and the other chaotic action of our age.”¹²⁵ For Michel, personal agency was an essential aspect of Christian education and ought to be cultivated in the development of college students. This sense of agency as part of faith and his urgency that education ought to include both complex understanding of multiple points of view as well as a high degree of social responsibility, Michel seemed to have an understanding of William Perry’s theory, yet to be developed, of the educator’s task of assisting the students forward toward greater intellectual relativist complexities and toward commitment in the world.

Michel’s philosophy of education appeared to have resonated with Hynes. It blended with his hands-on agrarian background; life is not to be merely lip service, but engaged involvement. Hynes’s life demonstrates academic and intellectual commitment and also commitment to engage at every level: family, neighborhood, church, community, national, and world.

Michel enacted several educational initiatives as dean. One educational effort, although left unfinished, illustrates the breadth and energy of Michel’s thinking and commitment to education. While Hynes was an undergraduate, Dean Michel collaborated with Mortimer Adler to design an educational program centered on the “Great Books” of Western civilization. For Adler and the president of the University of Chicago, Robert M. Hutchins, “The irrelevant aims of social contacts, athletics, extracurricular activities,

¹²⁵ “University Dean Speaks on Christian Education Before Assembly of College Men: Father Virgil Stresses Need for Catholic Action,” *The Record* 50, no. 14 (May 6, 1937): 1.

vocational training, preparation for business, and credit requirements had made a country club, trade school, or finishing school of too many American educational institutions. They wished to return to the traditional educational processes of apprehending, understanding, and knowing. Humanities, liberal arts, philosophy, and theology were their concerns.”¹²⁶ St. Johns College in Annapolis, Maryland was then experimenting with Adler’s program design; it is now well known for its distinctive four year program in the classics along with its campus in Santa Fe.

Virgil Michel heard in this the echoes of traditional educational Benedictine programs, and he envisioned creating a similar program at St. John’s University in Collegeville to run simultaneously with, but apart from, its current program.¹²⁷ He saw it as the opportunity to develop intellectual virtues combined with the development of moral virtues through the participation of the renewed liturgical life – for Michel this was deeply connected to social justice. Michel visited St. John’s College in Annapolis and met with the dean, had frequent discussions with Adler, and met with the faculty in Collegeville to present a “modified Catholic version of the Great Books idea.”¹²⁸ Regular faculty meetings were scheduled for the winter of 1938-39 to thoroughly investigate and discuss the implementation of the new liberal arts course program at St. John’s. Shortly before Virgil Michel’s death he spent time with Mortimer Adler and Arthur Rubin, both prominent in the conversation on new liberal arts courses.¹²⁹ The university was receptive, Adler was eager to help. However, it was not to be. Before the envisioned program was initiated, Virgil Michel fell ill with plural pneumonia and then a

¹²⁶ Barry, *Worship and Work*, 290.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 366.

¹²⁹ “Dean Takes Part in Symposium: Studies Hutchins (sic) Plan for College Education, *The Record* 51, no. 27, (Nov. 10, 1938): 1.

streptococcus infection, likely aggravated by his rundown condition, and died on November 26, 1938.¹³⁰

Stirred by understanding the immensity of the problems facing the industrial society, Virgil Michel realized the enormity of work that would lie ahead for a true Catholic response.¹³¹ In the months before his death, besides his duties as dean and working on the modified “Great Books” plan for St. John’s, Virgil Michel was working on a wide range of other projects including giving eight retreats, lecturing for one week, working on various papers, articles, book revisions, planning a book and outlining lectures to begin that winter.¹³² He was not sleeping well and needed rest, which the abbot did not approve.¹³³ Biographer Paul Marx wrote, “Virgil Michel had a way of practicing what he preached. But in the end he worked himself to death.”¹³⁴

Emerson was on the staff of the student newspaper the *St. John’s Record* all four years at St. John’s and Editor-in chief during his senior year. Those who write, edit and help in all aspects of production, the staff would obviously be very aware of the contents of the *Record*. During this time there were numerous articles on Virgil Michel’s work and influence on Catholic outlook on social problems, publications addressing social problems, the liturgical moment, and that through his efforts, “Catholic principles of justice are coming to the fore.”¹³⁵ Also there were numerous articles noting Michel’s travel and contributions to various conversations taking place in the United States and in

¹³⁰ Barry, *Worship and Work*, 291.

¹³¹ Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, 391.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 390-91.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 390.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 391.

¹³⁵ “Dean Writes Series on Social Problems,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 10, (March 28, 1935), 1.

the world on education as well as social, Catholic, and liturgical issues.¹³⁶ Virgil Michel's books were recommended reading in the "Suggestions for Reading" column in the *Record*.¹³⁷

Significantly, the publication founded by Virgil Michel, *Orate Fratres* observed its tenth anniversary while Emerson was Editor-in chief of the student newspaper. The *Record* provided detailed coverage and summarized the purpose and progress of the liturgical movement during those ten years.¹³⁸ An editorial by Emerson described the significance of the St. John's presence in the spirit and leadership of the American Liturgical Movement. He noted the movement's essence, a spirit of "true Christianity, in the spirit of the early Christians and of the Catholic of the Middle Ages, when the sacraments and the Mass were understood and appreciated so much more than they are today."¹³⁹ Through his work on the *Record*, Emerson was certainly aware of the range and import of Virgil Michel's work. Additionally, his contact with Michel did not stop after he left St. John's.

In early November, 1938, Michel presented his final lecture, "Ownership and the Human Person," at a philosophical symposium at Notre Dame. Emerson attended the Philosophical Symposium at Notre Dame, where he was a graduate student. Along with Michel were other presenters now familiar names to Hynes from his class with Virgil Michel at St. John's: Jacques Maritain,¹⁴⁰ Mortimer Adler, and Waldemar Gurian, who

¹³⁶ "Rev. Virgil to Lecture in the East: College Dean to be Gone for Several Weeks on Speaking Tour," *The Record*, 50, no. 3 (Feb. 4, 1937): 1.

¹³⁷ "Suggestions for Reading," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 8 (March 12, 1936): 7.

¹³⁸ "Liturgical Review to Observe Anniversary," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 21 (Oct. 1, 1936): 1, 2.

¹³⁹ Emerson Hynes, "'Orate Fratres' Celebrates Its Tenth Anniversary," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 25 (Oct. 29, 1936): 4.

¹⁴⁰ Maritain was a professor at Princeton University. His papers are held at the Jacques Maritain Center at the University of Notre Dame. <http://maritain.nd.edu/jmc/>

was on the verge of founding *The Review of Politics* and was particularly impressed with Michel. Emerson took along the small brown covered spiral notebook he used for conference notes. Already in the notebook were notes from the National Catholic Rural Life Conference in Vincennes, Indiana, that he had attended two months earlier.¹⁴¹ His notes begin with Maritain, wide-ranging Catholic philosopher, who presented once on the person and society – a talk on the individual person and the common good of the whole – and later on integral humanism and problems of modern times, a talk on integrating the anthropocentric but critical concerns of Marx and Engels into the wholeness of the natural and the supernatural. Emerson's notes on Kerwin's¹⁴² presentation recorded the problems of a definition of progress measured only by materialism, leading to a garrison state. He also attended Waldemar Gurian's talk. Notes from a talk by Simon¹⁴³ were on the nature of good work and related to the concept of work later put forth in Emerson's master's thesis. While the conference must have been fascinating for this young man moving forward with his own related research, he probably never imaged this would be the last time he would see Rev. Virgil Michel, who would die within two weeks of the conference.

Virgil Michel's death came as a terrible surprise and stunned the campus. A massive 35 word headliner and articles in the *Record* illustrated how strongly those who knew Michel felt about him: "Father Virgil Michel, Dean, dies:...Faculty and Students

¹⁴¹ The notebook also contains the notes from two additional conferences, Farmers' Days at St. John's in January, 1941 and the Congress of Decentralists in Chicago in May, 1941, and a short course in American Studies in July, 1949.

¹⁴² Possibly from the University of Chicago.

¹⁴³ Most likely Yves R.M. Simon, a student of Maritain who began teaching at Notre Dame in 1938. <http://archives.nd.edu/research/texts/ward/ward08.htm>

Stunned by Loss of Noted Confrere, Friend, and Scholar; ...”¹⁴⁴ Word had swept through campus that Father Virgil would not, unless there was a miracle, make it through the night. A week previous the campus had learned he was critically ill. “Saturday morning at two o’clock he dies; and St. Johns is still stunned by the loss of the beloved dean.”¹⁴⁵ The *Record* article provided a summary of his life and glowing comments on the man they all loved:

Perhaps no man in the Benedictine order had such a varied and colorful career as Father Virgil. At the time of his death, he was recognized as one of the foremost and most active workers in the field of Catholic thought. . . . Father Virgil received nation-wide recognition as a thinker and organizer in the Catholic Church. Always a tireless worker, he engaged in a series of activities that called him as a writer and lecturer to practically all the larger Catholic centers in the United States. . . . St. John’s loses its most prominent and progressive educator. . . . At the time of his death, he had come to be nationally recognized as a dynamic and practical thinker.¹⁴⁶

The editorial of that edition of the *Record* gave tribute to Michel. Editor Charles Hinz described Virgil Michel as

one of the most distinguished Catholic priests of modern times. . . . His spirit affected all his associates; his mind influenced all who met him. His philosophical, sociological, and liturgical writings and teachings have received international acclaim. He was the spring from which the United States liturgical movement flowed – an enduring spring. His character was perhaps the most distinctively revealed by his vigorous interpretation of the

¹⁴⁴ “Father Virgil Michel, Dean, Dies: Succumbs to Streptococic (sic) Infection; Ill Only a Week: Faculty and Students Stunned by Loss of Noted Confrere, Friend, Scholar; Father Virgil Distinguished in Many Fields, *The Record* 51, no. 29, (Dec. 1, 1938): 1.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1, 2, 4.

liturgy's value, of its messages for Catholics. He saw the liturgy in all its all-powerful sublimity, and his enthusiasm for it was that of a highly spiritualized, devoted Benedictine.¹⁴⁷

Virgil Michel had been a significant influence on many who knew him, and he was esteemed for both his wide-ranging work and capacity to inspire.

The breadth of Michel's work, including his work to establish the Liturgical Press, the publication *Orate Fratres*, which helped establish the American Liturgical Movement in the United States, his efforts to establish the Social Study Institute, his work as dean and instructor, his initiation of innumerable events for the benefit of others, the numerous lectures around the country, along with the great body of his published work all demonstrate an untiring commitment to moral ideas and a disposition to act in that regard. His openness to others, as recounted by Dorothy Day, is also evidence of moral action on the relational level. His thinking, writing, and teaching all stemmed from a deep moral commitment to the common good, it was his great effort to assist the reconstruction of the social order for the benefit of all, not the few. He did this not to promote himself, but to enable transformation toward social justice, and he inspired many in so doing, as evidenced in the numerous articles, books and untold references to him in the writings of others, including the writings of Emerson Hynes.

Some Threads into Emerson's Adult Life

There was a compelling synchronicity in the meeting of Virgil Michel and Emerson Hynes. Carl Jung used *synchronicity* to characterize the simultaneity and significance of meaningful events not causally connected, controversially "reinstating the

¹⁴⁷ Charles Hinz, "After the Summons" (editorial), *St. John's Record* 51, no. 29 (December 1, 1938): 2.

antique concepts of the correspondence between the physical and spiritual worlds.”¹⁴⁸

The timing of Michel’s and Hynes’s sojourn at St. John’s may manifest Jung’s meaning; there was an accord of spirit in their coming together in time and place. Virgil Michel’s vision to develop a “Catholic outlook on social problems among the Catholic laity”¹⁴⁹ met with Emerson’s Catholic and social values, love of the land, and determined intelligence. Emerson may have been, in fact, a primary lay person to carry forth the vision of Virgil Michel. For example, an article in the *Record* reported that Virgil Michel traveled to attend a rural life conference¹⁵⁰ and noted that the conference was on social distributism, a philosophy cherishing the dignity of the individual person and economic and moral freedom, while aiming to “provide a sufficiency of goods and security for the masses.”¹⁵¹ At the conference were other speakers from the publication *Free America*. Emerson in some ways mirrored Virgil Michel in the years following college: he became a spokesperson for the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, wrote about distributism, and published in *Free America*.¹⁵² Emerson Hynes was one of the Catholic laity who worked hard to move forward and live the goal of social reconstruction. His life was full of examples of efforts to live the ethic that he had learned, at least in part, at St. John’s with Virgil Michel as a mentor and teacher. Examples of these types of activities include involvement in a credit union and establishing a guild. He worked for rural development and helped bring rural electrification to his community. He also worked within his family to live out these values and in his publications to bring his ideas to the

¹⁴⁸ Sonu Shamdasani, “Foreward,” In C. G. Jung, *Synchronicity*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), original issue 1973).

¹⁴⁹ “Dean Writes Series on Social Problems.” *St. John’s Record*, p. 1.

¹⁵⁰ “Rev. Virgil Travels to Sociology Meets in Central States,” *The Record* 50, no. 11 (April 15, 1937): 1.

¹⁵¹ Emerson Hynes, “Distributism and the Guild Idea.” *The Guildsman*, October, 1938: 2.

¹⁵² Emerson Hynes, “Whither Cooperation.” *Free America* 1, no. 12: 4-6.

world. Perhaps what Emerson is remembered for most fondly by those who knew him well was his cultivated capability in thinking and dialogue, living an ethic of conversation.

Threads from the mentorship of Rev. Virgil Michel were woven into the tapestry of Emerson's scholarship and later influenced his outlook when he arrived to teach at St. John's. Although Emerson was at Notre Dame as Virgil Michel set the schedule for undertaking the Great Books program, he was aware of the project. Later when Emerson had been teaching at St. John's for only one year, St. John's athletics wanted to bring in a coach from Notre Dame in order to strengthen its program, thereby encouraging alumni and donor support. Emerson, his new colleague Eugene McCarthy, and some of the younger monks discussed that this effort was at odds with Father Virgil's Benedictine "Great Books" course of study, which would de-emphasize athletics.¹⁵³

Like Virgil Michel, Emerson became a teacher, teaching ethics and sociology. He was also a teacher who enabled transformation. One student who took several classes from Emerson, William Cofell, repeatedly noted the influence of Hynes. Former student Karl Vander Horck joked about Emerson, "He wrecked my life,"¹⁵⁴ and he explained the shift in his life's direction after taking his first philosophy class with Emerson Hynes.¹⁵⁵ Another student, Robert Bray, at the age of 94 looked back at his time in Emerson's class over 70 years earlier, "He was a great teacher and communicator. Even then I appreciated his qualities. Listened to you not down or over. Flavored his lectures with sprinklings of his home spun philosophy."¹⁵⁶ Both Michel and Hynes were insightful and capable

¹⁵³ Abigail McCarthy, *Private Face/Public Places*, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc.), 74.

¹⁵⁴ Karl Vander Horck, personal communication during the Movement Reunion, summer 2011.

¹⁵⁵ Karl Vander Horck, letter to the author, August 3, 2011.

¹⁵⁶ Robert Bray, email communication to the author, June 4, 2011.

thinkers, Emerson maturing as student and recipient of Michel's mentorship and moral leadership.

Hynes grew into his own work writing, speaking, teaching, and, significantly, becoming a mentor to others. Many students appreciated his guidance and several people I interviewed considered him an influential mentor, among them William Cofell,¹⁵⁷ Sy Theisen,¹⁵⁸ and Matt Ahmann.¹⁵⁹ His son Patrick recalled, "He mentored so many people – it's just amazing to me, just his attitude and philosophy, his style made him very approachable."¹⁶⁰ Emerson had an exemplary mentor in college¹⁶¹ and he subsequently became a mentor to others as part of his unique moral response to the world.

Conclusion

Those who are in positions to be prodigious patrons, that is, mentors, to college students can look to Virgil Michel as an example of a man who was a model of an exemplary mentor. Michel fits well the criteria set by Colby and Damon of moral leaders,¹⁶² as explained earlier in chapter one: he had a sustained commitment to moral ideas, he greatly valued social justice; he clearly had a disposition to act in that regard; he had a willingness to look and act beyond his own self-interest, continually promoting social values and the common good; he had the capacity to inspire others, repeatedly evidenced by the community and individual responses when he died and the books and articles written about him; and he also had a realistic humility of his own importance in the world. As Dorothy Day said, "There was no self-importance about him, and it was

¹⁵⁷ William Cofell, October 21, 2010.

¹⁵⁸ Sylvester Theisen, June 27, 2012.

¹⁵⁹ Brendan Duffy, "Acting on Faith," *St. John's Magazine*, Summer/Fall, 2013: 24-31.

¹⁶⁰ Patrick Hynes, interview, July 10, 2012.

¹⁶¹ Emerson also had other mentors, but Michel stands out as particularly influential.

¹⁶² Ann Colby and William Damon, *Some Do Care: Contemporary Lives of Moral Commitment*, (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1992).

impossible to think of him as ever wanting appreciation or applause.”¹⁶³ As a moral leader, Michel meets Shoup’s criteria of an exemplary leader, and the nature of his being and his determination on how to live influenced those who worked with him, one of those being Emerson Hynes.

Virgil Michel was a moral leader whose presence as a mentor and thinker in the life of Emerson Hynes came at a time of vigorous growth in Emerson’s life. Shoup concluded from his study of leaders that the quality of the character of the prodigious patrons who had a strong moral center and voice was the defining difference in leaders. He suggests “the prevalence of the moral voice or conscience”¹⁶⁴ of the prodigious patron was a determinative influence in the emerging leader. Clearly Rev. Virgil Michel had a deeply developed moral voice as well as cultivated intellect that supported his moral thinking. Shoup proposed that the emerging leader, in this case Emerson Hynes, takes on some of the characteristics of patrons, which could suggest either a deep affirmation of those values and capacities already present, a guidance in powerful new directions or both. Shoup further noted religious influence: “Early formal and sincere religious training and at least one religious or socially conscientious prodigious patron with a strong moral voice set exemplary leaders apart from competent leaders.”¹⁶⁵ Emerson clearly had the early religious training as he grew up in a home with deeply sincere religious and relational values, values to be lived out. He also had the kinds of patrons that powerfully reinforced and built on his early background in significant and important ways. While he likely had several mentors who acted as religious and/or socially conscientious mentors

¹⁶³ Day, “Fellow Worker in Christ,” 139.

¹⁶⁴ Shoup, *A Collective Biography of Twelve World-class Leaders*, 50

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 66.

during college, Virgil Michel stands out as a particularly powerful influence in the college life of Emerson Hynes.

People who work with college students can strive to be exemplary in their own individual expressions. Adults who work with students in formational developmental stages, both college students and students in K-12, continually model how to live, how to be a human being. There is an ethical imperative in the example we set, not just in classrooms and in our work, but in how we think and act in the world. The values we live by become examples of accepted values, and this implies a moral obligation to the world to continually work on one's own ethical thinking and life. While this holds true for all college leaders, there are particular considerations for those in teacher education. With the plethora of minutiae that face teacher education faculty in accreditation efforts, meeting states' standards, program implementation, coordinating field experiences, all on top of the typical load of teaching, advising, and serving on committees, it is important to be conscious that we not only model teaching for our students, we also model how to think, how to lead, and how to live. It is important for people with great demands on their time to avoid burnout and plan strategies for reflection, renewal and growth.

While the college years for the typically aged college student are formative in identity, they are also charged with possibility to engage in critical thinking and conversation, and many college students relish opportunities to learn and explore through conversation. The example of the role of Virgil Michel in the life of Emerson Hynes has implications for a developing ethic of conversation in the college years, which has the potential to lead to committed action in the world. Shifting contexts in national and world issues are part of historical reality, but now, as in the 1930s, the primacy of conversation

as part of civic engagement and the ethical life is central to addressing complex contentious issues. Collectively we face and must address many complex issues, including global warming, depletion of resources, shifting populations due to rising sea levels,¹⁶⁶ issues of race, sexual orientation, and religion. In a pluralistic world, we need people with dialogic skills to engage and cross over multiplicities of meanings within diverse contexts and populations. Conversation is an essential component of an ethical response toward social and ecological justice. It is imperative that adults who have roles in which they mentor, guide, and influence college students continually develop their own ethical thinking and lives as well as dialogic skills; these elements can provide ethical and cognitive growth for their students. Further, clearly part and parcel of genuine support of college students requires prodigious patrons to be “people of your time,” deeply probing the world as it is and thinking what it could be, as was Virgil Michel on behalf of Emerson Hynes and then Emerson on behalf of his students.

¹⁶⁶ “How Will Global Warming Change the Earth,” *NASA Earth Observatory*, accessed June 30, 2013. <http://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/Features/GlobalWarming/page6.php>

Chapter 5

Formal Education

In 1933, the narrow road leading to St. John's curved through field and forest and winded its way upward a mile off the two-lane highway. When the monks of Saint John's Abbey built their priory in Central Minnesota, they called the lower tract of land the *Schoenthal*, the Beautiful Valley. Their mission was both religious and educational. By 1933 the campus, situated on higher ground, included beautiful forests, the Watab River, a picturesque lake, farm operations, butcher shop, mill, orchards, and gardens. It also had a distinctive church and five-story Quadrangle, made of soft-textured earth-toned bricks from local clay and fired in the St. John's brickyards. Buildings also included St. Benet Hall, the five-story dormitory, a library, science hall, gymnasium, auditorium, infirmary, and laundry.¹ By then the academic program was structured to the current four-year high school, the college, and seminary program.² In the fall of 1933, an all-time high of 260 students enrolled in the college.³ One of the first-year students enrolled that year was Emerson Hynes.

One can imagine the young Emerson, fresh out of high school, arriving on a September day, perhaps accompanied by his mother and his brother Stanley. After traveling the 150 miles from Winnebago, they would have turned off the highway and followed the winding road into the campus. Emerson would have, with his well-trained

¹ "1933-34 Saint John's University Catalog," (St. John's University, 1933), *Vivarium*, hosted by the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library. Accessed September 28, 2013.

<http://cdm.csbsju.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/SJUArchives/id/13266/rec/64>

² Hilary Thimmesh, "Abbey History," *St. John's Abbey*, Accessed Sept. 28, 2013,

<http://www.saintjohnsabbey.org/monastic-life/history/>

³ "Seventy-seventh Scholastic Term Opens with Banner Enrollment," *St. John's Record* 46, no. 21 (September 21, 1933): 1. That year there was additionally 125 students in the Preparatory School and 61 in the School of Theology for a total of 446 students.

rural eye, noticed the landscape and looked up at the twin towers of the brick church and quadrangle rising above the trees. Perhaps he glanced to his left and glimpsed the idyllic Sagatagan Lake, reflecting the soft yellows and hints of orange budding out of the late summer green that embraced the pristine waters. He likely saw black-robed monks of the abbey on foot, either strolling unhurriedly, engaged in inward reflection, or striding intently toward a task to accomplish. With anticipation he almost certainly wondered what this place, St. John's, would be for him, what it would be like, who he would meet, as he intuited an imminent adventure of change and growth. He could not have known then that he would spend many more years than originally supposed, first, as expected, as the college student, and then later as college professor and dweller, in heart and locale, in rural life in a homestead looking over the Beautiful Valley.

Stanley Hynes, Emerson's oldest brother, may have met the occasion with both pride and bittersweet sentiment. He had been at St. John's earlier, pursuing his lifelong dream to study the classics, when he was called home following his father's death to run the farm and help with the eight other children. Emerson, then only two and one-half years old, became "the beloved" child of the siblings, all of whom, feeling their own sharp loss, felt great compassion for this youngest child. As Stanley labored to help raise the family in the late 1910s and 1920s, he played a part in Emerson's growing up, watching and nurturing the two and half-year old grow into a promising college student. Stanley would naturally have felt pride for this beloved child now entering his new young adult journey.

Stanley's experience at St. John's would probably have influenced Emerson's decision to attend St. John's. St. John's was also likely chosen based on geographic

location and religious consideration, two of the main indicators in college choice in the earlier part of the century.⁴ Since it was typical in the early 1900s to consider education complete at eighth grade,⁵ the family likely felt both pride and gratitude for this opportunity. By 1940, over one-half of the United States population had an eighth grade education or less and only six percent of males completed a college degree (and 4% for females).⁶ In comparison, by 2009, 85 percent of people 25 or older had completed high school. Additionally, 27 percent of males ages 25 to 34 had a bachelor's degree.⁷

Emerson arrived at St. John's with the support of a family that knew of the preciousness of life through the keen awareness that comes from enduring acute loss. They also put a high value on education. Emerson was the only male in the family to go to college. It had been a real heartbreak when Stanley had to leave St. John's.⁸ Emerson's son Patrick explained, "So there was a lot riding on him, a lot of expectations riding on him but I think he...saw that whole way of living as being how he wanted to live..."⁹

Stanley's love of the classics may have influenced Emerson's own interests as he brought to college a strong literary background and a desire to study English. "He loved to read, to write, he was creative in that sense and that was encouraged in the family."¹⁰ Interested in writing, Emerson immediately joined the student newspaper as a reporter and had increasingly influential roles throughout the four years. He also joined the Debate Club and the International Relations Club. With family support that held

⁴ Jillian Kenzey, et al. "Fifty Years of College Choice" The Lumina Foundation, 5, no.3 (September 2004): 8. Accessed October 5, 2013. <http://www.luminafoundation.org/publications/Hossler.pdf>

⁵ Thomas D. Snyder, ed. "120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait, Volume 1." U.S. Department of Education: Office of Education Research and Improvement, Diane Publishing, 1993, 7, 8.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ "Educational Attainment in the United States," United States Census. February, 2012. Accessed March 14, 2014. <http://www.census.gov/prod/2012pubs/p20-566.pdf>

⁸ Mary Hynes, November 6, 2013.

⁹ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

¹⁰ Ibid.

education as a cherished opportunity, every indication was that Emerson acted to make the most of his college education.

When John Shoup studied the influences of world class leaders, education, both formal and informal, stood out as an important influence. While being a high-achieving college student was not the main indicator, the opportunity for post-secondary education was a catalyst for gaining necessary knowledge and skills for leadership. Exemplary leaders, that is, those leaders with capacity for moral integrity as well as leading, had benefited from college in direct and indirect ways. Not surprisingly, teachers played a key role in mentorship, encouragement, and opening doors to new ways of thinking. Opportunity for breadth in co-curricular activities was also influential and will be covered in the next chapter. For some leaders, college was where they learned metacognitive skills, that is, they learned how to learn, as well as gain confidence in their abilities. Formal education was particularly influential when “education had a perceived purpose, was meaningful and relevant to our leaders, they became enthused for learning.”¹¹

Purpose in education and consequent enthusiasm for learning corresponds significantly with the concept of self-authorship, defined by Robert Kegan and Marcia Baxter Magolda “as a holistic meaning-making capacity.”¹² They noted two assumptions of self-authorship as a developmental process that are important in applying to education. The first assumption of self-authorship is that it is constructive, that is, students essentially create and revise their own knowledge and meanings through the ongoing

¹¹ John Shoup, *A Collective Biography of Twelve World –Class Leaders: A Study on Developing Exemplary Leaders*, Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2005, 41.

¹² Lisa M. Boes, Marcia B. Baxter Magolda, and Jennifer A. Buckley, “Foundational Assumptions and Constructive-Developmental Theory,” In *Development and Assessment of Self-Authorship: Exploring the Concept Across Cultures*, ed. Marcia B. Baxter Magolda, Elizabeth G. Cramer and Peggy S. Mesaros, 3-24, (Sterling, VA: Stylus, 2010), 4.

interpretation of their experiences. The second assumption is that there is an underlying structure that sustains self-evolution. Thus “learning and growth are the products of the *transformation* of the underlying meaning-making structure rather than the accumulation of knowledge, skills, and *information*.”¹³ This suggests that in authentic educational experiences students would not be mere recipients of knowledge, but rather, active participants in their own transformation affecting growing capacities for higher level critical thinking.

Ethicist John Wall further suggests that although each person is author of their own unique life,¹⁴ we also construct the meanings within and in response to the context of the time, social milieu, and culture in which we are born. In this sense we both inherit and contribute to our time and place in history and society, or as Wall noted, no one ever creates meanings just for themselves.¹⁵ An ethical aspect of one’s development is not only in constructing and expressing one’s inner being, foremost is also the task to construct meanings that are responsive to larger contexts,¹⁶ that is, the common good. In other words, the purpose and relevancy of education in the development of the individual becomes salient in the enduring effects in the life and work of that person in the world.

This chapter examines Emerson’s formal education and search for connecting threads that wove relevancy in the college experience into his adult life as he became “chief author and proprietor”¹⁷ with the ethical aim to be responsive to others and contribute to the common good. I describe Emerson’s general experience and success in formal education and then look at one influential course. While it is likely that many

¹³ Ibid., 5.

¹⁴ John Wall, *Ethics in Light of Childhood*, (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2010), 69.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid. 69.

¹⁷ Ibid.

experiences and several courses provided a foundation of meaning for Emerson, one particular course focused on Catholic philosophy and social considerations, Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory, seems to have influenced Emerson's thinking and life. I will explore intersections of this course with experiences in college, ways Emerson took material from this course and used it in his master's dissertation¹⁸ at the University of Notre Dame, as well as connections into work and activity of his adult life.

The Academic Life

The first semester Emerson took a heavy academic load of eight classes. He started his major with two English classes, Rhetoric and Composition and a history survey, Classics in English Language. He took a required religion course, Speech (Argument), Spanish, and Introduction to Philosophy. He also showed an early interest in social issues, taking Modern Europe and Economic History of England. While he did well and was on the dean's honors list at the end of the year,¹⁹ after that first demanding semester, he never again took more than seven courses in any one semester. Under the guidance of intellectually gifted monks, including Godfrey Diekmann, Dunstan Tucker, and Virgil Michel, Emerson worked hard and flourished in his formal education. While he was involved in many demanding extra-curricular activities, he nonetheless did stellar academic work. He was noted in the *St. John's Record* for high grades,²⁰ was on the dean's list, and was the valedictorian of his class.²¹

¹⁸ The term dissertation was used by Emerson in what we would now likely refer to as a master's thesis.

¹⁹ "Deans Publish" *St. John's Record* 47, no. 18 (July 7, 1934): 7.

²⁰ "Several Students Get Perfect Marks, *St. John's Record* 48, no. 3 (February 7, 1935): 2; "Ten Students Earn High 2nd Semester Grades," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 18 (June 11, 1936): 2.

²¹ "Forty-Six Seniors Receive Diplomas Sunday: Commencement Address by Prof Martin Ruud: Class President Emerson Hynes Will Give Valedictory Speech; Prominent in All Activities," *The Record* 50, no. 17 (May 27, 1937): 1.

Over the course of four years, Emerson's course of study included all the general requirements, a major in English, and courses in preparation for teaching. Early on he began to think about his professional future after college, and he considered teaching high school English. In his junior and senior year he took an education course every semester, which culminated with student teaching at the St. John's Preparatory School. Currently in its own building, Bede Hall, the Prep School was at that time housed in the Quadrangle, which also housed the college. Student teaching was not a full-time full-semester experience, as it typically is now for licensure in Minnesota. Then it was a part-time commitment, only one of five other classes. Under the supervision of faculty members, Emerson, along with seven fellow students, would prepare lessons and have the opportunity to teach those lessons in the classrooms.²² Although Emerson did not teach in a high school, perhaps the opportunity to think deeply about teaching and learning and the opportunity to practice both the preparation and methodology of teaching eventually supported him in the college classroom.

Emerson also had two minors, philosophy and sociology, which intersected for him in meaningful ways throughout his life. He went on to study apologetics at the University of Notre Dame and later taught ethics and sociology at St. John's University. Much of his professional writing was in regard to issues of rural sociology. His local and national work in the field of rural sociology was in many ways a lived attempt to apply his ethical outlook in activity toward the common good. Rural living was, for Emerson, a means to a flourishing and healthy society.

Two courses in his senior year at St. John's appear to have had particular impact. One was Social Movements and Community Projects. The other, which I will consider in

²² "College Man Teachers Prep School English," *St. John's Record* 49, no.28 (November 19, 1936): 2.

greater detail, was Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory, facilitated by Father Virgil Michel. To understand the impact of this course, I will look at how the course was designed and also the content in the course in relationship to Emerson's future work.

Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory

According to Abigail McCarthy, before 1933 – the year Emerson arrived on campus – St. John's was mostly a college for seminarians. That changed when Virgil Michel arrived to be dean that same year.²³ Virgil Michel brought the force of his thinking to the American Liturgical Movement and to the college, which consequently had a strong influence on the laity. Thus his focus was on the lay student in a new and important way. Michel envisioned the potential of the laity to be prominent in the liturgical movement by way of integrating liturgy, social justice, and bringing the sacramental nature of the liturgy into the current era. Emerson, arriving the same year, walked into the inspired milieu as if destined. Perhaps Shoup's notion of favorable fate played a part, but whatever forces were at work, it was a striking synchronicity of time and persons. As a first year student, Emerson attended talks to the student body by Dean Michel, spent the four years benefiting by the programs and speakers Michel brought to campus, and graduated as a senior having been one of the few students who took a class designed and facilitated by Virgil Michel.

Michel wanted to see a transformation of the educational system. He did not merely criticize the educational system; he "translated his ideas into action."²⁴ One of his responses was to develop the course Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory,

²³ Abigail McCarthy, *Private Face, Public Places*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1972).

²⁴ Paul B. Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1957), 365.

herein referred to as Catholic Backgrounds. Ultimately a two-year long course, Emerson took the first segment in his senior year. The course was

conducted entirely on the basis of mutual cooperation and exchange according to the ideal pattern set down by Cardinal Newman for a true university, this seminar for select senior college students was meant to arouse and to form active Catholic laymen by having them inquire into the nature and function of a living Catholic culture vis-à-vis modern secularism. Besides scrutinizing current socio-economic theory and analyzing the true nature of modern civilization and its antecedents, members of the seminar studied the writings of thinkers like Mounier, Dawson, and Maritain. They reviewed books by prominent non-Catholics in order to develop a sympathetic understanding for their point of view. Moreover, they examined the various branches of the Jocist movement,²⁵ the cooperative movement, the *Catholic Worker*, the Catholic Rural Life Conference, and the personalist and liturgical aims and endeavors. Into the round table discussions Michel inserted the pertinent principles of Aquinas and of other Christian thinkers. Under his guidance (not dictation) the students wrote reviews, summaries, and reports of books and articles in Catholic and secular periodicals. With the help of seminar members he edited the best of these reports, appended bibliographies, translated articles on personalism and on the corporative order from foreign journals, added his commentary on classroom procedure, and then mimeographed the whole in two syllabi. Hundreds of these were sold or distributed in various parts of the country. His correspondence indicates that the seminar was a preliminary step to establishing a small institute in which Catholic graduates

²⁵ "History," The Christian Family Movement, Accessed July 18, 2013. <http://www.cfm.org/history.html>. The Jocist Movement evolved into the Christian Family Movement.

from secular colleges and universities could study Catholic culture, theology, philosophy, liturgy, and social science.²⁶

Newman's idea of the university was, most briefly described, "That it is a place of teaching universal *knowledge*."²⁷ Four pillars of this idea, as described by Newman College in their core curriculum program, are active learning, critical thinking, interdisciplinary, and connectivity.²⁸

Virgil Michel translated Newman's ideas into his Catholic Backgrounds course. Michel envisioned a program that would consist "not in formal lectures, but rather of general readings and round table discussions under the leadership of various members of the faculty."²⁹ The aims of Michel's course were to "convey a mastery of the best Christian thought of the day, with particular reference to forward looking ideas and programs in regard to every phase of social and cultural reconstruction." The students would "prepare a bibliography on each unit of the units of discussion,"³⁰ and then those readings were divided among the class and they wrote short appraisals and noted potential points of discussion. The students themselves were involved in the construction of the class, creating bibliographies, choosing discussion points, and writing up reviews, reports and summaries. A substantial bibliography was created and students would review selections from that bibliography. There were longer papers on vital topics,

²⁶ Paul B. Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, 366.

²⁷ John Henry Cardinal Newman, *The Idea of the University: Defined and Illustrated in Nine Discourses Delivered to the Catholics of Dublin, II In Occasional Lectures and Essays Addressed to the Members of the Catholic University*. (New York: Longman, Green and Co., 1905), preface IX.

²⁸ "Newman Studies." Newman University. Accessed August 22, 2013.

<http://www.newmanu.edu/newman-studies>

²⁹ Virgil Michel, O.S.B., ed., *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, St. John's Abbey Archives in the Virgil Michel Collection, 1.

³⁰ Michel, *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, 1.

stimulating round-table discussions, and perhaps one or two formal lectures.³¹ While most of the authorship of students' writings is not clear, a few of Emerson's writings are included in the extensive syllabus that Virgil Michel created for distribution.

Virgil Michel's "correspondence indicated that the seminar was a preliminary step to establishing a small institute in which Catholic graduates from secular colleges and universities could study Catholic culture, theology, philosophy, liturgy, and social science."³² With the assistance of student participants, Virgil Michel edited students' work, translated articles, and added commentary to create a very detailed syllabus including topics, the detailed bibliographies, summaries of readings, and questions produced by students for class seminar.³³ In other words, the syllabus was amended as a work in process and consequently provides an extensive introduction to the knowledge base as well as the seminar process of the year Emerson was in the class.

Catholic Backgrounds was designed as a full two-year course. Piloted in Emerson's senior year, he was only able to take the first year of the course. The second year of the course covered the Catholic revival, theology and sociology, the new money theories, and Marxian theory of the time, themes Emerson had encountered earlier through his participation in the Social Study Institute, another effort by Rev. Virgil Michel, which brought community people to St. John's for lectures and discussions on social issues

Catholic Backgrounds: First Semester

³¹ Virgil Michel, O.S.B., ed., *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: Third and Fourth Semesters*, St. John's Abbey Archives in the Virgil Michel Collection.

³² Paul B. Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, 366.

³³ Ibid.

In the first semester of Catholic Backgrounds, Emerson, along with a few other students, studied Christian sociologists, the writings of Dawson and Maritain, and the personalist and communitarian movements.

Christian Sociologists

For the first topic of investigation, the “Writing of Christian Sociologists,” each student read four books and supplementary readings of shorter articles. Two of the chosen books were by authors who Emerson encountered in person. One, *Fire on Earth*, was by Rev. Paul Hanly Furfey, a priest who was acting head of the sociology department at Catholic University. The book made a case for a “supernatural sociology,” criticizing individualism in economics and secular, humanitarian charity.³⁴ Later that year, building on the formal classroom educational experience, Emerson attended a conference with Father Dunstan Tucker on the Catholic press and modern problems where Furfey was a principal speaker. The *Record*, with Emerson likely reporting, noted that Furfey provided a “remarkable exposition on what it means to be Catholic.... Decrying the conditions of the modern world with its poverty and exploitation, its unjustified war, its racial prejudice...demands a revolution against the leadership of Satan.”³⁵ Furfey outlined a four point response that included discarding worldliness and living as members of the Mystical Body; cultivating charity by prayer; rooting out racial prejudice and other social evils, and restricting income by almsgiving. Essentially this meant living lives as exemplified by the early Christians.³⁶ Inspired by Furfey, Emerson referred to Furfey in an editorial and felt compelled to urge his fellow students at St.

³⁴ Michel, *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, 2.

³⁵ “Father Furfey, Hoffman Are Principle Speakers: Catholic Press, Modern Problem, Theme of Conference; Father Dunstan and Emerson Hynes Attend,” *St. John’s Record* 50, no. 6 (Feb. 25, 1937): 1-2, 2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

John's to "drop their compromising, passive air and really begin to live Catholic lives." He also stressed that St. John's had never forced any religious practices or "a fuller Catholic life," nor should they; it was up to the individual.³⁷

Another book in the section on Christian sociologists was again by an author Emerson had met on campus, Peter Maurin, the Catholic activist who cofounded the Catholic Worker Movement with Dorothy Day.³⁸ Maurin had visited the Social Study Institute in Emerson's junior year, where he "stressed the duty of the Catholic laity in solving our economic and social problems. He declared that non-Catholics look to Catholics for leadership and knowledge of true principles." The *Record* further noted, "Mr. Maurin's naïve though trenchant oratory captured the interest of his audience while he drove home his message."³⁹ Maurin also used the opportunity on campus to speak to the student body. In an "unusually delightful and delightfully unusual oratorical discourse,"⁴⁰ he spoke of the "outstanding sin against Christian ethics, that of working with the primary thought of profit in mind."⁴¹ Maurin's program consisted of dialogue,⁴² houses of hospitality, and farming communes.⁴³ In establishing farm communes he went

³⁷ Emerson Hynes, "Not too Late to Start Observing Lent" (editorial), *The Record* 50, no. 8 (March 11 1937): 2.

³⁸ Jim Forest, "Peter Maurin: Cofounder of the Catholic Worker Movement," *The Catholic Worker Movement*, <http://www.catholicworker.org/roundtable/pmbiography.cfm>, accessed July 19, 2013.

³⁹ "Institute for Social Study has Monthly Week-end Conference," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 1 (January 16, 1936): 1, 3, 3.

⁴⁰ "Topsy-Turvyism Comes When Ethics Go, Says Peter Maurin," *St. John's Record* 49, no 1 (January 16, 1936): 2.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Forest, "Peter Maurin: Cofounder of the Catholic Worker Movement." Interestingly, Peter Maurin was also "A strong believer in education through dialogue," who advocated "round table discussions for the clarification of thought." Friday night meetings quickly became a tradition of the Catholic Worker community." One source stated that it was Maurin who suggested to Father Virgil Michel that Michel design the seminar course *Catholic Backgrounds*. See Arnold Sparr, *To Promote, Defend, and Redeem: The Catholic Literary Revival and the Cultural Transformation of American Catholicism, 1920-1960*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1990) 111.

⁴³ "Peter Maurin, The Catholic Worker Roundtable," *The Catholic Worker Movement*, <http://www.catholicworker.org/roundtable/>, accessed July 19, 013.

to the essence of distributist philosophy when he told the students, “People will be encouraged to go to these communes where they will receive a piece of property they can call their own, and work so as to support themselves.”⁴⁴

In *Catholic Backgrounds*, Maurin’s book *Easy Essays*, short pieces of verse, gave “modern society, secular society with its Calvinistic concepts of wealth, rule, usury, maldistribution, and modernistic doctrines of Communism and Totalitarianism its just due.” Maurin believed that “fearless, radical leaders can direct society back to grace by getting back to the old Medieval communal spirit in which every man helps the other instead of himself alone.”⁴⁵ That same year, under Emerson’s editorship, Maurin’s title was included in the “Guide for New Library Books,” which appeared in the student newspaper later that year.⁴⁶ Further, as Editor-in chief, Emerson invited Maurin to submit an essay for the *Record’s* 50th anniversary edition. Written especially for the *Record*, “The Thinking Journalist” was featured in the January 14, 1937 edition,⁴⁷ which conveyed Maurin’s position that the journalist was not merely to be a recorder of history, but to impart “his thinking through a newspaper by relating his thinking to the news of the day,” and that “The thinking journalist aims to be a maker of that kind of history that is worth recording.”⁴⁸ This may have resonated with Emerson, whose own style in writing the column, “Today’s History,” in the *Record* during in his junior year,⁴⁹ seemed to mirror Maurin’s approach.

⁴⁴ “Topsy-Turvyism Comes When Ethics Go, Says Peter Maurin,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 1 (January 16, 1936): 2.

⁴⁵ Michel, *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, 2.

⁴⁶ “Guide for New Library books,” *The Record* 50, no.12 (April 22, 1937): 2.

⁴⁷ “Peter Maurin Writes Easy Essay for Record Anniversary Number,” *The Record*.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁹ This is further discussed in the next chapter.

Although Emerson, Virgil Michel and others at St. John's were enthused by Peter Maurin, this was not necessarily true of some people at Notre Dame when Emerson went there for graduate school and kept in contact with Maurin. Emerson wrote to Virgil Michel:

I have acquired another kernel of information which makes one shake his head. Peter Maurin has one or two good friends among the C.S.C's and four or five among the lay faculty. About three weeks ago he came here to see his friends, and one of the lay profs thought it would be fine to have Peter talk to his class. (His students were studying Langland, and this prof thought there was a parallelism between Peter and Langland). Peter was agreeable, but the thunder roared and this prof was informed that it was strictly forbidden for Peter Maurin to speak publically to either students or faculty at Notre Dame! Poor Peter simply does not appreciate the bourgeois---and who builds the buildings, who keeps up the endowment, who makes an EVER GREATER NOTRE DAME possible? Not Catholic Worker groups. It is a piece of information that you might be able to use some time, Father, but since it was made known to only three profs, one of whom told it directly to me, it would be better not to mention that the large Catholic university you are speaking of is N.D. It might possibly result in someone losing his position.

Still, it would be wrong to draw any conclusions about Notre Dame as a whole from an administrative policy like that. They have some mighty fine teachers and men on the faculty. And I should be the last one to criticize, since I have been generously treated at all times. (Perhaps my scholarship is indirectly being paid for by one of the bourgeois who

cannot stomach Pater Maurin; I never thought of that before. But more likely I'm being sustained by the sale of 200 choice football seats.)⁵⁰

Emerson also wrote to Michel a bit about Maurin's latest works on personalism, which referred to a major theme Virgil Michel brought into the Catholic Backgrounds class.

The approach of studying the Christian sociologists reflected Virgil Michel's outlook. His "approach was that of a social philosopher, not of an empirical sociologist."⁵¹ Along with the four assigned books and additional supporting articles, four questions were posed to Emerson and the other students in the Catholic Backgrounds course: "1. What is secular sociology? 2. What is lacking in its concept of man? 3. What is Christian sociology?" 4. What is the scope and development of Christian Sociology?"⁵² Each student addressed one question through the lens of what they had gained through the readings; their papers were then read and discussed in class. Emerson wrote on the first question, "Secular Sociology: In its Concept of Man."⁵³ He wrote that although secular sociology deserves condemnation "because it treats of man purely in the method of the natural sciences" without regard "for the fact that he is on this earth in preparation for another life," it also had valuable findings that ought to be "incorporated in a true sociology."⁵⁴ The problem, as Emerson described from his reading, was that secular sociologists saw "man as an animal limited by heredity and environment," with solutions to eliminate hereditary limitations and to eventually try to create "physically and mentally perfect men and women ...turning out physically and mentally perfect babies." While

⁵⁰ Emerson Hynes, "My dear Father Virgil," letter, December 14, 1937. Vigil Michel Collection, St. John's Abbey Archives.

⁵¹ Coleman Barry, *Worship and Work*, Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1992, 275.

⁵² Virgil Michel, O.S.B. ed., *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, 2.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

secular sociology would also try to create environments to eliminate “crime, discontent, and dissatisfaction” as well as maximize happiness, they “forget that men are human beings corrupted by original sin and therefore subject to weaknesses no matter how perfect the parentage and ideal the environment.” A secular sociology, differing “from Christian sociology in its end... will never satisfy man because it is unconcerned with that which is nearest to man---his soul.”⁵⁵

Other students brought ideas for discussion, for example, that a Christian sociology must recognize “man is not sufficient by himself.” Another concept discussed was God as the end, the need to go beyond the physical and materialistic, the needed ultimacy of moral law in economics, government, and all aspects of society, and the urgency to make “advancements by a healthy asceticism.”⁵⁶ They also discussed the scope of a Christian sociology with possibility to embrace all fields with an essential endeavor to promote love of neighbor.⁵⁷ The ultimate respect for the human person as both physical and spiritual continued to be part of Emerson’s lived ethics into his adult life, repeatedly noted by family members, his future students, and colleagues.⁵⁸

The class continued with students compiling a bibliography of 37 works in the area of Christian sociology, and they collectively decided to begin with five works by Ralph Adams Cram, a recognized architect who also wrote works of social analysis with consideration of Christian principles. Discussion questions were developed from those

⁵⁵ Emerson Hynes, “Secular Sociology: In Its Concept of Men,” In Virgil Michel, OSB, ed., *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, St. John’s Abbey Archives in the Virgil Michel Collection, 3-4.

⁵⁶ John O’Toole, “What is a Christian Sociology” In Virgil Michel, OSB, ed., *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, St. John’s Abbey Archives in the Virgil Michel Collection, 4.

⁵⁷ Jack Johannes “Scope and Development of Christian Sociology,” In Virgil Michel, OSB, ed., *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, St. John’s Abbey Archives in the Virgil Michel Collection, 5.

⁵⁸ Mary Hynes-Berry, Personal Communication, May, 23, 2009; Mark Hughes, Interview, April 16, 2012; Frank Roehl, Interview, March 10, 2011; and William Cofell, Personal Communication, 2010.

readings and previous readings in the areas of social and economic systems, culture, democracy, leadership, and education. A writing by a colleague of Emerson's suggests some of the substance of the discussion that took place, for example, whether human beings are purely economic animals or are they "composed of body and soul...with duties to his fellow-man..."⁵⁹ Also considered was an economic system "built on the idea that we know nothing of a future life and hence should enjoy the present life the best we may, will be an entirely different system from one built on the idea that this life is merely a means to a future eternal life." If this was the case, then was it "necessary to merely reform the philosophy behind the system or must we also change some of the mechanics behind that system?"⁶⁰ Emerson wrote a synopsis on Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*; he summarized, "differences in dogma of Luthernism, Calvinism, and the Baptist Sects resulted in different approaches to capitalism."⁶¹ In light of a Christian perspective, the objectives of Capitalism, acquisition of wealth, profit, power, and consequences were analyzed, questioning, for example, if the ultimacy of profit over basic human needs made capitalism essentially evil. Capitalism was also analyzed and discussed at its philosophical core, "its judgment as to the true worth of an individual as a human being,"⁶² which led into considerations of work and labor.

Work and Labor

⁵⁹ Vincent Wiederholt, "What is an Economic System?" In Virgil Michel, OSB, ed., *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, St. John's Abbey Archives in the Virgil Michel Collection, 12.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 12, 13.

⁶¹ Emerson Hynes, "Book Review," In Virgil Michel, OSB, ed., *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, St. John's Abbey Archives in the Virgil Michel Collection, 15.

⁶² Vincent Wiederholt, "The Nature of the Capitalistic System," In Virgil Michel, OSB, ed., *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, St. John's Abbey Archives in the Virgil Michel Collection, 13.

Work and labor came to the fore as the class next read works by Eric Gill and Arthur A. Plenty, which included an examination of the dignity of labor, a value dear to Emerson.⁶³ A little more than a year later Emerson wrote an article, “The Dignity and Joy of Work,” for *The Catholic Rural Life Bulletin*. He briefly outlined the contempt for work and disregard for workers that winds its way through history. However, he stated that the Jewish community maintained respect for labor and indeed, Emerson noted, “the Old Testament has been called the hymn of labor...God, the first great laborer, culminated His work by forming man from the slime of the earth.”⁶⁴ Christianity also rejected contempt of work and “insisted on the rights and dignity of all workers.” Work, he wrote, “must be free and spiritual, as well as physical to be called work. It demands the use of the intellect and the will as well as the body.”⁶⁵

The readings on the dignity of labor also wove threads of thinking into Emerson’s dissertation with references to his article in *The Catholic Rural Life Bulletin* during his graduate program at the University of Notre Dame.⁶⁶ In his graduate work he further developed his conception of work as more than just a means to a livelihood, but also as a means to perfection of oneself. Work must be human, he wrote, which means three conditions must be met: “the activity must be human...the activity must be useful...the activity must be joyful.”⁶⁷ He continued thinking deeply about work. In 1942 and 1943, Emerson published 16 articles on the theme of good work in *The Wanderer*, a national

⁶³ Mary Hynes, Interview, June 27th 2011.

⁶⁴ Emerson Hynes, “The Dignity and Joy of Work,” *The Catholic Rural Life Bulletin*, (November, 1938): 16-18, 24. 16.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁶⁶ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life: With a Special Consideration of the Church in the United States” (master’s dissertation, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN, May, 1939). 42.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

Catholic weekly out of St. Paul, Minnesota.⁶⁸ Emerson articulated the value of work as an essential means to the full expression of one's humanity not only in writings, but also in how he strived to live.

Emerson believed work is an essential good in life, a good that must uphold the dignity of the person and could bring joy and meaning to life. His daughter, Mary, suggested that Emerson's conception of work was a remedy to the alternative path of cynicism.

He was not a cynic, nor was he a Pollyanna, nor was he unrealistic in any way, shape or form. But I think he probably would say that it's more productive in the end to look for what's productive than to only criticize. He believed very profoundly in work and the importance of good work and that's the whole rural life movement... How you keep the world whole is you really embrace and respect the world and the work of our hands is really important... Part of what they all believed in was that work was a sacrament. That was a very central part of how both my parents saw life.⁶⁹

Together Emerson and Arleen embraced the Benedictine rule *ora et labora* – pray and work. Mary went on, thinking of her father, “The remedy is...it's not that the world is a perfect place, but you put your best efforts towards being positive and making it livable – but it doesn't mean that everything that happens is easy or that you're mostly happy.”⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Emerson Hynes, “The Nature of Work,” (Sept. 17, 1942); “The Vocation of Work,” (Sept. 24, 1942); “The Joy of Work,” (October 1, 1942); “The Rights of Workers,” (October 7, 1942); “The Worker's Right of Return,” (October 15, 1942); “The Right to Protect Work,” (October 22, 1942); “Duties and Work,” (October 29, 1942); “Problems of Work in America,” (November 5, 1942); “Women and Work,” (November 12, 1942); “Work and Contemplation,” (November 26, 1942); “The Greek Elite and Work,” (December 3, 1942); “Influence of Calvinism and Marxism on Work,” (Dec. 10, 1942); “Religion and Work,” (December 17, 1942); “The First Hymn of Work,” (December 24, 1942); “Christ the Worker,” (December 31, 1942); “The Influence of Christianity on Work,” January 7, 1943. All articles listed in this citation are from *The Wanderer: A National Catholic Weekly*.

⁶⁹ Mary Hynes, Interview, June 27th 2011.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Awake to the ubiquity and complexity of problems in the world, others may have responded cynically while exposing the cracks, but Emerson “would see the cracks and say, ‘Well, we could at least patch it by doing some work....’”⁷¹ The dignity of labor, emerging from his roots on the farm, formed its intellectual roots in the Catholic Background’s class and became a prominent philosophical and lived aspect of Emerson’s life.

In a book by Arthur J. Plenty, the students examined the medieval guild system in light of problems of mechanization. The syllabus provided a summary of what Plenty advocated: “the just price, a return to agriculture, the subordination of machinery to man, and the abolition of our present profit-conscious system of finance as the first essentials of an equitable economic system.”⁷² Medieval guilds were organizations that worked to protect the rights and privileges of members, protect the consumers, provide services to members ensuring basic needs for poorer members, as well as contribute to public services.⁷³ The syllabus of the class also noted the limits of guilds, that is, guilds “should regulate nothing that an individual can take care of or do of his own initiative” and that guilds should “regulate only where the good of individual or the whole suffers.”⁷⁴

For Emerson, the guilds carried a dignity and ethic of labor and, he wrote, “They created the structure within which developed professional pride, the appreciation of one’s own labor.”⁷⁵ Emerson, in an article published shortly after completing this class, compared the guild idea to distributism. Whereas distributism was essentially a

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Michel, *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, 17.

⁷³ Gloria J. Betcher, “Medieval Guilds” *373 Syllabus*, Iowa State University, <http://www.public.iastate.edu/~gbetcher/373/guilds.htm>, accessed July 20, 2013.

⁷⁴ Virgil Michel, OSB, ed., *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: Second Semester*, St. John’s Abbey Archives in the Virgil Michel Collection, 13.

⁷⁵ Emerson Hynes, “The Dignity and Joy of Work,” 17.

philosophy “insisting first of all on the dignity of the individual person...aimed to provide a sufficiency of goods and security for the masses...combined with *freedom*, both economic and moral...And freedom can be secured and maintained only where a majority of the people own and *control* productive property.”⁷⁶ Guild partnerships were a means toward that end. The results, he predicted, would be “a more just and equitable return to the laborer, which would result in economic and social betterment”⁷⁷ as well as forward the educational system, eliminate class hatred, and demonstrate the accomplishments of people working together for the benefit of one another. While the guild idea could be enacted without further legislation and “need not be, must not be imposed on a far reaching scale by force of the government,” it would need “only an employer here and there to lead the way.”⁷⁸ St. John’s was one such employer.

As a faculty person at St. John’s in 1943, Emerson founded the Workman’s Guild.⁷⁹ He was responding to the declaration of Pope Leo XIII that it is the natural right of the human person to enter into workmen’s associations. Emerson may have alluded to the book by Arthur J. Plenty read in the Catholic Backgrounds class: “We know from Pope Leo’s exposition that he was thinking precisely of the SPIRIT of the ancient guilds, societies of a pre-industrial, craft economy, where religious spirit and organizations were normal and where relations were rather personal among workers and entrepreneurs.”⁸⁰ Twelve years later he noted that the spirit of the time had joined the term “organization”

⁷⁶ Emerson Hynes, “Distributism and the Guild Idea,” *The Guildsman* (October 1938): 2-3, 2.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁹ Owen Lindblad, “Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation,” in *Benedict in the World: Portraits of Monastic Oblates*, eds. Linda Kulzer and Roberta Bondi (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2002), 137.

⁸⁰ Emerson Hynes, “St. John’s Abbey Workers Guild: The Family Wage Law,” (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), St. John’s University archives. 2471:1, 3.

with injustice based on the Marxian theory that class struggle is inevitable. Emerson countered that “in Christian social thought it means cooperation. It is a ‘natural’ process, a basic means for achieving cooperation and production”⁸¹ and, thereby, a form of social justice. Most interesting for Emerson, as he looked back, was the experiment with the family wage, a system in which the basic wage was locally competitive, but with a sliding scale of support for men with families. This adopted policy was supported by the argument that while the need theory should not be the only consideration, “human needs constitute the primary title or claim to material goods.”⁸² This philosophy was put forth by third and fourth century Christian writers who claimed that to be in possession of more than what one needs to meet basic human necessities is to be in possession of what rightly belongs to those who are not meeting those basic necessities.⁸³ For Emerson, this was a fundamental social justice concern.

Religion and Culture

Students in the Catholic Backgrounds course went on to read and discuss religion and its relationship to culture, chiefly through the works of Jacques Maritain and Christopher Dawson. Both authors are referenced in Emerson’s post graduate work. Emerson opens his master’s dissertation clarifying that he will not base his “case for rural society on sentiment and poetry.” Rather, he strives to base his “study on a sound, rational foundation” and quotes Maritain, “...the movement of religious revival apparent

⁸¹ Ibid., 1. 4.

⁸² Ibid., 1, 10. Emerson is quoting Msgr. Ryan, from “Distributive Justice,” 357. Ryan was actually arguing the opposing argument, that unmarried adult males had a right to the family wage, which was countered by Hynes in that Ryan developed his argument “when children were not the economic drains that they are today.” (page 11).

⁸³ Bernard F. Evans, *Lazarus at the Table: Catholics and Social Justice* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2006), 5.

in the world will be permanent and truly efficacious, only if the mind is restored.”⁸⁴

Three of Dawson’s titles in *Catholic Backgrounds* were referenced by Emerson. As he builds a case for the role of rural life in the flourishing of a society’s culture, Emerson used Dawson’s definition to capture the essence of culture: the “way of life of a particular people adapted to a special environment; it is the result of an intimate communion between man and the regions in which and from which he lives... The human factor is always active and creative...it is the result of a free and intelligent activity.”⁸⁵ Emerson used the same books of Dawson’s introduced in the *Catholic Backgrounds* class to critically apply Dawson’s thinking to his developing theory that a flourishing culture is dependent on a vital rural life. For example, as Dawson made the case that when the peasant republic of the Roman Empire became a capitalistic oligarchy, the old Roman virtues weakened. Augustus had saved the moral prestige but failed to save the culture. Emerson said Dawson did not go far enough; he had failed to see that a return to peasant simplicity was impossible because “the peasant himself was not restored. Augustus did not provide for a return to the primacy of rural society, which had supplied the strength to the early Empire, and consequently Roman culture did not survive.”⁸⁶

Personalism

The concluding focus of the first semester of *Catholic Backgrounds* was a study of personalism, again a topic that became part of Emerson’s future writings and work. This section had, by far, the most material devoted to this topic, twenty out of forty-four pages of the syllabus. Personalism, while not one clear school of thought, was a response to, among other developing ideas in the nineteenth century, a perceived depersonalization

⁸⁴ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life” vii.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

in Enlightenment rationalism, modern individualism, materialism, and psychological and evolutionary determinism. There was a wide range of thinkers and, thus, variations in the personalist movement. The essential commonality was the centrality, value, and dignity of the human person as the starting point for ontological and epistemological investigation and analysis; the sacrosanct dignity fundamental to personhood implies that each person is worthy of unconditional respect. Although historically personalism is connected to Biblical theism, its philosophic foundation is situated on human reason and experience.⁸⁷ Informed by theological and Greek traditions, the question of what personalism is began the Catholic Backgrounds course's investigation into the topic and was a concept to become fundamental to Emerson's own philosophy and work.

Basic to any discussion on personalism is an inquiry into what is a person. As mentioned above, personalism holds at its core the value of the centrality, value, and dignity of the human being. In the Catholic Backgrounds literature, it held to the "infinite value of each immortal soul."⁸⁸ Personalism differs profoundly from individualism. On one hand, personalism recognizes the essential interdependence of human beings for security, growth, liberty, and for those things that support the human person. St. Thomas, wrote "Highest perfection is that of ethical person,"⁸⁹ and personalism would translate that into service to the common good. Thus the full and flourishing human person can be so only within the context of community and thus an ethic toward the common good recognizes the human person. Both the individual and the common good must be given their due. On the other hand, individualism places the individual above the common

⁸⁷ Thomas D. Williams and Jan Olof Bengtsson, "Personalism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2013/entries/personalism/>.

⁸⁸ Michel, *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, 27.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

good. The rights of the laborer, for example was a reaction against individualism. “Individualism wants to save each one free to do as he pleases; it wants isolated individuals for free competition. It results in the power of select cliques, which is detrimental to the liberty of other individuals. Here the liberty of some individuals is the slavery of many others.”⁹⁰ Individualism allows for human usury while personalism upholds the dignity of the human person while also considering the common good.

The variety of insightful authors – with hope and vision for humanity emanating from their ideas – must have fostered rich discussions for this group of thoughtful college students in their formative process. For example, Edward S. Skillin, writer and eventual author of the Catholic magazine *Commonweal*, wrote that personalism – “the infinite value of each immortal soul” – could bring about a new order where justice could prevail. It involved, among other things, vocation, that is, “union with God should be sought by the use of natural talents for self-perfection and the good of one’s fellow men.”⁹¹ Virgil Michel, indicating the interdependence of humanity, suggested that modern individualism went against man’s rational nature.⁹² In another example, Rudolf Allers was summarized, “It is the fulfillment of purpose in life to win the constant awareness of one’s own inalienable, individual value and the absolute oneness of person, combined with the knowledge that one has that value only if one knows and feels oneself to be a member of totalities greater than oneself.”⁹³ The philosophy of personalism, providing a foundation of hope and purpose, could have powerfully resonated with students’ personal growth and ideals for life as they constructed this knowledge into the meanings of their own

⁹⁰ Ibid., 41.

⁹¹ Ibid., 27.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., 28.

lives. Since Emerson took these ideas into his future, it appears personalism held essential meaning for him.

Emerson applied the work of thirteenth century philosopher and Catholic theologian Thomas Aquinas and French philosopher Emmanuel Mounier⁹⁴ into his work and teaching. Aquinas and Mounier wrote on the concepts of personalism and their ideas took up a significant portion of the syllabus. The influence of Thomas Aquinas was evident in Emerson's work, both in his dissertation, other writings, and as a teacher at St. John's, where he taught Thomas Aquinas, including the concept of striving toward perfection of the person.⁹⁵ Emerson's favorite book was *The Basic Writings of St. Thomas Aquinas*, a book that he could "return to again and again without ceasing to be enlightened and refreshed." Even after he used this book for many years as a reference, he was "still impressed by the wide range of topics, the lucidity of the logic, and the humanity of the author in dealing with abstract subjects – and I foresee no end to the intellectual delight which comes from such reflections."⁹⁶ Aquinas spoke of "the 'dignity' or 'nobility' of the person" and measured "dignity of man first of all by his inner perfection as a person, and not by his relation to the fellowship. Highest perfection is that of ethical person."⁹⁷ It seems Emerson adopted Thomas Aquinas's principle that ethical life is the path to inner perfection as a person, and the path encompasses the mutual interdependence of fellowship, which arises out of the persons, toward that goal.

⁹⁴ Mark and Louise Zwick, "Emmanuel Mounier, Personalism, and the Catholic Worker Movement," *Houston Catholic Worker*, July-August, 1999. <http://cjd.org/1999/08/01/emmanuel-mounier-personalism-and-the-catholic-worker-movement/>, Accessed July 25, 2013. Mounier was the founder of *Esprit*, a journal of the personalism movement in France. Peter Maurin of the Catholic Worker movement was influenced by Mounier. Mounier's book, *A Personalist Manifesto*, was translated by the monks of St. John's Abbey and the foreword was written by Father Virgil Michel.

⁹⁵ Emerson Hynes, "Notes for class and tests," Hynes family archives.

⁹⁶ Emerson Hynes, "My Favorite Book," St. John's University Archives, 2470: 1.

⁹⁷ Michel, *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, 36.

Emerson deeply valued ethics and ethical living, that is, to be the best that he could.

Teased as “ethical Emerson” by his family – a nephew once drew a portrait titled *Ethical Emerson* – family, former students, and neighbors corroborated a consistency between Emerson’s strong ethical sensibility and living ethically.

Emmanuel Mounier’s negative and positive conceptions of personalism were summarized in the Catholic Backgrounds’ syllabus. The negative sense has three components. First, the spirit cannot be reduced to vital energies of “race, force, youth, discipline, national tension, public works, and the like.”⁹⁸ Nor can spirit be reduced to culture, he suggests culture will become dilettante separated from interior life. Last, spirit cannot be reduced to liberty; freedom to choose a career, for example, is fundamental, but freedom only has sense when it adheres to a higher cause. Freedom in and of itself is not the end. Mounier also has two principles in the positive sense. First, he determined a scale of values that put vital values over material, cultural over vital values and the values of love, goodness and charity over all values, all of which are subject to free choice. Second, “these values are incarnate in persons destined to live in a community. Person and community are interdependent and mutually inclusive. Egoistic individualism gives us only a caricature of the person; capitalism and totalitarianism give us an oppressive society without real communion.”⁹⁹

Emerson applied his reading of Mounier in his dissertation to the basic human need of security, that is, we need a minimum of economic security to develop personal life.¹⁰⁰ “Security is the stepping stone, but the common good...is the summit.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Ibid., 33.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 33.

¹⁰⁰ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life, 25.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 33.

Emerson argued that a flourishing rural culture is the ideal means to that security. He referred to Mounier when discussing human freedom and rural living, that “freedom must come from within,” yet the system one finds oneself in affects the attainment of liberty.

The system can, he quotes Mounier,

...level down certain exterior obstacles and ...make certain ways easier. To be precise, it must, first, root out every form of human oppression; secondly, it must surround the person with a degree of independence and privacy that will leave to his own choice all necessary materials, free play for action, and a guarantee against being overwhelmed by social pressure.¹⁰²

Rural life has that particular potential, Emerson argued, to be an environment where human freedom could flourish.

Interestingly, the *Esprit* group to which Mounier belonged, criticized the rural life movement on the basis that it ultimately aimed to bring “man and things, or men and men among themselves, into closer material contact....The person is a power of infinite expansion. And as such it was never meant to inspire any mediocre system that prevents the attainment of true greatness.”¹⁰³ Emerson argued that rural life does not necessarily and inevitably make for mediocre persons, rather, “rural society is perfectly capable of taking care of the ‘infinite expansion’ of the average person,” and is a prudent means for “a majority of men to achieve whatever degree of spiritual perfection they can through work.” He also countered, “Rural society is a ‘mediocre system’ only in comparison with a society of artistic geniuses and great contemplatives. But then, most persons are equally

¹⁰² Ibid., 32.

¹⁰³ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life,” 40. Quote by Emmanuel Mounier in *A Personalist Manifesto*. (Emmanuel Mounier, *A Personalist Manifesto*, translated by Monks of St. John’s Abbey, (New York: Longmans Green Co., 1938).

mediocre when compared with the great personalities of history. Rural society is anything but mediocre when compared with the alternative: the heterogeneous masses of the great cities and, in particular, the dispossessed ‘slaves’ of the industrial system.”¹⁰⁴

Emerson also considered Mounier as he thought about and applied personalism to family life in conjunction with rural living. In rural settings children could best live out their natural inquisitiveness, desire to be active, and have room to move about, with parents close at hand. In rural living children could make valuable contributions to family productions, not to exploit child labor, but to make real world contributions in which children would simultaneously learn a work ethic toward the common good. The personalist, Emerson noted, called childhood “the miraculous garden wherein we can grasp and conserve human nature before it has misapprehended liberty and gratitude and devotion to a cause.”¹⁰⁵

Studying personalism while simultaneously experiencing the constructive nature of learning in the Catholic Backgrounds course must have been an interesting application of philosophy in educational process. One of the summaries in the syllabus addressed the education of children; essentially, children should not be educated into conformity, nor is education’s primary purpose to make good citizens. The purpose of education is to “arouse a person capable of living and acting as a person.” Person is defined as a “spiritual being adhering to a scale of values freely accepted, lived and assimilated by a constant unification of one’s activities.”¹⁰⁶ The scale of values refers to the primacy of

¹⁰⁴ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life, 41.

¹⁰⁵ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life,” 40. Quote by Emmanuel Mounier in *A Personalist Manifesto*.

¹⁰⁶ Michel, *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: First Semester*, 39.

love, goodness, and charity over all other values.¹⁰⁷ Thus an education of the person could not be neutral; neutrality would allow for a doctrine of the day or unconscious values to filter through and, further, neutrality would be “violated by men of convictions.”¹⁰⁸ The educational philosophy of personalism was fundamentally constructive in its nature under the guidance of mentors. This interestingly reflects the structure of the Catholic Backgrounds class where learning was a personal enterprise with the influence of a principled mentor/teacher who structured the class in such a way as to allow for shifts in response to ideas and learning. Personalism advocated that “the child must be educated as a person, by means of personal enterprise and of learning through free endeavor. But if education is apprenticeship in liberty, it cannot be entirely formed and predetermined from the beginning.”¹⁰⁹ Yet the influence of teachers mattered a great deal as “teaching is progressively interiorized by him who receives it.”¹¹⁰

Personalism seemed to be increasingly internalized by Emerson as evidenced in his ongoing engagement with personalism in his dissertation and other writings. He also applied personalism in family life where respect for the child as a full person was practiced,¹¹¹ and the children were included in important family decisions. For instance, when Emerson was offered the opportunity to become Senator Eugene McCarthy’s legislative assistant, which required moving to Washington D.C., a family meeting was held so that all could be involved in the decision since the decision would affect everyone in the family.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 39

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Mary Hynes-Berry, Interview, June 27, 2011.

¹¹² Denis Hynes, Interview, March 26, 2012.

The importance of personalism goes beyond individual and family into the realm of democracy. Emerson quoted Mounier, “For personalism there can be but one valid definition of democracy, and that is as follows: urgency in the political domain of an unlimited personalization of humanity....Democracy does not guarantee the happiness of the people....Nor is democracy mere numerical supremacy, which is a form of oppression. Democracy is the quest for political means which can assure to all persons of a community the right to free development and to a maximum of responsibility.”¹¹³ As Emerson analyzed, for instance, agrarianism and the role of private property and democracy, he did so with an understanding that democracy is recognized most essentially for its regard for the individual person.

Catholic Backgrounds, Second Semester

The second semester of Catholic Backgrounds covered the liturgical movement, the corporative order, and the distributist/agrarian movement. The content of the liturgical movement built on prior knowledge Emerson had gained in previous years during his involvement in the Institute for Social Study, which is covered in the following chapter. The syllabus contained twenty-two items in the bibliography including various aspects of the liturgy, Christian solidarity, and connection to Catholic life.

The Liturgical Movement

Much of the philosophical foundation of the liturgical movement was based on the concept of the Mystical Body of Christ. The concept of the Mystical Body of Christ brings to mind the words of Martin Luther King: “We are caught up in an inescapable network of mutuality tied in a single garment of destiny. What affects one directly,

¹¹³ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life,” 71. Quote by Emmanuel Mounier in *A Personalist Manifesto*.

affects all indirectly.”¹¹⁴ In both King’s thinking and the concept of the Mystical Body of Christ, a vital connection between all persons is the dignity given to them as created by God. The syllabus summarized, “The Mystical Body of Christ is the true basis of Christian solidarity and finds its manifestation in the liturgy of the Church, which is the “the principle manifestation and vital expression of the inner life of the Church.”¹¹⁵ Thus active participation in the liturgy by the laity was an “indispensable source of the true Christian life.”¹¹⁶ For Virgil Michel social justice was the outward aspect of liturgy, expressing the oneness of all via the Mystical Body, expressing a similar sentiment to King’s words, “Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.”¹¹⁷

The Corporative Order

The second topic of the second semester, the corporative order, was a movement inspired by, among other works on the nature of society, the *Quadragesimo Anno*, of which the key point was “a renewal of the vocational order, [which] cannot be understood without knowledge of Catholic concept of society.”¹¹⁸ There were also twenty-two items in the syllabus for this section, including both books and pamphlets. The corporative order was a reaction against the chaos of individualism that had “led men to place the obtaining of selfish private welfare above the cause of social justice,”¹¹⁹ and

¹¹⁴ Martin Luther King, “Letter from Birmingham City Jail,” May 1, 1963, 3. Accessed July 27, 2013. <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-birmingham-city-jail-0#>

¹¹⁵ Michel, *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: Second Semester*, 4. Quote from pamphlet, “The True Basis of Christian Solidarity.”

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Martin Luther King, “Letter from Birmingham City Jail.”

¹¹⁸ Michel, *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: Second Semester*, 15. Quote from Anton Retzbach, “Die Erneuerung der gesellschaftlichen Ordnung” *Münsterischer Anzeiger*, Dec. 11, 1932.

¹¹⁹ Virgil Michel, “Christian Social Reconstruction” In Virgil Michel, O.S.B. ed., *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: Second Semester*, by Virgil Michel. St. John’s Abbey Archives in the Virgil Michel Collection, 8.

“the steamroller system of totalitarianism.”¹²⁰ A premise was that “guilds and corporations are to operate for the common good and common enterprise.”¹²¹ At its core, the corporative order was promoting social justice and the common good. Social justice embraces “the whole of the common good. The basis of social justice is to be found in the fact that man is by nature a member of the society of mankind; it is because of this supreme fact that everyone is in turn obliged to do his share in maintaining the social inheritance, toward improving it, and toward maintaining the conditions –social order and peace – under which mankind can function properly. Social justice is the virtue of giving or contributing to the common good of society what is owing to it on the part of each member.”¹²² The idea of the common good built on the philosophy of personalism, covered in the first semester:

The common good is neither the greatest happiness for the greatest number, nor is it superior to the good of the individual person as the totalitarianists hold; it is a good that is common to the whole community as well as to the individual member of the community. It is a good that must exist for the whole community if the individual is to enjoy his greatest happiness, and every individual must enjoy a reasonable amount of happiness before the common good of the community can be attained. It is, therefore, a result of the harmonious balance of relation between the individual and society.¹²³

In the corporative order philosophy, true social regeneration had to be democratic, that is, from the people and had to start with the individual and must evolve economics and politics that function as servants for a true and just social life and peace. Catholic

¹²⁰ Michel, *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: Second Semester*, 26.

¹²¹ Michel, “Christian Social Reconstruction” In *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: Second Semester* by Virgil Michel, 9.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 8.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 9.

Backgrounds went on to explore reform, starting points, centralization and organization, organic and moral economic relationships, vocation,¹²⁴ limits of states and guilds, the worker, matters for inner regulation, the preservation of dignity in labor, labor and solidarity, and professional pride. The course especially addressed the nuances and intersections of individual and fellowship, that is, the individual and society. This included rights of person and society, examination of planned economy, capitalistic economy, functional corporations and vocational groupings for the common good, and the role of state.

Emerson later went on to speak and write about many of these ideas. He wrote and presented on guilds and their limits.¹²⁵ He wrote numerous articles related to work including “The Nature of Work,” “The Vocation of Work,” “The Rights of Workers,” and “The Right to Protect Work.”¹²⁶ He also wrote on cooperatives,¹²⁷ labor and management, and labor policy in rural America.¹²⁸ He also worked with the Collegeville Community Credit Union, an effort toward a just organization that works for the person.¹²⁹ The corporative order philosophy was part of the discourse for Catholics of the time and part of the social response of “The Movement” of the lay Collegeville community,¹³⁰ of which Emerson was part.

¹²⁴ The corporative order concept of vocation was one of calling. It brought to mind the well-known phrase, “Vocation is where your greatest passion meets the world’s greatest need,” commonly attributed to theologian Frederick Buechner, although I was not able to find the exact location of the quote.

¹²⁵ Emerson Hynes, “St. John’s Abbey Workers Guild: The Family Wage Law,” 1.

¹²⁶ All of these titles were published by *The Wanderer* (out of St. Paul, MN) in 1942-43. St. John’s University Archives, 2469: 5.

¹²⁷ Emerson Hynes, “Whither Cooperation?,” *Free America*, 1:12 (December, 1937): 4-6, and Emerson Hynes, “A Century of Cooperatives,” St. John’s University Archives, 2471:1.

¹²⁸ Various documents, St. John’s University archives, 2471:1, 3, 6.

¹²⁹ Emerson Hynes, letter to the Minnesota League of Credit Unions dated March 9, 1945. St. John’s University Archives, 2470: 6; “Conference on Credit Unions,” St. John’s University Archives, 2470: 6.

¹³⁰ Hynes, Arleen. “Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview.” Oral history transcribed interview, Arleen Hynes collection. St. Benedict’s Monastery Archives, 1998.

The Distributist/Agrarian Movement

The class discussions progressed into the topics of distributism and the agrarian movement, both to become central efforts in Emerson's life. The philosophy of distributism "starts with the dignity and importance of the individual" and founded on the principles that each person is a "free and responsible individual human being" and "can only remain free and responsible when secured against want." Without economic security, "the units of society, the family and in some degree the individual, lack the power to express the diversity which is life."¹³¹ Security is best attained by ownership in that which helps supply material needs. To supply material needs that responds to the dignity of the individual required significant shifts in how the economic system was structured. "The means of production,--land, tools, capital of every sort,--should be more widely distributed among individual owners. Hence its fundamental principle is decentralization, aimed at the economic liberation of the man who works for someone else."¹³²

How a practical attempt at redistribution of property would occur in a democratic society was the topic of many questions brought to the class by students. Still, as was discussed when earlier studying the corporative order, any "planned economy must be based on a spiritual philosophy; it must establish the primacy of certain human objectives; it must become a sure instrument of justice."¹³³ Thus, in any case, the freedoms sought for had accompanying duties for the individuals; "he must balance his

¹³¹ Michel, *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: Second Semester*, 41.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 36.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 22.

freedom by his responsibility to God and his fellow men.”¹³⁴ Just over a year after the Catholic Backgrounds class, Emerson wrote on distributism:

Distributism is not so much a technique as a way of life, a philosophy insisting first of all on the dignity of the individual person, and therefore highly concerned to guard his rights against the modern heresies. It is aimed to provide a sufficiency of goods and security for the masses as are the totalitarian states; but it is insisted that this sufficiency and security be combined with *freedom*, both economic and moral. And freedom can be secured and maintained only where a majority of the people own and *control* productive property. Thus it is that Distributists promote subsistence homesteads, rural life movements, home-crafting, the small shop. Thus it is that Distributists insist on decentralization of industry (and thus of population), so that workers need not be wage-slaves... And thus it is that Distributists welcome feasible plans for enabling laborers to share in ownership of the means of production or *to share in the proceeds like the other human contributors*, instead of being treated as irrational factors of production like coal and steel....

Distributism is foremost a philosophy, an assimilation of the *ends*, which society ought to enjoy and for which men ought to work. To achieve this, *means* must be employed....

The good results would begin to appear at once by way of a more just and equitable return to the laborer, which would result in economic and social betterment; and at the same time it would be a powerful means of forwarding the educational movement, of eliminating class hatred, of showing men what can be accomplished by working with one another and for one another.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹³⁵ Emerson Hynes, “Distributism and the Guild Idea,” 2-3.

Emerson acquired an understanding of distributism, at least in part, from the seminar course *Catholic Backgrounds*. The syllabus listed thirty books and numerous pamphlets and periodicals for the topic of the distributist-agrarian movement. Several authors from the course showed up in Emerson's dissertation including Hilaire Belloc, Pulitzer Prize winning author Herbert Agar, Vincent McNabb, and distributist and accomplished author G. K. Chesterton. Chesterton appears to have captured Emerson's thinking for years to come.

Emerson used Chesterton's ideas to support his argument that family and rural life are anything but mediocre. He quotes Chesterton, "When we read about cabbages or cauliflowers in the papers...we learn to think of them as commonplace. But if a man of any imagination will merely consent to walk round the kitchen-garden for himself, and really looks at the cabbages and cauliflowers, he will feel something almost monstrous about the size and the solidity of the things swelling out of that small and tidy patch of ground...he will see that things so large and so laborious cannot possibly be merely trivial." Chesterton goes on to support his idea that the most fundamental cooperative venture takes place between family and field and concludes, "...All that is involved here is the insistence on the true case for this intimate type of association; that in itself it is certainly not commonplace and most certainly is not conventional....The real family is something as wild and elemental as a cabbage."¹³⁶ Emerson resonated with the affection Chesterton had for the family and land, remarking that Chesterton "was equally insistent

¹³⁶ Hynes, *The Catholic Church and Rural Life*, 67. Quote by G. K. Chesterton, *The Colored Lands*, New York: Sheed & Ward, 1938, p. 197-200.

that this simple family life is the most thrilling and the most real experience that man can hope for.”¹³⁷

There were additional references to Chesterton that provided evidence of Emerson’s regard for the prolific writer and thinker. In his article “Whither Cooperation”¹³⁸ published by *Free America*, Emerson also quoted from *G. K.’s Weekly*, an English paper started by Chesterton in 1925.¹³⁹ Additionally, numerous letters to and from friends during Emerson’s professional years at St. John’s reference Chesterton, often with enthusiasm for his ideals. In one playful example, a friend wrote from Quebec about a trip to Ireland Emerson took after graduating from Notre Dame in 1939, “I hope you will give me a more detailed description of your trip when you find time for it. It must have been a most Chestertonian one. Would it that it happen very soon that we are able to talk it over a glass of beer (Canadian beer).”¹⁴⁰ Perhaps the most charming testimonial of Emerson’s esteem for Chesterton was written in 1939 with friend Thomas Neill in final weeks of graduate school at Notre Dame.¹⁴¹ In the *Code of the Neo-Chestertonian Society*, “drawn up and promulgated this 23rd day of May, 1939”¹⁴² they outline a three page sincere, yet clever aim for the society.

Neo-Chestertonians are:

A society,

¹³⁷ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life,” 68.

¹³⁸ Emerson Hynes, “Whither Cooperation,” 4-6.

¹³⁹ Dale Alquist, “Chesterton’s Scrapbook: A Look at G. K.’s Weekly,” *The American Chesterton Society*. Dec. 16, 2010. Accessed October 7, 2013. <http://www.chesterton.org/2010/12/chestertons-scrapbook-a-look-at-g-k-s-weekly/>

¹⁴⁰ Frenchie, letter to Emerson Hynes, August 6, 1939. Hynes Family archives.

¹⁴¹ “Commencement Exercises, The University of Notre Dame,” *Commencement Program*, University of Notre Dame Archives, 2013. Accessed October 7, 2013.

http://www.archives.nd.edu/Commencement/1939-06-04_Commencement.pdf Commencement exercises for the 1939 graduating classes at the University of Notre Dame were held on June 4, 1939.

¹⁴² Emerson Hynes and Thomas P. Neill, “Code of the Neo-Chestertonian Society,” 1939. St. Johns University Archives, 2471:1.

An informal organization of people,

People who have a common outlook on life.

And that outlook is:

Happy,

Joyful,

Seriously humorous,

Humorously serious,

Wholly Christian. Therefore Neo's are:

People with complete faith in God, so that:

They do not over-estimate the importance of anything.

They do not over-look the value in everything.

They recognize their dependence and their failings...

People with a proper hierarchy of values...

People who take as their model and spokesman:

G.K. Chesterton

Who by writing and by action gave beautiful example of

how average people can lead:

Happy lives,

Useful lives,

Christian lives....

At all times the books of G. K. Chesterton will:

Be a guide to action,

Suggest lines of activity,

Serve as an inspiration,

Settle controversy between members,

Although members must realize above all that Neo-Chestertonianism

Is not stereotyped,

Merely repeating what Chesterton has said and done.

Is eminently vital, living, ever-expanding

In line with the True Christian life.¹⁴³

Friend of Chesterton, Catholic writer Hilaire Belloc, was also well known for advocating a philosophy of distributism. He wrote there must be a redistribution of “wealth or property that the proletariat class will fall into the minority,”¹⁴⁴ and proposed three measures to this end: “1) Restoring the small cultivator, distributor and craftsman. 2) Division of property in enterprises necessarily large among many holders in sufficient amount. 3) Confirming such wholesome division by institutions to maintain it and prevent lapse of property back into capitalism.”¹⁴⁵ Guilds were a way to accomplish this, but “most important of all is to get back to the land...to live off the land as much as possible,” knowing that “farm-life will yield but a modest sustenance.”¹⁴⁶ Emerson took Belloc’s work and focused it particularly on rural culture and life. For instance, Belloc implies that for its well-being, any state must have a widely “propertied rural population,”¹⁴⁷ and Emerson built on this in his dissertation chapter titled “The State, Democracy and Agrarianism.” He examined eight reasons why “rural society with its consequent widely distributed land, play so important a role in the state.”¹⁴⁸ He

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Michel, *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: Second Semester*, 33.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. 34.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life,” 74.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

considered the individual, the family, vigorous rural society and self-sufficiency, the capacity for rural society to reduce excessive bureaucracy, protection of the soil, the capacity for a flourishing rural society to “keep a state from foreign entanglements and war,”¹⁴⁹ if there is a war a healthy rural society gives the nation a better chance for success, and last, “rural society is necessary for an economic democracy.”¹⁵⁰

Emerson was also critical of Belloc. In Emerson’s dissertation chapter titled “The Church Temporal and Rural Life,” he quotes an early work by Belloc, “the sword fits the hand of the Church and that Catholicism is never more alive than when it is in arms.” Emerson rebutted, “I propose that the plough fits the hand better. For the plough is the symbol of fertility and advance and production, while the sword is only that of defense, and, necessarily, of destruction. And I would rather say that the Church ‘is never more alive’ than when her monastic system is covering a nation and bringing civilization and culture and reverence into the life of all.”¹⁵¹

Two book titles by Herbert Agar in the seminar section on distributism and the agrarian movement were referenced in Emerson’s dissertation. *Who Owns America?* (co-edited with Allen Tate) deals with “fallacy of mass production efficiency” and its detrimental consequences to the common man; it “suggests a return of property to the common man” with protection against industrial and financial exploitation; and it extolls “the self-sustaining farm life as being the only life of true happiness.”¹⁵² *Land of the Free* outlines historical events that led to adoption of a banking plan based on the English system that favored rich traders and manufacturers. This system was not in alignment to

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 80.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 83.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 104.

¹⁵² Michel, *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: Second Semester*, 35.

the intentions of the founders to make America a commonwealth of “economically and politically free people,” but rather benefited larger corporations. “As a result of this unnatural system small property owners gradually became members of proletarian class, thus losing the economic freedom which is a first requisite for political freedom.”¹⁵³ Agar made the case that this loss of freedom was a chief cause of “America’s poverty in real culture,” particularly in the large cities. He argued real culture would be found in “smaller communities where the people are in closer touch with the soil and hence closer to nature. Give our people a chance to become owners of small farms and workshops and they will again begin to produce a true culture such as only a natural life and creative activity can bring.”¹⁵⁴ Restoration of property to the common person was necessary for culture and political freedom, and also for abundance of material goods. “Therefore let us have a restoration of the means of production to those who were cheated out of their heritage by high finance.”¹⁵⁵

Emerson used Herbert Agar to help make the point that at a time of great change in society and possible despair, when things look bleak for a society, rather than giving up hope, one must act. For Emerson, one way to act to preserve the best of human heritage was a revival in rural life. Agar promoted that ownership of property was essential since ownership implied “some share in the means of production,”¹⁵⁶ a necessary prerequisite for democracy. Emerson applied this idea to rural life to support ownership of land to reestablish and sustain a flourishing rural culture; to avoid the poverty of tenant farmers; to promote self-sufficiency; to better sustain smaller and larger

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life,” 72. Quote by Herbert Agar, “Land of the Free,” Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1935, 38.

units of society for a truer democracy; to protect the soil; and as a way to protect human dignity and essential human values. In a return to the land with farming as a *way of life*, without mimicking commercialized individualistic bourgeois values, with a true philosophy of the soil – which included organic and biodynamic farming – held much hope for Emerson, and, he maintained, hope for society. Emerson stressed that “rural life is the handmaid of culture,”¹⁵⁷ and thus a flourishing rural life has the potential to respond to the bleakness in the present capitalistic society and reconstruct toward a more just society. Emerson urged the Church to prioritize its role to “re-assert the dignity and respectability of the rural life.”¹⁵⁸

Although there was some bias against city life that sometimes appeared in the class, Emerson did not suggest that rural life was a panacea for all of society’s ills. Still a partiality for rural living was evident in the class. One question that was generated by a student – no name is provided – brings up a good point but also reveals a bias: “I think it is going to be difficult to persuade an urbanite to become farmer, esp., if he has a good job as compared with the bare sustenance got on a farm, without hanging his view on life. I wonder if he’ll appreciate true economic independence and not sigh most emphatically for the city flesh-pots?”¹⁵⁹ They also questioned their assumption, “Is it true that small town life is happier than city life?”¹⁶⁰ Emerson brought his preference for rural living into many of his life and work decisions, choices that emerged from a deep affection for both land and rural culture.

¹⁵⁷ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life,” 133.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 135.

¹⁵⁹ Michel, *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: Second Semester*, 41.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

The rural focus that Emerson developed in his master's program and continued to develop and grow in study and action in his personal and professional life clearly had its earliest roots in growing up in a farm family that greatly valued rural life and actively supported a flourishing rural culture. Many opportunities in college helped to build on Emerson's values, including much of the work in the Institute for Social Study and the work of Rev. Virgil Michel. It seems likely, however, the experience that most solidly nourished the growing intellectual supports of his rural values was the seminar course in Catholic Backgrounds, which for Emerson culminated in the final topic of distributist and the agrarian movements. In studying the works of Chesterton, Belloc, Agar and others, Emerson began a clear application of these ideas to the rural life. When Emerson was in college, distributism was only in the beginnings of a movement, but Emerson was making meaningful connections. The connection between distributism and rural living was a major theme of his master's thesis. He wrote to Virgil Michel,

I was interested to learn that the Catholic Rural Life may be the Social Institute subject next year. Especially so since I have secured permission to write my thesis on it; I was fishing around to find some way to get Distributism into my thesis, and suddenly realized that the C.R.L. movement was the way. Now that I have a topic which pleases me I think that it shall be an interesting rather than tedious task to write a thesis.¹⁶¹

He and his wife, Arleen, embraced the distributist movement and together applied it in their lives. Arleen said, "There was a lot of good, solid theory about why one would live out in the country and follow a decentralist life and build one's own home."¹⁶²

Emerson had studied the theory in his senior year of college at St. John's, further

¹⁶¹ Emerson Hynes, "My dear Father Virgil," Letter, March 5, 1938, Virgil Michel Collection, St. John's Abbey Archives.

¹⁶² Arleen Hynes, "Sister Arleen Hynes, Interview."

developed his thinking and theoretical applications in graduate school, and then returned to Collegeville to apply the distributist and agrarian principles in the community of his home, Kilfenora. In Collegeville, Emerson connected the distributist philosophy into his community work as well as in the National Catholic Rural Life Conference.

The professional formation of Emerson's thinking and work in the rural life movement had origins in the Catholic Backgrounds class. An essay by Emerson in the syllabus titled "Principles of the Catholic Rural Life Movement" was the final essay in the second semester syllabus, but one of the first of many essays and works on rural culture and the Catholic rural life movement by Emerson. In his essay, Emerson borrowed a quote from the Twelve Southerners¹⁶³ to begin an explanation of the "why" of the Catholic Rural Life Movement (CRLM). "An agrarian society is one in which agriculture is the leading vocation, whether for wealth, for intelligence and leisure....The theory of agrarianism is that culture of the soil is the best and most sensitive of vocations, and that therefore it should have the economic preference and enlist the maximum number of workers."¹⁶⁴ Emerson furthered this to explain that the CRLM was "distinct from, though not in opposition to, the Agrarian and other rural life groups" in that "it is not solely concerned with securing the best material well-being, but is also very solicitous about his spiritual welfare."¹⁶⁵ The need for the CRLM was conveyed by Emerson; he

¹⁶³ Lucinda H. MacKethan. "I'll Take My Stand: The Relevance of the Agrarian Vision." *The Virginia Quarterly Review: The National Journal of Religion and Discussion*, Autumn, 1980, 577-595, Accessed July 30, 2013 <http://www.vqronline.org/articles/1980/autumn/mackethan-agrarian-vision/>. The Twelve Southerners were a group of which four were poets from Vanderbilt University and included Allen Tate (co-editor of one of the books on the syllabus), Donald Davidson, John Crowe Ransom and Robert Penn Warren.

¹⁶⁴ Emerson Hynes, "Principles of the Catholic Rural Life Movement," in Virgil Michel, O.S.B. ed., *Course in Catholic Backgrounds and Current Social Theory: Second Semester*, St. John's Abbey Archives in the Virgil Michel Collection, 35. Emerson quotes Twelve Southerners, "I'll Take My Stand," New York: Harper and Brothers, 1930.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 37.

noted the profound changes through the century including the negative effects of industrialization and big business, the loss of small farms, the drain of rural life to the cities, the neglect of religious education, a profound shift in the philosophy of farming away from the family farm approach toward a purely business model. For Emerson, all of these concerns threatened the strength of American democracy.

One principle of the CRLM was that rural living fosters healthy family life, as the family is the smallest social unit in a society and its backbone. At the time large families were common on farms in Minnesota and many agreed that this was beneficial to a vibrant nation. Emerson brought that view to an essay, perhaps along with his own experience as the youngest and “beloved child” of a large and loving farm family, when he wrote, “Thus the fact that larger families are reared on farms is important to the nation, as well as making for better balanced and happier families.”¹⁶⁶

That farm life existed as a cooperative venture for the family was for Emerson another strength of rural living, in part because parents did not have to leave the homestead to go to work away from the family, and also because children could be engaged in meaningful work to contribute to the family economy. Emerson later built on these ideas to expand the benefits of children being engaged in meaningful work, learning skills, and experiencing life.¹⁶⁷ Emerson maintained,

The environment of the rural home is especially fitted for the rearing of the children. A child is a natural extrovert. He is an adventurer and a roamer. He is active, and his whole person craves to be doing things, to be increasing his knowledge and his experiences. A child should have plenty of room to move about. But though it is necessary

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 38.

¹⁶⁷ See, for example, Emerson Hynes, 1939. “The Catholic Church and Rural Life” and Emerson Hynes, “The Dignity and Joy of Work, 16-18.

that the child have his freedom, it is equally necessary that he be watched over and kept from dangers, both physical and moral. The rural home provides just such a sanctum.¹⁶⁸

Emerson noted while there are natural dangers at hand in the rural life, the artificial dangers – “busy streets, heavy traffic, and dangerous comrades”¹⁶⁹ of the urban environment – are largely absent on the farm. In addition to the freedoms afforded to the child by the rural environment, Hynes wrote, the “rural child, on the other hand, is trained to work and to understand from tender age that as a human being he has a vocation to perform useful labor, to provide for his own needs and those of others, to contribute to his own welfare and to that of the community and the nations. The environment of rural life is fitted as no other for this balanced training, the happy combination of work and play.”¹⁷⁰ The diversity of work on the farm was physically healthy, close to nature and therefore to God, had dignity, allowed for “freedom to develop the personality.”¹⁷¹

But for farming to truly benefit families and society, it could not be only a business, but rather must be a way of life. This would necessitate a reliance on home economy, diversified farming, and a renewed idea of work and leisure. Therefore it was necessary that people on the farm be educated “to know what it means to be a farmer,” that is, to a “high concept of rural life.”¹⁷²

Emerson noted that “tenancy is one of the major problems of American farmers.”¹⁷³ In an effort to reduce farm tenancy, the CRLC supported legislation to promote rural life and personal ownership. Small farm ownership could be an issue of

¹⁶⁸ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life,” 54.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁷¹ Emerson Hynes, “Principles of the Catholic Rural Life Movement,” 39.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life,” 110.

basic survival as well as quality of long term opportunities. For example, Emerson grew up on a family-owned farm during the Great Depression and his family was able to withstand the challenges presented by difficult times. On the other hand, William Cofell – student, colleague and neighbor to Emerson – grew up on North Dakota farms without the benefits of family farm ownership; his family, tenant farmers during the Depression, experienced enormous hardships moving from farm to farm and struggling to feed the children and provide for basic human needs that resulted in ongoing challenges and, in some cases, reduced long-term opportunities for members of the family.¹⁷⁴ Although economic hardship was a threat to all farmers in the Great Depression, poverty and insecurity were more likely a lamentable part of tenant farmers’ lives.¹⁷⁵

One point that Emerson put forth was the CRLM supported both the social and religious life of rural people. The sparse population of rural areas did not have to mean limited religious and cultural activities. Yet aid was necessary for the rural population and the Conference supported establishing schools, bus service, and 4-H groups. Emerson’s essay on the CRLM in the syllabus appeared to be the beginning framework for what continued as his master’s dissertation, where he developed these ideas as he established that “rural life is the handmaid of culture.”¹⁷⁶ At that time and since, there has been a substantial decrease in the number of small family farms. Emerson noted, “the inferior status given the farmer has been the chief cause of the rural exodus.... The farmer must be made to realize the dignity of his condition.”¹⁷⁷ Emerson maintained it was in the

¹⁷⁴ My own father’s story was relayed during interviews of his experiences with Emerson Hynes. The contrast of their experiences growing up on farms in the 1930s was striking.

¹⁷⁵ Michael Johnson Grant, *Down and Out on the Family Farm: Rural Rehabilitation in the Great Plains, 1929-1945*, Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.

¹⁷⁶ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Church and Rural Life,” 135.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

church's and nation's interests to support people on the land and to "re-assert the dignity and respectability of rural life."¹⁷⁸

The thinking in *Catholic Backgrounds* and his work in the CRLM continued not only into Emerson's dissertation, the seminar had also laid the framework for many articles and ongoing work that was to be in his future. Emerson published numerous articles and book reviews that related in some way to the rural life movement. He wrote at least one section of the revision of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference manifesto on rural life. He spoke to numerous groups in and out of state, taught rural sociology at St. John's University, and eventually brought his knowledge and connections in rural life to his work as legislative assistant to Eugene McCarthy. As aide to McCarthy, for example, Emerson called Minnesota farmers Jerry and LeMay Bechtold several times to consult on farm policies. LeMay recalled, "farm policies – yes, he did...he would ask about other policies too."¹⁷⁹ Jerry was the soil and water conservation district supervisor for Stearns County while Emerson was assistant to McCarthy,¹⁸⁰ and thus Emerson may have consulted on land use issues as well as farm policy.

Catholic Backgrounds: Reflections

The basis of much of his future writing and work seemed to spring from the studies in *Catholic Backgrounds*, where he constructed a philosophical and knowledge foundation resulting from the activity of his own engagement under the guidance of his mentor, Father Virgil Michel. Studying personalism and distributism and other topics in

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ LeMay Bechtold, Interview, June 28, 2012.

¹⁸⁰ "Stearns County Records," Accessed October 7, 2013. <http://stearns.server306.com/files/1563.pdf> Jerry Bechtold was soil and water conservation district supervisor in 1957 to his death at age 2013. Bechtold was thought to be the longest-serving supervisor on the soil and water conservation district board in Minnesota and perhaps held the record for serving the longest term in any Minnesota elected office.

Catholic Backgrounds cannot attribute entirely for Emerson's philosophy and life. His family background had nurtured an experience of growing up with unconditional high regard for the human person, rural living, and justice issues.¹⁸¹ Emerson himself had grown up with an ethic of respect and a balanced sense of the humbleness of one's place in the world. Likely the philosophy of personalism, for example, already resonated with a family formed ethic, and the study of personalism as a philosophy consequently clarified and expanded his thinking and outlook. Emerson had other influential classes and teachers at St John's, however, Catholic Backgrounds provided a significant foundation that Emerson continued to build on and grow. Particularly, Catholic Backgrounds appears to have fundamentally influenced Emerson's growth in applied ethical thinking.

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to know what effect the Catholic Backgrounds class had on other participants, it appears to have been very influential in Emerson's college experience and into his life. There may have been several reasons for this. Particularly, Emerson was intrinsically motivated in the course; he was interested and cared about the content. Emerson had already participated in several activities that related to the content of the course. He had already demonstrated this interest by participating in the Institute for Social Study, which shared similar aims to the class. As a junior, Emerson had also written the column "Today's History," which required the analytical skills he brought to the class. Thus he brought into the class a perceived purpose that he understood to be relevant and therefore engaged in meaningful ways that shaped his own learning.

¹⁸¹ Laurence Thomas. "The Fragility of the Moral Self: Self-Love and Morality," Presentation at Poynter Center for the Study of Ethics and American Institutions, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, February 10, 1997. Accessed July 25, 2013. <http://poynter.indiana.edu/files/4713/4513/7342/m-thomas.pdf> Ethicist Laurence Thomas makes a case for unconditional love and regard in childhood as a basis for self-love and its advantages for moral living.

Virgil Michel intentionally worked to make the ideas in the class relevant to the life and world of the time. The class provided multiple opportunities to engage with the ideas of compelling authors, first through reading, then sometimes through arranging opportunities for lectures and discussions with authors. He did this most practically in terms of connecting to active life on campus, for example, bringing authors to campus or bringing written works of individuals who had previously spoken to the student body, for example, Catholic Worker Peter Maurin. Michel supported moral examination and application to the real world but did so not by moralizing, but by providing a forum for students to engage in the ideas of insightful authors and apply thoughtful analysis to social issues of the day.

Perhaps the small number of students in the class had an impact on its outcome. The first semester started with just four students, all of whom had been selected by Michel,¹⁸² although the syllabus indicates a few additional students may have joined after the class started. One cannot hang back or disappear in a class with a small number of students. Students quickly realize that they will have to participate fully because otherwise the class will suffer and the professor will notice a marked lack of participation. This increased responsibility for active participation consequently benefits both the individual student and the common good of the class.

Virgil Michel conducted the class in such a way as to facilitate meaning making and allow students to create and revise their understandings and meanings through the ongoing experiences and conversations in the class. The class was structured so that students were agents in their own learning. Although Michel occasionally lectured, the

¹⁸² "Catholic Backgrounds, Culture Courses Offered," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 19 (Sept. 17, 1936) 2.

primary method in the class was reading and discussion, not didactic teaching. Michel provided a well-designed robust framework for the class and some material to be read and discussed. He also provided a continuum of opportunity; as active agents students could, in part, determine the choices of the topics within the frame, as well as make personal selections of readings from a group generated list. All of this meant active participation, investigation, analysis, focus, and thinking. In Emerson's case it seems that the class was transformational in that it went beyond merely building a knowledge base; the connections into his life activities suggests Catholic Backgrounds contributed to an expanded authorship of the identity he would bring forward into his life and work.

Looking Back

Emerson later compared academic work in undergraduate life to graduate work. He wrote *The Higher Learning* with St. John's co-graduate and then fellow student at Notre Dame, John O'Toole, an article with plenty of tongue-in-cheek humor, but also some notable observations. In the article, while both authors came from St. John's, where they primarily had monks as teachers, those monks were often well traveled and some educated in Europe. Still, Emerson happened to be at Notre Dame when President O'Hara was inviting scholars and writers from Europe.¹⁸³ There Emerson experienced the advantages of "professors from other lands," noting philosopher Jacques Maritain, French critic Mr. Charles DuBos, and intellectual and author Waldemar Gurian. Emerson and O'Toole wrote, "They are products of an education, a culture, and an environment quite different from those of an American scholar. They are broadening in influence."¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Frank O'Malley, "Waldemar Gurian at Notre Dame," *The Review of Politics* 17, no. 1 (January 1955): 19-23. 19.

¹⁸⁴ Emerson Hynes and John O'Toole, "The Higher Learning," *The St. John's Quarterly*, April 1938, 5-10, 6-7.

Emerson's pleasure in conversing with people from around the world continued as he and Arleen welcomed guests from many countries to Kilfenora. The connections to the world that began at St. John's continued at Notre Dame and became an essential aspect of Emerson's outlook.

In the same article Emerson and O'Toole wrote that the level of work at the graduate level "staggeres the imagination," but that administrators recognized the burden and thus permitted "no more than fourteen semester hours."¹⁸⁵ A chief distinction was age, which "seems to be a trifling differentiation. But consider: the older a man is, the more experiences he has had. The more experiences he has had, the more tales to enliven sessions. The livelier the session, the longer it lasts and the more frequently do such gatherings take place. The greater the length and the frequency, the better the education."¹⁸⁶ Emerson had appreciated discussions at St. John's, where "he held impromptu gatherings in the dorm where lively intellectual exchange replaced idle college chatter."¹⁸⁷ He also further developed his skill in discussion through extra-curricular activities (discussed in Chapter Six), and through classes, and perhaps particularly the Catholic Backgrounds class, which was discussion based.

Emerson's skill and respect in faculty discussions was noted by colleague William Cofell:

Two members of the faculty who were generally good for an excellent discussion were Mr. Emerson Hynes and Fr. Martin Schirbir, O.S.B. I thought they were at their best when they discussed the economics and sociology of American Farm policy. I do not remember that they agreed on the policy but both men had such high respect for each other

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 6

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Lindblad, "Emerson Hynes: A Vocation to Conversation," 130.

it was a pleasure to listen to them work through the discussion. I thought them both fine professors and had taken undergraduate courses from both of them. Emerson and Fr. Martin engaged in conversation were amusing and instructive and it was an unusual opportunity to listen to two fine minds as they engaged each other. Emerson appeared to be a quiet person, but he added much to discussions in the faculty room because he was willing to analyze and evaluate the ethical and moral dimensions of almost any topic.¹⁸⁸

Yet conversation was not limited to any particular topic. Cofell related one of the late afternoon gathering that took place informally in faculty offices:

One afternoon Fr. Aubrey and I decided to visit Fr. Emeric in his office. It was one of the times that Eugene McCarthy was visiting campus. Emerson Hynes, Ed Henry, Steve Humphrey and several others were already there. Anyone would think that in a group made up of such persons the discussion would center on politics; however, most of the time was spent discussing poetry, literature and drinking Fr. Emeric's fine *café au lait*.¹⁸⁹

Graduation: Its Moral Meaning

Graduation was more than just a time to mark the end of an important time in Emerson's life. It was also a time to reflect on the man he had become and consider the moral implications of what had been and what was to be. Emerson's own words suggest that "*transformation of the underlying meaning-making structure*"¹⁹⁰ had taken place

¹⁸⁸ William Cofell, "William Cofell," in *A Sense of Place: Saint John's of Collegeville*, Ed. Coleman Barry and Robert L. Spaeth, (Collegeville, Minnesota: Saint John's University Press, 1987), 17.

¹⁸⁹ William Cofell, "William Cofell," 19.

¹⁹⁰ Boes, Lisa M., Marcia B. Baxter Magolda, and Jennifer A. Buckley, "Foundational Assumptions and Constructive-Developmental Theory," In *Development and Assessment of Self-Authorship: Exploring the Concept Across Cultures*, edited by Marcia B. Baxter Magolda, Elizabeth G. Cramer and Peggy S. Mesaros, 3-24. Sterling, VA: Stylus, 2010. 5.

during the college years and he had indeed participated in the purposeful creative work of becoming. Emerson wrote, the college student

has been initiated into an intellectual process which it is up to him to continue.

That process is education, and unless he has made a response to it in college, he never will.

And by education, books, professors, routine, and classrooms, are not necessarily implied; education properly means the cultivation of the moral and intellectual faculties, and one is educated when he is able to look at life objectively and judge the facts of it accurately.

A college education should impress upon him a profound humility rather than a superficial egotism. Education is taken from the Latin word *educere* which means “to lead out”; to lead a man out of his own shell, to bring him into contact with reality and with it a fuller and more sincere appreciation of life. It should arouse in him an overwhelming interest in everything he comes into contact with, and lead him through intellectual blind alleys.

Compromise, of course, will offer its seductions. In life there are many problems to consider besides that of increasing one’s knowledge. But there are matters where no compromise is conceivable, at least not for an educated Catholic. Eternal truths and natural laws do exist, whether they are adhered to or not, and it is the graduate’s duty to give them a rebirth, not a recantation, in a world where they have unfortunately been forgotten. In his religion he will find the answer to most of the problems which are perplexing both himself and modern civilization. The moral edifice which Saint Thomas constructed to house the aspirations of the medieval world is large enough to house the aspirations of the present day. Essentially, though some evolutionists may doubt it, man has not undergone any great changes since the middle ages. He is still being born, still dying, still loving and hating, still praying and blaspheming. The belief that he has changed houses

many fallacies and is the cause of much modern moral and intellectual chaos. The graduate must strive to bring order and meaning out of that chaos. . . .

He has had the opportunity to come into the closest possible contact with the intellectual, the social, and the spiritual sides of life; if he has not done so, his college career has been a failure. He goes forth to encounter a world that can be made either interesting or dull, trivial or great, beautiful or sordid; and if he has been educated he will begin to understand that the greatest solace of all lies in the life of the spirit.¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ Emerson Hynes, "Graduation: Its Moral Meaning" (editorial), *The Record* 50, no. 17 (May 37, 1937): 2. (Arleen Hynes confirmed that Emerson was the author of this article in a bibliography of Emerson's periodical articles and in the collected copies of his writings, Hynes Family Archives.)

Chapter 6

Extracurricular Life

One of the influences that emerged from Shoup's investigation into factors that shape the development of exemplary leaders was meaningful opportunities to apply learning and develop skills through apprenticeships.¹ An apprentice is a learner of a craft under the guidance of one with expertise in a handicraft, an art or a profession.² An apprenticeship can be described as "an initiatory learning."³ Although multiple influences are evident in the successes of Emerson's professional life, extracurricular life at St. John's provided a range of apprenticeships, that is, initiatory learning opportunities, where Emerson could practice leadership and dialogue, analytical thinking, journalistic skills, and group organization, which were all experiences that were formative in various leadership aspects of his life.

Apprenticeships allow the possibility of success. Extracurricular activities functioning as apprenticeships allow college students to try out new or emerging skills, or apply skills in new contexts, which in turn can open doors for new starting points and experiences. Successes draw the attention of colleagues or college leaders, who can offer mentorship and additional opportunities. Likewise, experience and successes build confidence and perhaps new awareness of one's potential to influence the outcome of

¹ John Shoup, *A Collective Biography of Twelve World Class Leaders*, Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2005.

² *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "apprentice," accessed January 8, 2014, <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.csbsju.edu/view/Entry/9815?rskey=R3g4C4&result=1#eid>

³ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "apprenticeship," accessed January 8, 2014, <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.csbsju.edu/view/Entry/9821?redirectedFrom=apprenticeship#eid>

events. Shoup noted, “Early successes played an important role in giving the emerging leaders a sense of control over their destinies as well as new competencies.”⁴

It is important to note that students also learn from mistakes in the context of apprenticeships. Shoup noted, “All emerging leaders will do well to take comfort in the fact that success and failure are often the different sides to the same coin. [Shoup’s] emerging leaders of influence had superiors or prodigious patrons around them who could normalize failures as part of the developmental equation.”⁵ Extracurricular activities can offer the oversight of experienced leaders who mentor how to think about and respond to mistakes. Stanford psychologist Carol Dweck stresses that the capacity to learn from mistakes is a crucial aspect of education.⁶ This suggests an important aspect of an initiatory experience is not only the opportunity to learn and apply skills but also to make mistakes, mitigate the effects of any mistakes, and learn how to avoid, respond to, and think about mistakes, ideally benefiting from reflective mentorship.

The importance of learning from mistakes should not be overlooked, yet it is also important to note the reinforcing potential of experiencing success. Shoup noted in his investigation that “series of small breaks, part timing and part merit based . . . create or promote additional opportunities for influence.” His research suggests “the importance of a series of minor victories via mini-apprenticeships that open the door for bigger victories.”⁷ College extracurricular activities as mini-apprenticeships can function in this same manner to support students. Emerson’s extracurricular work was an important part of his college experience and appears to have significantly honed his thinking, oral and

⁴ John Shoup, *A Collective Biography of Twelve World Class Leaders*, Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2005.

⁵ Shoup, 59.

⁶ Carol Dweck, *Mindset: The New Psychology of Success*, New York: Random House, 2006.

⁷ Shoup, 60.

written expression, organizational, and dialogic skills. Simultaneously he grew in his confidence and became increasingly aware of his potential to affect change in the world. His successes in extracurricular work were noticed by college leaders, and he consequently attracted mentors who opened doors to future defining experiences.

In Emerson's extracurricular life one can see the emerging and developing qualities of moral exemplars identified by Colby and Damon. Particularly noted were "a sustained commitment to moral ideas or principles that include a generalized respect for humanity.... A disposition to act in accord with one's moral ideas or principles....a willingness to risk one's self interests for the sake of one's moral values....a tendency to inspire others and thereby move them to social action....a sense of realistic humility about one's own importance relative to the world at large."⁸ The historical record supports the assertion that Emerson Hynes had the "apprentice experience" that supported and guided those qualities Colby and Damon outline, which assisted his maturing moral goodness toward action and good work.

Emerson's involvement, particularly as a self-motivated young man toward meaning and moral purpose who had exemplary mentors suggests significant potential for college extracurricular work to function as initiatory learning in authentic moral leadership. An authentic moral leader, for example, is not motivated for superficial reasons of building a resume or for prestige sake, and nor should mentors prioritize those aspects. This chapter describes many of the details of Emerson's engagements outside the classroom to demonstrate the spirit with which he approached his work and paints a portrait of his growing ethical life and moral leadership. Although not a description of

⁸ Anne Colby and William Damon, *Some Do Care: Contemporary Lives of Moral Commitment*, New York: The Free Press, 1992, 29.

the origins of his moral commitments, I believe his rich extracurricular life shows his intent to apply his emerging moral outlook toward a greater purpose, specifically, the common good. This chapter depicts the following of Emerson's extracurricular activities: the student newspaper *St. John's Record* including a column "Today's History," the annual *Sagatan*, the Scribbler's Union, the Debate Club, the International Relations Club, the Institute for Social Study, links to the Catholic Worker, and some informal activities. The chapter will conclude with a short discussion of these activities.

An accomplished high school student, serious yet with good humor, Emerson arrived to an active campus at St. John's University. The first issue of the *Record* in Emerson's freshman year conveyed some of the activities and culture on the campus in those first weeks, the arrival of the Schubert Trio on campus, the discovery of bison bones while digging a ditch, and the prevalence of smoking both cigarettes – Chesterfields and Camels – and pipes.⁹ The same issue foreshadowed two significant connections for him. The first was the presence of Eugene McCarthy as one of the editors, who, unbeknownst to Emerson at the time, was to play a major role in his life, eventually to take him as aide to the Senator in Washington D.C. The other was an article on Virgil Michel, mentor-to-be – recently and reluctantly returned from White Earth Indian Reservation.¹⁰ Michel addressed the new students on the need for education: "...for the preservation of our noble experiment – democracy, for the betterment of our service to God and man, and for the development of a Catholic philosophy of life. ...the purpose of college is to produce not excellent athletes, but intelligent men with a good

⁹ *St. John's Record*, 46, no. 21 (September 21, 1933): 1-8.

¹⁰ Paul Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1957. 164, 165.

grasp of the true meaning of life.”¹¹ Emerson appears to have embraced this resolve and many of his efforts seemed motivated by this purpose toward a “true meaning of life.”

Emerson enrolled at St. John’s with support of a strong family and he brought a disposition for intellectual thought and a commitment to a discipline of learning. He seemed drawn to activities that would demand he refine and improve his thinking skills. Early that fall, a quote by James Anthony Froude in the *Record* urged self-authorship, “You cannot dream yourself into a character: You must hammer and forge yourself one.”¹² Emerson appeared to already be forging himself as he joined the staff of the *Record*, debate team, and International Relations Club in his first year. He continued on the *Record* for all four years, wrote a current events column in his junior year and became editor in his senior year. He joined the *Sagatagan*, the yearbook, and was editor in his junior year. He was a member of the Scribblers Union¹³ and the St. John’s *Quarterly* advisory board.¹⁴ He attended optional weekend Institute for Social Study events, developed by Father Virgil Michel to bring Catholic Social thought to lay people in the area. Early on, Emerson’s activities demonstrated eager efforts to live a philosophy he articulated in his senior year in an editorial: “the least we can expect of college men is that they will learn to be critical of what they read and hear. Students must learn to think and evaluate and sift the facts from the ballyhoo. There is no time like the present to get off to a good start and to establish the habit of being an intelligent listener and reader.”¹⁵

¹¹ “Deans Give Initial Talks to Students,” *St. John’s Record* 46, no. 21(September 21, 1933): 2.

¹² “You cannot dream...” *St. John’s Record* 46, no. 24 (October 12, 1933): 2.

¹³ “Scribblers Augment Membership of Union in Formal Initiation,” *The St. John’s Record* 48, no. 23 (October 17, 1935): 1.

¹⁴ “Prominent ’37 Graduate to Study Two Years at Notre Dame,” *The Record* 50, no. 18 (August 19, 1937): 1.

¹⁵ “Emerson Hynes, “Politics is Politics (editorial),” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 21 (October 1, 1936): 4.

The *St. John's Record*¹⁶

One benefit of working on the *Record* was an increased awareness of St. John's in the midst of world events. Certainly the notable post-World War I events as well as those leading up to the next great war, all taking place during the years Emerson was in college and on the newspaper staff, fostered an international awareness. Numerous headlines in the *Record* reveal that St. John's was an international center in the 1930s. There are frequent reports of domestic and international activities. During that era the Abbot sent many monks on assignments in the United States and world. Further, St. John's welcomed many international guests. The historic connections of the monastery with its European and Catholic origins also fostered an international awareness. The *Record* often reported on the comings and goings of St. John's monks and other members of the clergy, and on occasion, classes were canceled to receive international visitors.¹⁷

The *Record* reported on cultural and political events. There were, for example, violin concerts¹⁸ and Belgium artist Henri Van Dyck visited.¹⁹ Emerson attended a short dissertation on poetry and poetry reading by Carl Sandburg,²⁰ after which one student commented, "It was splendid, mentally uplifting and enlightening to a high degree – not only that but I liked it."²¹ As a lover of poetry, Emerson likely attended the lecture by Irish poet Maurice Leahy, who commented memorably, "The function of poetry is to establish a link between earth and heaven."²² There were political visitors as well, for

¹⁶ As mentioned in an earlier footnote, the *St. John's Record* changed to *The Record* in 1937. For simplicity, in text I often refer to the student newspaper of any year as the *Record*.

¹⁷ "St. John's Honored by Apostolic Delegate," *St. John's Record* 46, no. 24 (October 12, 1933): 1.

¹⁸ "Violin Concert Given on Tuesday Evening," *St. John's Record* 47, no. 1 (January 11, 1934): 2.

¹⁹ "Belgium Artists Visit St. John's," *St. John's Record* 46, no. 24 (October 12, 1933): 2.

²⁰ "Poetry Class Hears Sandburg at St. Ben's," *St. John's Record* 48, no. 24 (October 24, 1935): 3.

²¹ Timothy Donohue, "Campus Shots," *St. John's Record* 48, no. 25 (October 31, 1935): 1.

²² "Irish Poet Lectures on Catholic Revival," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 28 (November 19, 1936): 1.

example, Congressman Harold Knutson came in October of 1933.²³ Senior senator from Minnesota, Senator Henrik Shipstead, spoke on economic policies and ethics, and in November of 1933,²⁴ and in May of 1935, the former governor of North Dakota.²⁵ In October of 1935, the *Record* reported that educator and author Mortimer Adler spoke on “Ancient Wisdom and Modern Science” both at St. Ben’s and at an educational meeting in St. Cloud, Minnesota.²⁶ Perhaps this was when Emerson became attentive to Adler; Emerson’s later work evidenced connections to him. All students would be made aware of these and many other events, yet those students reporting for the *Record* were perhaps most aware of them.

Regular reporting of the Institute for Social Study by the *Record* increased awareness of many social justice lectures and activities. For example, the *Record* reported in February of 1936 that Virgil Michel brought Christopher Hollis, English historian, biographer, and convert to the Catholic faith, to lecture at the Institute. Expressing his grave concerns of an impending world war, Hollis critically viewed newspapers that did not inform the public of its country’s own policies, that is, “keeps the real news from the public and in its place merely informs the public of that which pleases them.”²⁷ Emerson’s own writing and reporting reflected a responsibly to avoid such an approach. Many other speakers and visitors noted in the *Record* came at the request of Virgil Michel. The Institute for Social Study as an extracurricular activity is discussed later in this chapter.

²³ “Congressman Visits Friends at St. John’s,” *St. John’s Record* 46, no. 26 (October 26, 1933): 1.

²⁴ “Senator Shipstead Speaks at St. Johns,” *St. John’s Record* 46, no. 28 (November 9, 1933): 1.

²⁵ “Friday afternoon, May 24...” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 16, (May 23, 1935): 1

²⁶ “Three Faculty men Attend Educational Meeting in St. Cloud,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 24 (October 24, 1935): 1.

²⁷ “Christopher Hollis Lectures on Europe,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 4 (February 13, 1936): 1.

Interested in journalism, Emerson joined the *Record* staff as a reporter and was involved in the first issue of the academic year.²⁸ During his sophomore year he was appointed news editor.²⁹ In his junior year, Emerson wrote his own column, “Today’s History,” which featured current events, and by his senior year and fourth year as *Record* staff, Emerson took the position of Editor-in Chief. The September 17, 1936 issue lists Emerson as editor,³⁰ the same year Dunstan Tucker succeeded Rev. Theodore Krebsbach as the faculty advisor. The *Record* reported at the end of Emerson’s junior year that he “will succeed Edmund Piotrowski who was responsible for the fine editorials in the *Record* this past year,”³¹ which infers Emerson, as Editor-in Chief would write the editorials for the upcoming year. Most likely this was the case since Emerson no longer wrote the column of his junior year, “Today’s History.” With these two pieces of evidence, this study moves forward with the assumption that the editorials written in 1936-37 were written by Emerson Hynes.

Editor-in Chief Emerson wrote his first column welcoming new and returning students and spoke highly of St. John’s, noting the location, the natural beauty, the credible and dedicated faculty, the fine library, and the rich heritage of the Benedictine tradition. He also wrote of the death of G. K. Chesterton, a man he obviously admired. He wrote words of appreciation to his former faculty advisor, Rev. Theodore Krebsbach, who guided the students in both the *Record* and the *Sagatanagan*, “whose ready wit and sympathy made our work lighter..., demanded nothing of those under his direction that

²⁸ “St. John’s Record,” *St. John’s Record* 46, no. 22 (September 28, 1933): 4.

²⁹ “Piotrowski and Hynes to Be Editors of 1935-’36 Publications,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 16 (May 23, 1935): 1.

³⁰ “Staff,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 19 (September 17, 1936): 4.

³¹ “1936-1937 Editors,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 18 (June 11, 1936): 1

he was not willing to do himself.”³² Krebsbach had guided with kindness,³³ and cared enough to do such things as host a dinner for the staff at end of year.³⁴ In that early editorial Emerson also demonstrated a desire to inspire others. He shared words of wisdom with the first year students and encouraged them to use college as a time to come to know themselves, to learn limits and capacities, develop talents, partake of the Benedictine traditions of prayer and community, and to “join wholeheartedly in our common life.”³⁵

One can see Emerson’s skills of criticism evolving as he advocated for meaningful growth. For example, in one editorial he discussed various campus activities. He compared the pleasure of football and the amusement of puppets to the more thought-provoking activity of a speaker, Mr. Lunn, an analyst of the European scene. Emerson argued that the balance of entertainment should weigh in on the side of Mr. Lunn. Emerson argued that the puppet form of entertainment was merely amusing, but Mr. Lunn amused and provided stimulation to the mind.³⁶ He then went on to critically analyze Mr. Lunn’s talk. Emerson thought him uninformed on the League of Nations, suggesting that Lunn misunderstood the essence of the philosophy of the League. He wrote,

In spite of his erudition he was sadly misinformed and prejudiced when he extemporized on the League of Nations. . . He believes that the philosophy of the League is: that Peace is the highest value in the world and that nothing – culture, sovereignty, religion

³² Emerson Hynes, “A Staff Appreciation” [editorial], *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 19 (September 17, 1936): 4.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ “Record Staff Finally Receive Their Reward,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 17 (May 30, 1935): 7

³⁵ Emerson Hynes, “A Word for the Freshmen” [editorial], *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 19 (September 17, 1936): 4.

³⁶ Emerson Hynes, “Sunday Entertainments – Mr. Lunn and the Puppets,” (editorial), *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 25 October 29, 1936): 4.

– is worth a war. But the very covenant of the League refutes that belief. The League definitely admits that possibility and even desirability of some wars and makes provision for conflicts... The League seeks in principle to eliminate foolish wars of imperialism and false nationalism.³⁷

Although Emerson enjoyed amusements, he found greater pleasure in thoughtful engagement and applied his critical thinking to all of them.

In Emerson's junior year a new column, "Suggestions for Reading," appeared in the November issue of the *Record*.³⁸ That issue included books as well as article reviews from *Commonweal* and *America*, both publications to which Emerson later submitted and published articles. Further, many of the book titles over the months of this column noted authors and titles Hynes cited later in his dissertation at the University of Notre Dame or in book reviews in other publications. The author of this column is not listed, but the readings do often reflect the concerns of the Institute for Social Study and the Catholic Backgrounds course. It could be that the column of suggested readings was a collaborative effort. One can imagine there were many such conversations of books in this tight-knit literary network that published the *Record*, the *Sagatan* and formed the Scribblers Club. Letters later sent as adults between many members in the group referenced some of the authors and topics in the columns.

Emerson's participation and successes with the *Record* staff offered him opportunities to participate in professional events. In Emerson's junior year St. John's sent a delegation of students to the Minnesota College Press Association at Macalester College where he networked with professional journalists and active editors. There he

³⁷ Emerson Hynes, "Mr. Lunn Puts the Wrong Foot Forward" (editorial), *St. John's Record* 49, no. 25 (October 29, 1936): 4.

³⁸ "Suggestions for Reading," *St. John's Record* 48, no. 29 (November 28, 1935): 4.

joined round table discussions with authorities on journalism including an instructor in journalism from the University of Minnesota, an editor of the St. Paul *Dispatch*, and a cartoon columnist from the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, who presented an illustrated lecture on the history of the printing press.³⁹ In his senior year, with Rev. Dunstan Tucker and *Sagatagan* editor Cleve Cram, Emerson attended the second annual convention at St. Olaf and Carlton Colleges in Northfield, where one of the featured journalists was well-known sports editor Halsey Hall from the Minneapolis *Journal*. They also met with students from the College of Saint Benedict and St. Cloud Teachers College (now St. Cloud State University) to elect representatives to the Minnesota College Press Association.⁴⁰ These professional opportunities expanded Emerson's web of journalistic connections.

Emerson's growing professional network was not limited to Minnesota. It also brought him to Catholic intellectuals of the time who stressed historical mindedness and reinforced social justice ethics. In February, 1937, Emerson's senior year and last semester, he and Father Dunstan Tucker went to Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to attend a gathering of over 1,000 editors, faculty advisors, and staff of the newspapers of Catholic colleges and high schools. The theme was the Catholic press and the modern problem, "the philosophy of the Catholic Writer, his responsibility, his need for a historical sense and a knowledge of the social problems."⁴¹ An article in the *Record*, almost certainly written by Emerson since he was the attendee, disseminated some of the content of speeches and discussion. Dr. Ross J. Hoffman emphasized "the necessity for a

³⁹ "Minnesota College Press Association Holds Convention at Macalester, April 24-25," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 13 (April 30, 1936): 2.

⁴⁰ "Editorial Staff at Press Meet," *The Record* 50, no. 5 (February 18, 1937): 1.

⁴¹ "Father Furfey, Hoffman are Principle Speakers: Catholic Press, Modern Problem, Theme of Conference; Father Dunstan and Emerson Hynes Attend," *The Record* 50, no. 6 (Feb. 25, 1937): 1, 2, 1.

sense of historical mindedness, as opposed to mere erudition.”⁴² Hoffman remarked that “the distinguishing characteristics of a historical sense...are the ability to locate the position of today, to see the existing state of the world in its proper place, a sense of perspective, and the ability to reach a luminous understanding of contemporary situations as a result of possessing a genetical understanding.”⁴³ Inspiration for the convention was attributed to another speaker, Rev. Dr. Paul Hanly Furfey, head of the sociology department at Catholic University. He was the author of the then recently published *Fire on Earth*. He advocated for a shift from a scientific based study of society to a God-infused compassion for people united with empirically acquired information. His theology was then radical and now considered to have ties to then forthcoming liberation theology, a theology based on the assumption that for a healthy society for everyone, it must be rooted in divine charity, evidenced in “responsibility by all people for all people.”⁴⁴ At the convention he was “decrying the conditions of the modern world with its poverty and exploitation, its unjustified war, its racial prejudice....”⁴⁵ He outlined a four point response that included discarding worldliness, living as member of the Mystical Body and cultivating charity by prayer, rooting out racial prejudice, and restricting income by almsgiving and living as the early Christians.⁴⁶ Emerson was inspired by the ethical focus on “the philosophy of the Catholic writer, his responsibility, his need for a historical sense and a knowledge of the social problems.”⁴⁷

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid. The word *genetical* is likely used here to mean an understanding of new themes, as in genesis.

⁴⁴ Mary Katherine May, “Fire on Earth: Paul Furfey Book Review,” *Review of Fire on Earth* by Paul Hanly Furfey. *Babamarusia’s Christian Book Review*. 2007. <http://babamarusiascbr.blogspot.com/2007/09/fire-on-earth-paul-furfey-supernatural.html>

⁴⁵ “Father Furfey, Hoffman are Principle Speakers,” 2.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 1.

Following the conference, Emerson editorialized on the role of the Catholic press. “The Catholic Press has taken a stand against the current materialistic philosophies and upholds the true dignity of man.” Yet he recognized while the Catholic Press had limited scale of influence, “it knows its purpose and recognizes its tremendous task....For every Catholic publication there are fifty-six secular papers.”⁴⁸ He asserted that good writers will be read and will achieve a wider audience. He expected that Catholic literature should be held to the same high standards of quality as secular publications. It should be “sound, vigorous, lively material written in acceptable literary style. It is expected to be interesting and satisfying to the class at which it is aimed.”⁴⁹ Hynes did not suggest that articles must be on religious topics, but they ought to be imbued with Christian principles and that the best place to grow good writers with these principles is Catholic colleges.⁵⁰

While Emerson was Editor-in Chief, the *Record* announced a new student literary and art publication, the *Quarterly*, with a call for students to make it a worthy publication. The feature of the publication would be creative work submitted by students, and the articles would coincidentally rely on groups in which Emerson was highly involved: The Social Study Club, the IRC, and the advanced course in Catholic Sociology.⁵¹ Emerson was on the editorial board along with two representatives from the seminary. The advisors were Fathers Angelo and Dunstan and Mr. Steve Humphrey.⁵² He said the first issue made a successful debut, making general remarks but pointing out that

⁴⁸ Emerson Hynes, “The Catholic Press Has an Important Role to Fill” (editorial), *The Record* 50, no. 6 (February 25, 1937): 2.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Emerson Hynes, “Literary Quarterly A Cooperative Task” (editorial), *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 27 (November 12, 1936): 4.

⁵² “First Publication of St. John’s Quarterly Set During Holidays,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 30 (December 10, 1936): 2.

the editorial board made up over one-half of all the contributions, which he wanted to be remedied by more contributions from the general student body.⁵³ Indications are that the following issues of the *Quarterly* responded to this intention. The *Record* reported one student's response to the inaugural issue, "I thought it would be just another one of those things that would give a few budding geniuses a chance to display their wares, but now I see that it really has got something, and us ordinary fellows have just as much chance as anybody else. I've even thought of writing my two cents worth and handing it in."⁵⁴

English teacher Father Conrad, then on leave completing his doctorate, gave positive yet critical feedback on the *Quarterly*, consequently providing Emerson and other participants with the mentorship so valuable to the apprenticeship experience.⁵⁵ Another benefit Emerson could not have known when he started working on the *Quarterly* under the advisement of Steve Humphrey was the beginning of a lifelong friendship.

Humphrey, a teacher well respected through generations at St. John's as a great liberal educator,⁵⁶ was to become professional colleague and close friend when Emerson returned to St. John's after graduate school.

Two additional short columns were initiated during Emerson's time as chief editor. One was called "Guide to New Library Books," which described the new acquisitions in the library, and the other was "Abbey News," which reported on many of the activities of the abbey members at St. John's and other locations.⁵⁷ The "Guide to New Library Books" often intersected in topical areas with the Catholic Backgrounds

⁵³ Emerson Hynes, "The Quarterly Makes a Successful Debut" (editorial), *The Record* 50, no. 3 (February 4, 1937): 2.

⁵⁴ "Student Critics Evaluate Initial Issue of Quarterly," *The Record* 50, no. 3 (February 4, 1937): 1.

⁵⁵ "Criticism of Quarterly Given by Father Conrad," *The Record* 50, no. 5 (February 18, 1937): 1.

⁵⁶ "SJU's Steven B. Humphrey Theater, College of Saint Benedict/Saint John's University, accessed January 9, 2014. <http://www.csbsju.edu/fine-arts/general-information/sbh.htm>.

⁵⁷ "Abbey News," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 26 (November 5, 1936): 2.

class that Virgil Michel was piloting and Emerson was taking, a class already discussed in chapter five as influencing Emerson's graduate work at Notre Dame. For example, one issue of the column listed seven books, one of which was by the Catholic author Hilaire Belloc,⁵⁸ a significant thinker then being read in *Catholic Backgrounds* and later who appeared in Emerson's master's dissertation. The February 18, 1937, issue included eight books again with one by Belloc and also one by Chesterton, another author from *Catholic Backgrounds* who again appeared in the master's dissertation. Chesterton, the column says, had "great alliance with Belloc" and "his steady progress towards God."⁵⁹ On April 8, 1937, some titles that seemed of interest to the studies of Emerson included *Reorganization of the Social Economy* and *Consumers Cooperatives Guide to Philosophy*. Other titles related to *Catholic Backgrounds* and social interest were *The Nationalizing of Business 1878-1898* and *Co-op, a Novel of Living Together*, which was "not so much a story as propaganda for consumer and producer cooperatives."⁶⁰ The April 15, 1937, column included the books *Consumers' Cooperatives Adventure* and *As I was Saying* by G.K. Chesterton,⁶¹ writers and themes that recurred in Emerson's writings and encounters. The next issue included *Easy Essays* by Peter Maurin and *Three Worlds* by Carl van Doren, an analysis of pre and post World War I.⁶² In the last issue of which Emerson was Editor-in Chief, one of the listed books was *Hitler and the Christians* by Waldemar Gurian,⁶³ – perhaps best known as the brilliant founding editor of the journal

⁵⁸ "Guide to New Library Books," *The Record* 50, no. 4 (February 11, 1937): 2.

⁵⁹ "Guide to New Library Books," *The Record* 50, no. 5 (February 18, 1937): 2.

⁶⁰ "Guide to New Library Books," *The Record* 50, no. 9 (March 18, 1937): 2.

⁶¹ "Guide to New Library Books," *The Record* 50, no. 11 (April 15, 1937): 2.

⁶² "Guide to New Library Books," *The Record* 50, no. 12 (April 22, 1937): 2.

⁶³ "Guide to New Library Books," *The Record* 50, no. 16 (May 20, 1937): 2.

*The Review of Politics*⁶⁴ – who Emerson later knew in some way at Notre Dame.⁶⁵ Other titles reflected other interests, for example, *The People, Yes* by Carl Sandberg, a poet that Emerson was drawn to.

His work on the *Record* was valued by his peers. In November, 1936, he returned home to Winnebago for an operation for chronic appendicitis and the *Record* found themselves without an editor. “Rather an orphan than an organ is the week’s *Record*. Reporters, columnists, sports-writers, printers, and above all, the associate editor, find the temporary loss of Editor Emerson Hynes a dire and calamitous event. For the editor walked out, leaving a bewildered staff to edit the paper – and walked out for no reason but to rid himself of an ailing appendix....Perhaps a trifle selfish, but quite sincere, is our wish that Emerson recuperate rapidly; selfish in that we feel a great need for his presence, sincere in that we think he’s a swell fellow, and so want him back soon.”⁶⁶ Emerson did return and continued the work he loved in journalism and the press.

Emerson was also critical of the press and urged his readers to assess exploitations of the press. For instance, after the 1936 election when Roosevelt received a high number of votes despite the united anti-Roosevelt venom of the press, Emerson was reassured that the people could rise above the dictatorial policies, and he called to the duty of college students: “The press is almost the sole instrument of the imperialist, financial as well as colonial, for blinding the intellects of the people and stirring them to fight for a false cause. The press has been so employed in the past, it will be so used in

⁶⁴ Thomas Stritch, “After Forty Years: Notre Dame and The Review of Politics,” *Review of Politics* 40, no. 4 (October, 1978): 437-446.

⁶⁵ Emerson Hynes, “My dear Father Virgil” [letter to Virgil Michel], December 14, 1937, St. John’s Abbey Archives, 3. Emerson describes “ponderous Dr. Gurian with his mammoth body and mammoth mind—he spends hours in the library reading every current periodical in five languages, and the rest of his hours in the cafeteria, eating with huge enjoyment.”

⁶⁶ “Record Sans Editor - - Hynes Hies Homeward,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 28 (November 19, 1936): 2.

the future. Our duty as college educated men is to see that the people do not succumb to such propaganda and to aid them in objectively studying the grievances which are causing the dispute.”⁶⁷

In another scathing criticism, Emerson denounced the loss of literary depth in the emerging media of the time. Regarding the magazine *Life*, he wrote, “at last a publisher has given the American public exactly what it wants – a picture book....It is entirely devoid of essays, articles, stories, poetry, or anything literary. It makes no attempt to form opinion, to provoke thought or to educate. And the United States has given it a landslide vote of confidence....another in a long line of proofs that the modern man does not want to think – that he will do anything to avoid it.”⁶⁸ Emerson’s intent as editor of the *Record* was not merely practicing skills of expression, organization, and leadership; it was also that of applying ethical analysis with critical thinking, a role he felt journalists were obligated to embrace and one he took seriously. That he felt an obligation to provoke thought and to educate was also evident in his column “Today’s History” – written in his junior year and discussed later.

During Emerson’s time as Editor-in Chief, the *Record* celebrated its 50th anniversary as a student publication, of which Emerson was the 27th editor.⁶⁹ He oversaw a special edition that included some history of the *Record* and invited the first editor, Mr. Frank Bernick, to write the editorial, which he wrote on the real purpose of education.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Emerson Hynes, “The Press Receives a Knockout Blow” (editorial), *St. John’s Record*, 49, no. 27 (November 12, 1936): 4.

⁶⁸ Emerson Hynes, “LIFE Takes U.S. By Storm” (editorial), *The Record* 50, no.2 (January 21, 1937): 2.

⁶⁹ “List of Record Editors---1888-1937,” *The Record* 50, no. 1 (January 14, 1937): 6.

⁷⁰ Frank Bernick, “First Record Editor, Mr. Frank Bernick, Writes Editorial Counseling Modern College Student,” *The Record* 50, no. 1 (January 14, 1937): 1. “The real purpose of schooling however is to nurture and cultivate a receptive mind in order that it may perceive, and perceive correctly, judge, and judge rightly, choose for its own use what is suited to the particular individual, and finally, do with an unflagging will what has been selected...In this manner does schooling train and mould (sic) the mind,

The editor and staff also launched a new format to celebrate the Golden Anniversary. Abbott Alcuin Deutsch noted the quality of editorials in the recent years, “not a few were remarkably good, both in thought and expression,” and he expressed his gratitude.⁷¹ The editorial, for which we can assume Emerson wrote as Editor-in Chief, magnanimously recognized the editors, advisors, staff, and faculty who preceded the fiftieth year. He also noted that despite many changes over the years, as a chronicle of the growth of the institution, the *Record* was consistent in its service to the students and alumni and a model of both Christian principles and “the Catholic interpretation of contemporary affairs.”⁷²

Peter Maurin, intellectual author of the Catholic Worker Movement and significant influence with Dorothy Day,⁷³ wrote an essay for the anniversary edition of the *Record*. The introduction to the essay, likely written by Emerson, recalled Maurin being on campus last year for a “most thought-provoking and entertaining lecture ever given in that hall” and introduced him as “a medievalist and a scholar, a fiery orator with early Christian zeal, a champion of social justice who lives the life he preaches (he has been aptly called a modern St. Francis). . . .” The essay, “The Thinking Journalist,” consists of sixteen insightful comments on the role of the journalist and what is good news. Examples include: “3. To tell everyone that a man died leaving two million dollars, may be journalism, but it is not good journalism. 4. But to tell everyone that the man died leaving two million dollars because he did not know how to take them with him by giving

provided the student cooperates assiduously. Precept, example and cooperation reigning day after day, thus are good habits formed, the final result being a man of character.”

⁷¹ “University President’s Message to The Record,” *The Record* 50, no. 1 (January 14, 1937): 1.

⁷² “The Record Through 50 Years,” *The Record* 50, no. 1 (January 14, 1937): 4.

⁷³ Paul Mango, “Why Peter Maurin Matters,” *The Catholic Worker Movement*, Accessed January 11, 2014. <http://www.catholicworker.org/roundtable/pmlegacytext.cfm?Number=67>

them to the poor for Christ's sake during his lifetime, is good journalism. 5. Good journalism is to give the new and the right comment on the news....13. By relating his thinking to the news of the day, the thinking journalist affects public opinion....16. The thinking journalist aims to be a maker of that kind of history that is worth receiving.”⁷⁴

Peter Maurin likely made a profound impression on Hynes, if for no other reason than Emerson seemed to already live by some of Maurin's precepts. I believe that Maurin's commentary on the role of journalists and the news would have resonated with Emerson, who was already writing in a fashion that rejected shallow and sensationalistic journalism. His work on the *Record* led to authorship of the column “Today's History” in his junior year, where he strived to provide thoughtful analysis of events that would spur others' thinking and thereby influence history. He also demonstrated his awareness that writing and publication are actions that hold potential to influence history and thus ought to promote clear understandings towards the common good. As Editor-in Chief in his senior year, Emerson had a sense of his own capacity to guide the *Record* in its day-to-day operations as well as be what Maurin termed the thinking journalist and his aim to affect public opinion.

Early in Emerson's years at St. John's there appeared to be self-awareness on the part of the writers for moral leadership in publishing. For instance, when Emerson was a sophomore there was an editorial for the need to extricate themselves from two depressions, one economic and one moral.⁷⁵ Editorials also give evidence to developing

⁷⁴ “Peter Maurin Writes Easy Essay For Record Anniversary Number,” *The Record* 50, no. 1 (January 14, 1937): 4

⁷⁵ Joseph Duffy, “Bread and Circus!” (editorial), *St. John's Record* 48, no. 2 (January 24, 1935): 4.

concerns over world problems and the rise of Hitler.⁷⁶ One editorial suggested the primary purpose of college is to prepare one for fuller existence and life in world affairs. If one is not trained in social duties, one cannot claim an education.⁷⁷ Emerson, perhaps influenced by the tradition of editor-in chief as moral leader, continued that tradition. For example, as noted in the life overview chapter, his final editorial, “Graduation, its Moral Meaning,”⁷⁸ was a compelling call to graduates for a life of intellectual curiosity and moral leadership in the world. He came to St. John’s with great potential and St. John’s proved to be fertile ground, and the *Record* was a valuable platform to hone skills of thinking, writing, and journalism, as well as be a place for moral leadership.

“Today’s History”

The current events column, “Today’s History,” written by Emerson in his junior year, debuted on December 5, 1935,⁷⁹ the middle of his junior year. Although it was part of his work on the *Record*, it was a contribution to the newspaper unique to Emerson, featured only that year. Here Emerson revealed his distinctive leadership strengths in thinking and writing in his junior year, and perhaps his successes prompted the opportunity to be Editor-in Chief the following year. Launched as “Today,”⁸⁰ by the third week of publication the title was changed to “Today’s History.”⁸¹ The *Record’s* first publication of “Today” lists Emerson Hynes also as news editor; by the next issue,

⁷⁶ Joseph Duffy, “She Hasn’t Been Much of a Teacher” (editorial), *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 10 (March 28, 1935): 4.

⁷⁷ Edmund Piotrowski, “The Collegeman’s Mite: St. John’s mcm 35” (editorial), *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 24 (October 24, 1935): 4.

⁷⁸ Emerson Hynes, “Graduation, Its Moral Meaning” (editorial), *The Record* 50, no. 17 (May 27, 1937): 2.

⁷⁹ Emerson Hynes, “Today,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 30 (December 5, 1935): 2.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Emerson Hynes, “Today’s History,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 32 (December 19, 1935): 2.

Emerson, now a columnist, is no longer listed as staff of the *Record* and is not listed again in the staff section until Edmund Piotrowski passed the torch of Editor-in Chief to Emerson at the end of the year. In the first column of “Today,” the editor, Piotrowski, noted that “the purpose of this column is to present and interpret three or four outstanding items from the news of the week as a student sees it. The facts are authoritative; the interpretation is purely personal.”⁸²

The first column informed on various world events and, as a columnist, Hynes both informed and commented. He referred to the sanctions imposed on Italy and recalled the sacrifices Americans made in 1918 when everyone, Emerson wrote, “sacrificed ‘to make the world safe for democracy.’ How futile and ridiculous that slogan is today! How futile and ridiculous is war!”⁸³ He wrote informatively on the economic implications of a clipper service between San Francisco and the Orient, as well as the division in the United States over a new Canadian tariff treaty. He minced no words on the occurrence that no Nobel Peace Prize was awarded that year, and he chided the world for not producing a man whose efforts warranted the Peace Prize. He dryly noted his gratitude that there is no Nobel Prize for War, then expanded, “The truth of the matter is that there are many nations – notably, Italy, Austria, Germany, and Japan – who do not want peace! Their stand is that Prosperity and War is not as bad as Peace and Poverty. More than likely they are delusioned, for it has yet to be proved that War ever resulted in a lasting prosperity that would not have occurred anyway, or that it is worth the price in lives and money.”⁸⁴

⁸² Hynes, “Today,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 30.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

Later columns addressed a wide range of world events and he often tried to present a perspective for the readers to examine and think for themselves. Some topics were, for example, President Roosevelt and the mounting debt “the almost inconceivable total of \$29,500,000,000;”⁸⁵ Russians taking up with Shakespeare, perhaps because “Russians see Shakespeare as one of the early leaders of the proletarian movement;”⁸⁶ and he gave his reasons why he thought the upcoming world naval conference in London would fail. Hynes paid close attention to events and trends in Europe, for example, following the Anglo peace proposal that would partition Ethiopia for Italy and he examined British economic interests to explain British backing of Ethiopia,

The British prestige has received a severe – and deserved, blow. It establishes the fact, long suspected, that the British championing of Ethiopia was not altruistic but merely the policy of the moment best suited to protect English interests. Now that they realize that the African war is causing such a heavy drain on Italian credit that it may lead to bankruptcy, which in turn would mean dangerous losses to British bankers, they have taken a different attitude toward their belligerent sister. The question now is whether public opinion of the English people will allow this shift. Before the end of this week the governments of France and England will have failed or passed the test. Regardless, the most pessimistic Christmas in many years is the international outlook.⁸⁷

With a developing capacity for critical and ethical thinking, Emerson attempted to examine issues from multiple perspectives while also considering who might benefit from actions and deliberating on outcomes based on what was the current evidence.

⁸⁵ Emerson Hynes, “Today,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 31 (December 12, 1935): 2.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Hynes, “Today’s History,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 32, 2.

Emerson kept a constant eye on the havoc resulting from Mussolini's conquest in Ethiopia. In May 1936 Hynes reported that although the League of Nations had been attempting to prevent the outbreak of war through various strategies including sanctions, "Ethiopia is more or less in a state of anarchy. It is reported that it was the use of poisonous gases which broke the black army and their leader...there is tragedy in this picture of a fleeing emperor leaving behind him a beaten people, a burning capital terrorized by its own citizens, and the wreck of an independent nation which has lost its sovereignty for the first time in twenty centuries."⁸⁸ He thought the League of Nations had had some effect, but its failures were due not to weaknesses in the Covenant, but because Germany, Japan and particularly the United States were not in the League.⁸⁹ He predicted that the United States, not in the League but still bound by treaties that prohibited recognition of loss of sovereignty that resulted from imperialistic methods, would not recognize Italy's annexation of Ethiopia.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, Emerson recognized the "conquest of Africa is complete. The whole vast continent, tiny Liberia excepted, has been parceled out between six European nations who have taken leases for exploitation, incidentally to civilize."⁹¹ He also speculated that Germany remained an unsatisfied European power with no place to send surplus population. Noting Hitler's vague talk of expansion since 1933, Emerson speculated that Russia would be the plan for German expansion.⁹²

As with much of the world, Emerson was wrestling with the confusion of Hitler. As Hitler gained power, there were regular "Today's History" columns concerned with

⁸⁸ Emerson Hynes, "Today's History," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 14 (May 6, 1936): 2.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Emerson Hynes, "Today's History," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 15 (May 14, 1936): 2.

⁹¹ Emerson Hynes, "Today's History," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 16 (May 21, 1936): 2.

⁹² *Ibid.*

“nationalism-crazed Europe,”⁹³ In one issue Emerson remarked, “Hitler has been bringing the German war machine along at a steady clip, until now his land and air forces are a real strength not to be denied. He wants to unite East Prussia to the motherland from which it was so rudely, and thoughtlessly, ripped asunder by the treaty of Versailles; he wants to recover at least part of Germany’s vast colonial empire; he wants to build the confidence of his people and to convince them and the rest of the world that the Germans are the greatest race under the sun. If war is necessary to do this, then war it must be, if not in 1936, then soon.”⁹⁴ Later he commented on the strength of military forces around the world including the largest peace-time US war department appropriation in the history of the United States, “about 550 million dollars,”⁹⁵ and a crucial commentary on the third year of Nazism in Germany in which he called absurd the supposition that Nazism would fall with the death of Hitler. Emerson wrote,

Last week a special *New York Times* correspondent revealed that Hitler will be succeeded by a triumvirate in the event of his death; the men are General Hermann Goering, Air Minister, General von Blomburg, War Minister, and Rudolf Hess, deputy leader of the Nazi party. One cannot help but recall that once, many years ago a certain man by the name of Julius Caesar was succeeded by a triumvirate – Anthony, Lepidus, and Augustus – which did not run very smoothly; but they were not Nordics, and the Nazis see nothing incongruous in the prediction that their party will manage German affairs for at least a thousand years.⁹⁶

⁹³ Emerson Hynes, “Today’s History,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 1 (January 16, 1936): 2.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Emerson Hynes, “Today’s History,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 5 (February 20, 1936): 1.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

Weeks later, in an attempt to understand the broad range of events influencing Hitler's remilitarization of the Rhineland on March 7, 1936, violating both the Versailles Treaty and the Locarno Pact, Hynes commented that the action was "unexpected but not unwarranted."⁹⁷ In a peculiar position, the German people

were forced to sign a treaty that robbed them of legitimate self-respect and made them bear the guilt for the crime of Europe; worse than that, the Treaty could only result in economic suicide – reparation payments alone were enough to insure that. Germany was permitted to retain its sovereignty without any of the rights of a sovereign state.

After all, the important thing to remember is that the Germans are merely rearming their own territory. Their action should not be interpreted as a threat to the peace of Europe but as a stimulant to make France see how her obviously unfair attitude toward Germany is the real threat to peace. Herr Hitler's action of last Saturday is the last of a series of repudiations of the greatest diplomatic mistake in the history – the Treaty of Versailles.⁹⁸

Emerson had likely read the *New York Times* reproduction of Hitler's speech to the German Reichstag on March 7, 1936.⁹⁹ Emerson, so against war, wanted to believe Hitler's plea for peace. Emerson wrote, "Hitler has given them freedom, no matter what else he has done. His offer of a new peace pact in which Germany is regarded as an equal, not as a conquered nation, indicates a sincere desire to keep his people out of war."¹⁰⁰ Emerson would not have known what history played out, that "Hitler understood

⁹⁷ Emerson Hynes, "Today's History," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 8 (March 12, 1936): 2.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ By The, Associated Press, "Text of Chancellor Hitler's Speech to Reichstag, Denouncing Versailles Treaty," *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, Mar 08, 1936. Accessed March 1, 2014. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/101930316?accountid=14070>.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

the indispensable role rhetoric played in his quest for power,”¹⁰¹ of which “an indispensable element of his rhetorical theory was lying.”¹⁰² The world seemed uncertain how to respond to the events of that week. Emerson, along with the great majority of his peers, had peace as his primary concern and was hopeful. “Just what will come of it all is problematical; one of the sagest guesses is that it will not lead to another war and may very likely in the long run brighten the prospects of peace in Europe.”¹⁰³ Later the world saw with clarity of hindsight the viciousness in which Hitler “redefined the meaning of evil forever,”¹⁰⁴ but in 1936 it was still unfolding.

Emerson continued to gather information as a columnist. He paid close attention to the developments in Hitler’s Germany and the situation escalated by Hitler’s move into the Rhineland. Hynes noted that France was calling for sanctions against Germany, although, he alleged, France had broken the treaty in spirit long before. Still, “Hitler must be forced to retreat or to pay the penalty for violation of a sacred treaty.”¹⁰⁵ He discussed the likelihood of France pushing for economic sanctions until Hitler’s troops withdraw from the Rhineland and predicted fatal consequences to the German State as it already struggled to ward off economic collapse. Although Hitler asserted no concern for sanctions, Hynes noted the lack of self-sufficiency of Germany with a sizable dependency on imports such as wool, gasoline, rubber and flax.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Bruce Loeb, PhD, “Hitler’s Rhetorical Theory,” *Relevant Rhetoric*, Volume 1, page 2, accessed January 28, 2014, <http://relevantrhetoric.com/wp-content/uploads/Hitlers-Rhetorical-Theory.pdf>. Bruce Loeb is from the Department of Communication & Rhetoric Studies, Idaho State University.

¹⁰² Ibid. Loeb quotes Hitler: “For myself I would never tell a lie, but there is no falsehood I would not perpetuate for Germany’s sake.” (page 6).

¹⁰³ Hynes, “Today’s History,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 8.

¹⁰⁴ John K. Roth, “Holocaust Politics,” Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001, 87. (Roth quoted from Time magazine website in 1999.)

¹⁰⁵ Emerson Hynes, “Today’s History,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 9 (March 19, 1936): 2.

¹⁰⁶ Emerson Hynes “Today’s History,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 10 (March 26, 1936): 2.

Emerson was striving to understand both as a student and a journalist. This inquiry was supported by his activity in the International Relations Club (IRC) when the club heard Dr. Frank Bohn, who had traveled to Germany and Europe, speak at St. Cloud Teachers College in March 1936. Here Emerson revised his previous conception that Hitler had given the German people freedom. Bohn's travels "had graphically illustrated extreme regimentation and loss of personal freedom of the German people under the Hitler regime... He stressed the need for an economic basis for lasting peace..."¹⁰⁷ Bohn's talk provided analysis and ethical considerations. Emerson summarized Dr. Bohn's talk to declare, "the people in these states deserve sympathy not condemnation, for they are a terrorized people, especially in Germany and Russia." He also discussed Allies' responsibilities that influenced Germany's plight:

Who is to blame: All the nations of Europe to a certain extent since the great powers were jointly responsible for the World War. Russia is explained by an illiterate people suddenly let loose, playing for seven months with anarchy, and then taken over by the best organized minority who happened to be the Communists and by the only leader who happened to be Lenin. The intense greed, the piggish stupidity and blindness of the Allies are responsible for Germany's plight, for as we look back now it is easy to see how Germany was literally starved by the victors. Hitler was a nothing with a wonderfully persuasive voice; he organized six hundred thousand young ruffians (made ruffians, however, by the war and especially by the post war policies of the Allies – starved, homeless, nurtured in war immorality, and most dangerous of all, constantly unemployed.) When the depression made the German people's plight more desperate than ever, he struck; his *putsch* succeeded, and once controlling the newspapers, the radio, the

¹⁰⁷ "I.R.C. Members Hear Dr. Bohn on Europe," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 11 (April 2, 1936): 7.

schools, the courts, and now even the churches, he has conducted a reign of terror which only those who have lived in Germany can describe. Unless every action is preceeded (sic) and followed by a “Heil, Hitler” the secret police – gangsters we call them in America – go out after their man and get him.¹⁰⁸

Emerson came away from Bohn’s talk with a stark reflection, as he wrote in his column, “CAN THE UNITED STATES REMAIN NEUTRAL?”¹⁰⁹ The IRC event supported a broader analysis of Emerson’s endeavor to grapple with the chaos of Hitler.

Emerson did the work of a journalist and citizen as he continued to search out information and meanings and consequently revise his analysis. As he continued to amass a growing understanding of the events of the time, his language grew severely critical of Hitler. Emerson lambasted Hitler for Goebbels’s announcement that the State would be the only source allowed of dramatic, musical and literary criticism. By his last commentary on Hitler in his column, Emerson wrote that Hitler was an “uncultured, house-painting, psychoneurotic, brutal, Nietzschean-like, swell-headed egoist.”¹¹⁰

Emerson followed many other world issues in addition to the rise of Nazism. He had short articles on the socialist and communist struggles in Spain, several on the Italo - Ethiopian situation, events in Japan, and many others. He noted France’s crumbling security, England’s problems arising out of the Ethiopian war, and Japan’s conquest in North China. While realizing major ongoing economic problems, Emerson seemed to take some comfort that America was then free of war threats and believed that public pressure would “force the passage of a Neutrality bill which will make our position even

¹⁰⁸ Emerson Hynes, “Today’s History,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 11 (April 2, 1936): 2.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Emerson Hynes, “Hitler, Dictatorships, and Spain’s General Franco [editorial],” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 30 (December 10, 1936): 4.

more secure.”¹¹¹ He also noted the increasing consciousness of the importance of financial manipulations during times of war as economic provisions were added to the Neutrality Act.¹¹² To be clear, Hynes was not an isolationist and he advocated for the United States to join the League of Nations. “It becomes increasing evident how much stronger the League of Nations would be if the United States were a member, and how impotent it is as long as we stand aloof... We must understand that the world needs us, our prestige, our power and our reputation for square play; and that in a very real sense *we* need to have a peaceful world. The isolationist theory sounds good but it is not practical, and especially, it is not Christian.”¹¹³

In April of 1936, the International Relations Clubs of St. John’s and sister college St. Benedict’s discussed the question of whether America could stay out of the war. In an informal discussion, it was “generally decided that the problem of neutrality for the United States was one of pressing importance, and that it should be a part of our country’s legislation. However, the difficulty in attaining such a goal proves to be the most outstanding problem, and the success of such a movement depends entirely upon the killing of war propaganda and peace education for the people.”¹¹⁴ In the same issue of the *Record*, Emerson writes about the massive increases in Army Air Corps, despite Roosevelt’s assurance that there would be no increase in armaments, “Shortly after President Roosevelt assured the American people in his speech before the Daughters of the American Revolution that the United States would make no increase in its armaments, the House passed the Rogers Act providing for an increase of the Army Air Corps from

¹¹¹ Hynes, “Today’s History,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 1.

¹¹² Emerson Hynes, “Today’s History,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 6 (February 27, 1936): 2.

¹¹³ Emerson Hynes, “Today’s History,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 4 (February 13, 1936): 2.

¹¹⁴ “Joint IRC Groups Discuss Neutrality,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 13 (April 30, 1936): 2.

eighteen hundred planes to four thousand.”¹¹⁵ Although he thought the increases large, he noted that the increases in armaments of other nations had made additions necessary. He also was encouraged by the possibility of the proposed conference of all the North and South American nations, perhaps to form a League of American Nations, which could insure peace despite the ominous preparations in Europe for war. He mulled over the possibility of nationalization of munitions plants to produce munitions for normal peacetime needs – “another step in the elimination of the more apparent causes of war”¹¹⁶ – fearing the bill would become a political plaything and consequently prevent its passage.¹¹⁷ The events in Europe with all the signs of impending war kept Europe a main topic in “Today’s History.” However, the column also branched off into other national issues and areas of interest for Emerson.

Both Emerson’s agrarian roots and his economic analysis skills helped him understand the importance of the Soil Conservation Act. When Roosevelt asked for an increase in a billion dollars in new taxes, one half, that is, five hundred million to finance the new farm program, Emerson wrote,

Literally, the law hopes to prevent erosion and to preserve moisture in the soil by paying benefits to farmers to plant grasses and leguminous crops instead of staple food crops. In reality it is an attempt to stabilize farmer’s prices and to prevent the disastrous prices of 1932 when ten cent per bushel corn was tops. Thirty million acres will be drawn away from staple crop production by the new plan; and the benefits will be paid directly by

¹¹⁵ “Today’s History,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 13 (April 30, 1936): 2.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

the government to the farmers until 1938 when the state governments are expected to have made arrangement to carry on the program.¹¹⁸

When the Act passed, Emerson was hopeful that it would be successful and of more lasting merit than the Agricultural Adjustment Act that it replaced.¹¹⁹ What Emerson began as rural policy analysis in college was brought forward into his professional life, both at St. John's and in the Senator's office. His unique outlook on rural issues, formed by his affections for the land, was continually informed by his study of the effects of agricultural policy on farmers and the land.

On occasion, the "Today's History" column reflected topics of the Institute for Social Study. In the February 6, 1936, *Record*, for example, Emerson writes on money, an ongoing theme in the Institute: "Money is the key to all the current problems; it is the biggest thing in the world today. Of course, money has been the biggest objective of men for a goodly number of centuries, but it is now apparent as never before that the amoeba has grown so big that it is threatening to eat all those who have been adoring it as their god as well as everyone else. Governments are not immune either."¹²⁰ He then commented on problems in the United States regarding lack of money, for example, the soldiers' bonus veto overridden by Congress, the lack of funds for Social Security, and the bankruptcy of modern warfare.

In the last "Today's History" column, Emerson returned to the topic of the Soil Conservation Act and reported it was being well received, "every indication is that it will be more effective than the AAA."¹²¹ He also noted that with the Socialist convention,

¹¹⁸ Emerson Hynes, "Today's History," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 7 (March 5, 1936): 2.

¹¹⁹ Emerson Hynes, "Today's History," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 12 (April 23, 1936): 2.

¹²⁰ Emerson Hynes, "Today's History," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 3 (February 6, 1936): 2.

¹²¹ Emerson Hynes, "Today's History," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 17 (May 28, 1936): 2.

“the 1936 election campaign actually got under way. It was the forerunner of the Republican and Democratic conventions, the former being but three weeks away.”¹²² He noted President Roosevelt’s standing as secure, “with enough pledged delegates to assure him the nomination,”¹²³ and Emerson anticipated comparing the 1936 platform to that of 1932. There was no indication in this final column that it was the last, no grand finale, no words of farewell. The one coincidence, perhaps a foreshadowing, was one topic in the column, the presidential elections. Had Emerson been able to glimpse into the future, he would have foreseen that his professional life would lead him to involvement in a presidential election, although one with his student colleague, Eugene McCarthy, as the candidate.

Emerson’s authorship of “Today’s History,” as with much of his involvement in the *Record*, functioned much like apprenticeships. He had been initiated into the demands of a column that required awareness of world events, analysis, and clear writing. He had deliberated on background research and broader reading, gained skills in writing, and met deadlines. He may not have known it then, but the work of the column in combination with other activities was giving him a unique opportunity in an apprenticeship in thinking. He was accumulating considerable knowledge of many central issues of the time. Further, the examination of the complex world events of that time coupled with the social analysis that was occurring in the Institute for Social Study, to be discussed later, as well as his academic course Catholic Backgrounds, provided catalyst for intellectual and ethical analysis and synthesis.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*

Emerson's early experience grappling with international events likely brought feedback and criticism Emerson could reflect upon and respond to. The responses and discussion that emerge out of what is offered to the public forum is a catalyst for growth, which likely fostered the skills Emerson eventually took to NATO and to his advisement to Eugene McCarthy. To be invited to NATO or to become a legislative assistant is an acknowledgement that he understood the complexities. One does not get to that point without practice, study, and feedback. Emerson had that experience and mentorship beginning at St. John's, which in turn nurtured his ability to later be an advisor.

The Sagatagan

The St. John's yearbook, the *Sagatagan*, named after the pristine lake on campus, was another avenue of learning and a literary outlet for Emerson. The yearbook served "the purpose of recording in concrete form the memories accumulated during the school year. It is an album of college life and as such pictures tell more than many mere words can do."¹²⁴ The faculty advisor was Father Theodore Krebsbach, who was also the advisor for the *Record* for three of Emerson's four years on newspaper. By his sophomore year he, along with two fellow students, had "charge of the Sophomores and Freshmen."¹²⁵ That same year, lauded as "a work of art,"¹²⁶ the *Sagatagan* was dedicated to Father Virgil Michel. He had by then been back on campus for almost two years, equivalent to Emerson's time on campus. Michel had obviously made an impression on the *Sagatagan* staff. The dedication described Michel as "a kindly and forward-looking

¹²⁴ Edmund Piotrowski, "Sagatagan Time" (editorial), *St. John's Record* 49, no. 16 (May 21, 1936): 4.

¹²⁵ "Members of Sag Staff Get Their Assignments," *St. John's Record* 48, no. 3 (February 7, 1935): 3.

¹²⁶ "1935 Sagatagan, With Attractive Novelties, Wins General Acclaim," *St. John's Record* 48, no. 17 (May 30, 1935): 1.

administrator, intent on enkindling in us a zest for earnest scholarship and the will to promote the general weal.”¹²⁷

At the end of Emerson’s sophomore year, already involved in the *Record* as news editor, the IRC, and Debate Club, he was appointed editor of the *Sagatan* for the upcoming year. The *Record* announced his appointment, “He is a hard worker and with him at the head of the annual, it should be as great a success as this year’s.”¹²⁸ The year as editor of the yearbook had been busy for Emerson, and as the distribution date of May 20th neared, a *Record* reporter said, “This 1936 edition will doubtlessly explain the public reticence of its editor who has thus far turned a deaf ear to all news-worthy questions asked him by *Record* reporters. With a twinkle in his eye Editor Hynes has explained that the Annual will sell itself. No journalistic propaganda is necessary.”¹²⁹

Under Emerson’s editorship, the *Sagatan* happily proved to be immensely popular with a lighthearted report of a stampede, “a long queue outside the auditorium, which soon grew into a frenzied mob of fanatical, yelling, shoving males, all striving to get their hands on a *Sagatan*, regardless of whether it was theirs or their neighbor’s.”¹³⁰ Soon there were signings of the annual and comments of praise, but “Emerson Hynes and his assistant hand-outers can tell anyone that a Johnny in search of his ‘Sag’ can also cause a trouser-ruffling melee. Tuesday at 12:15 the first ‘Sag’ was given out and in less than five minutes by the tower clocks scattered groups were giving the latest of that long line of illustrious publications the preliminary once-over.”¹³¹ All this to say that the

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ “Piotrowski and Hynes to be Editors of 1935-’36 Publications,” 1.

¹²⁹ “Yearbook Will Arrive May 20, Says Hynes,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 14 (May 7, 1936): 2.

¹³⁰ “Bargain Sale Tactics Are Used as Students Stampede to Get Annuals,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 16 (May 21, 1936): 1.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

“Sags” were popular and everyone was anxious to get their copy. Hynes was publically congratulated for the fine volume, drawing attention to the time and effort and large number of photographs for which he was responsible¹³² and the year-long efforts of him and his staff.¹³³

Under the advisement of Fr. Theodore Krebsbach, Emerson’s experience as editor of the *Sagatan* proved to be another success. Emerson had overseen a major publication with a staff of his peers, a job requiring scrutiny, attention to details, gathering of information, numerous venues for photography, organization of the information, design, layout, and making arrangements with the printer. During the reign of these responsibilities, Emerson was also news editor for the *Record*,¹³⁴ wrote *Today’s History*, was president of the International Relations Club,¹³⁵ and took seven classes the first semester and six during the second semester, all while getting excellent grades.¹³⁶ Editorship required communication, leadership and organizational skills, and – considering all Emerson was juggling during that year – time management skills. It was undoubtedly a realistic opportunity for Emerson to attend to the details and demands of the profession.

Scribblers Union

Emerson’s literary skills flourished in the *Record* and the *Sagatan*. In September of Emerson’s sophomore year, advisor Rev. Theodore Krebsbach proposed a new writers club, officially known as Scribblers Union, that was to be “composed

¹³² Piotrowski, “Sagatan Time,” 4.

¹³³ “Bargain Sale Tactics Are Used as Students Stampede to Get Annuals,” 1.

¹³⁴ “Staff,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 27 (November 14, 1935): 2.

¹³⁵ “E. M. Hynes Elected President of I. R. C.,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 20 (September 26, 1935): 2.

¹³⁶ “Ten Students Earn High 2nd-Semester Grades,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 18 (June 11, 1936): 2.

exclusively of members of the *Record* and *Sagatagan* staff.”¹³⁷ Its purpose was to improve both publications and also “endeavor to foster a spirit of love for good literature and to encourage and better the individual capabilities of its members.”¹³⁸ That same month, the newly formed organization elected Eugene McCarthy as its president, then also serving on the *Record* staff.

The Scribblers Union appears to have been a less formal club than the *Record* and the *Sagatagan*, although more organized and official than the Wellington Pipe Club,¹³⁹ another small, informal group in which Emerson was noted in the “Campus Shots” column, a column dedicated to student idiosyncrasies, events and humor. In the fall of 1935, Tom Rowan, president of the Scribblers Union, and Emerson conducted a formal initiation of members in which “the candidates for admission were entirely unprepared for the events which took place,” and there was “mystery with which the proceedings were conducted.”¹⁴⁰ It appears that the Scribblers Union may have also served an important social function. One short article in the *Record* notes that they supplemented writing with pingpong. “Any inquisitive freshman who puts his ear to the keyhole at any time of the day or night will hear nothing but the little celluloid ball clacking on the table, and less frequently, against the paddle. . . . Emerson Hynes and Tom Donahue play a fast wicked game. The celluloid simply will not stand up under their slashing strokes.”¹⁴¹ Social opportunities are an important part of the extracurricular work. In Emerson’s case, some of the bonds that were formed were lifelong. The family

¹³⁷ “Staffs Organize Scribblers Union,” *St. John’s Record* 47, no. 20 (September 20, 1934): 1, 2. 2.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Len Heitzmann and Ach O’Toole, “Campus Shots,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 21 (October 1, 1936): 3.

¹⁴⁰ “Scribblers Augment Membership of Union in Formal Initiation.” 1.

¹⁴¹ “Scribbler’s Supplement Writing With Pingpong,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 27 (November 14, 1935): 3.

archives hold many letters from friends made during these literary endeavors, and some of those letters report treasured visits to one another.

The *St. John's Record*, the *Sagatan*, and Scribblers Union were all outlets for Emerson to hone those literary skills of thinking and expression, organizational skills, and a place to grow strong friendships. These were not, however, the only extracurricular activities that enhanced Emerson's skills. Emerson also participated in the Debate Club, the International Relations Club, and the Institute for Social Study.

Debate Club

Emerson got involved with the debate club in his first semester at St. John's. As is typical in debate leagues, then and now, St. John's students had to be ready to argue either side of a motion. Examining multiple perspectives of an issue is an essential component of critical thinking.¹⁴² Consequently, debate can function as an apprenticeship in critical thinking as well as an opportunity to apply research and oral skills. During the time Emerson was involved in the debate league, all the motions dealt with international issues, which effectively corresponded with his involvement in the International Relations Club and the Institute for Social Study. Debate members acquired "training in quick and accurate thinking; the constant matching of their wits with those of their opponents develops self-reliance and confidence in themselves; and the poise and cultural expansion they receive, marks them for leadership."¹⁴³

¹⁴² "To Analyze Thinking We Must Identify and Question Its Elemental Structures," Foundation for Critical Thinking, 2007. Accessed January 12, 2014. <http://www.criticalthinking.org/ctmodel/logic-model1.htm>

¹⁴³ "Pi Kappa Delta Announce Subject of Debate for Year," *St. John's Record* 46, no. 29 (November 16, 1933): 1.

In addition to the already mentioned skills, debate also created the conditions for encountering critics and adversaries. “Friendly critics and adversaries”¹⁴⁴ is one of the seven influences of leadership noted by Shoup.¹⁴⁵ Among many skills in working with one’s critics and opponents, conversation being an important one, the ability to state one’s position effectively while simultaneously understanding the position of the other is distinctly fostered in debate league participation.

The Debate Club attended college debates as observers. In December of 1933, Emerson’s first year, they took a bus to St. Cloud Teacher’s College¹⁴⁶ where they heard a team representing Cambridge University of England debate with the St. Cloud team. “The proposition was – Resolved: ‘that a League of Nations is the only guarantee of permanent peace.’”¹⁴⁷ It was a good experience, especially for the first year students. “The fact that the contestants were citizens of different countries, coupled with the timely topic under discussion, made the debate unusually keen and interesting. Many valuable pointers were gained by the members of the St. John’s squad, especially by the freshmen who are out for the team and who had never heard a college debate before.”¹⁴⁸ The *Record* reported a pleasant evening and that the students “were much impressed by the frequent use of humor with which both teams spiced their talks without permitting the cogency of their arguments to suffer thereby.”¹⁴⁹ It was a distinctive opportunity for the team members to see an example of international interaction on an international topic by a college cohort.

¹⁴⁴ Shoup, *A Collective Biography of Twelve World Class Leaders*, 27.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Now St. Cloud State University in St. Cloud, Minnesota.

¹⁴⁷ “Debate Club Hears Cambridge Debaters,” *St. John’s Record* 46, no. 32 (December 7, 1933): 1.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

The subject of debate that same season, Emerson's first year, was announced by the National Chapter of the Pi Kappa Delta Debating Society, which was accepted by college and universities at that time.¹⁵⁰ When the Johnnie first-year students debated the St. Benedict's team in a non-decision debate in February 1934, the proposition was stated as follows, "Resolved that the powers of the President should be substantially increased as a settled policy."¹⁵¹ The team advisor, Mr. Garland Taylor, wanted Emerson and two other first-year students to get some experience in applying techniques of debate.¹⁵² The three men upheld the negative against the St. Ben's women.¹⁵³ The 1934-35, Emerson's sophomore year, inter-collegiate debate resolution was, "Resolved: That the nations should agree to prevent the international shipment of arms and munitions."¹⁵⁴ In February 1935 Emerson, now considered a veteran debater, argued the affirmative on the motion against a Macalester team.¹⁵⁵ A week later they went to Concordia College in Moorhead.¹⁵⁶ Emerson also debated in Duluth,¹⁵⁷ and St. Thomas,¹⁵⁸ and in tournaments.¹⁵⁹ In March of that same spring, he and his teammate, Robert Devitt, met the Macalester team again, but this time argued the negative on the question of arms and munitions. The St. John's team argued on two points,

That such a plan could not work because of the existing system of alliances which are absolutely necessary to preserve the safety of a majority of the nations of the world

¹⁵⁰ "Pi Kappa Delta Announce Subject of Debate for Year," 1.

¹⁵¹ "Johnnie Freshmen Debaters To Engage St. Benedict Team on Thursday Night," *St. John's Record* 47, no. 4 (February 8, 1934): 5.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ "Hughes Announces Pi Kappa Delta Question," *St. John's Record* 47, no. 28 (November 15, 1934): 1.

¹⁵⁵ "Johnnie Debaters Meet Macalester," *St. John's Record* 48, no. 3 (February 7, 1935): 3.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁵⁷ "Johnnie Debaters Meet Duluth Team," *St. John's Record* 47, no. 7 (March 1, 1934): 1.

¹⁵⁸ "Debaters Will Meet Talented Opposition," *St. John's Record* 48, no. 8 (March 14, 1935): 1.

¹⁵⁹ "Johnny Debaters Take Part in Tournament," *St. John's Record* 48, no. 7 (March 7, 1935): 1.

from the imperialistic major powers. And second, that even if the plan could be put into effect, it would be undesirable because it would work an injustice and a hardship upon small nations and upon the non-aggressive nations, and because the plan would tend to intensify rather than alleviate the prime causes of war, especially the evil of nationalism.¹⁶⁰

Apparently Emerson was quite successful in his debate activities, at least once advancing to the 6th round¹⁶¹ and on “St. John’s number one team.”¹⁶² When Emerson got a black eye for reasons unknown, it gave the campus columnist and debate partner Bob Devitt an opportunity for jest: “Various theories have been expounded as to the sources of Emerson Hynes’ black eye. Of course, Hynes tells some story about a door or a basketball game or something, but we’re sure that there was something more forceful than those to discolor that eye. Some have even said that it was gained in a debate scrimmage.”¹⁶³ By junior year Emerson was not listed as one of the debaters returning from the previous year.¹⁶⁴ It is unlikely that Emerson declined debate for lack of interest. He likely would have found himself absorbed by the motion “Resolved: that Congress should be permitted by two-thirds majority vote to override any decision of the Supreme Court declaring a law unconstitutional.”¹⁶⁵ He had taken on many responsibilities beyond his academic commitments, which were considerable. He was editor for the *Sagatagan*, president of IRC, on the editorial staff of the *Record*, author of “Today’s History,” and almost certainly attended some weekend sessions of the Institute for Social Study.

¹⁶⁰ “Debaters Clash With Macalester On Arms and Munitions Question,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 9 (March 21, 1935): 1,3.

¹⁶¹ “Johnny Debaters Take Part in tournament,” 1.

¹⁶² “Debaters Will Meet Talented Opposition,” 1.

¹⁶³ Bob Devitt, “Campus Shots,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 5 (February 21, 1935): 2.

¹⁶⁴ “Debate Group Hold Initial Discussion,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 27 (November 14, 1935): 1

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Perhaps he had refined his skills of debate and, needing to prioritize his time, narrowed his focus to other challenges.

Debate challenged its participants to increased awareness, organization of information, and clear articulation. It increased fluency in issues through developing research skills and dialogue with team members and opposing teams. Yet simply having information was not enough. Debate also demanded critical analysis of data, particularly concentrated analysis from multiple points of view. Further, it required public expression, the clear articulation of the elements of the topic, understandings of the nuances, and the implications of points of view. For Emerson, it was an ideal forum to combine many of the same skills he was polishing in his literary work and directing them into the public speaking arena.

Emerson did have other public speaking successes following debate. For example, in his senior year, St. John's held its first extemporaneous speech contest with contestants speaking for five to ten minutes on literature and some phase of American family life. Emerson stood on his own abilities in this event. Graded on content, delivery, and adaptability, Emerson won first honors, fifty points ahead of the next contestants. Likewise, his work with the International Relations Club provided multiple opportunities for another form of public conversation.

The International Relations Club (IRC)

International Relations Clubs were organized to foster discussion of international problems under the support of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, founded in 1910 and now a global think tank. Clubs were organized in many countries of the world, by the mid-1930s there were over 600 in the United States and 156 in other

countries. They were primarily in colleges and universities “to fix the attention of students on those underlying principles of international conduct, of international law, and of international organization which must be agreed upon and applied if peaceful civilization is to continue.”¹⁶⁶

The St. John’s IRC “was organized to obtain a better understanding of international efforts and to help in any logical way to foster peace efforts, the Club endorsed the plan of the World Peace Federation.”¹⁶⁷ Founded by Francis Lederer, the World Peace Federation aimed to organize systematic efforts for peace, and was part of an effort to “organize in small groups and agitate for at least some sort of plan by which the American public will be protected from any more deceiving wars fought for empty principles and backed by the unethical capitalists of our great Republic.”¹⁶⁸

In this club, Emerson was building many of the skills of conversation for which he was known later in his life. For Emerson, a necessary part of worthy discussion was disciplined analytical thinking skills, and the necessary foundation for fostering those skills was organized and broadminded study. The IRC was a place where he practiced this approach and was a leader in these skills. He explained that the IRC was

organized to study the causes of international harmony and friction. The members might attempt to present solutions, but the primary aim of the club is to instill into its members an impartial and non-partisan broadmindedness and judgment in weighing and discussing national and international problems. The club found that a certain minimum

¹⁶⁶ “I. R. C. Delegates to Meet in Sioux Falls,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 10 (March 26, 1936): 7.

¹⁶⁷ “I. R. Club Sponsors Student Peace Vote,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 28 (November 21, 1935): 1,7.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

amount of history and research technique was needed to enable a student intelligently to take part in its meetings.¹⁶⁹

Emerson's involvement and positions in the IRC meant he traveled off campus for club events. He was a delegate to the Mississippi Valley Conference in April 1934, where he attended to "discuss world affairs jointly, attend to business matters, and principally, to secure renowned authorities to speak on the current trends in international relations."¹⁷⁰ In 1935 he was again selected as a delegate to the spring round table conference in St Paul, and he was also selected to act as the chairman and to preside "over the discussion on the International Munitions Trade."¹⁷¹ The 1935 spring conference illuminated the concerns of the time and foreshadowed a changing world. Topics included European interdependence and the suggested solution of economic unification; Hitler's foreign policy; the economic munitions trade – Emerson's round table discussion leadership; and China's international position.¹⁷²

One particular IRC event became an adventure. In March 1936 Emerson, by then president of the St. John's IRC, despite flooded highways, made a very determined effort to travel to Sioux Falls, South Dakota as a delegate to the Mississippi Valley Conference, sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, to preside at a roundtable discussion.¹⁷³ The main topic of the conference was the economic nationalism inimical to international relations. The keynote speaker from Austria, Dr. Josef Kunz, analyzed the

¹⁶⁹ Emerson Hynes, "An Organized Study of International Relations" (editorial), *The St. John's Record* 49, no. 23 (October 15, 1936): 4.

¹⁷⁰ "St. John's Delegates Attend I.R.C. Meeting," *St. John's Record* 47, no. 10 (April 12, 1934): 1, 2.

¹⁷¹ "Hynes to Conduct I.R.C. Roundtable," *St. John's Record* 48 no. 10 (March 28, 1935): 3.

¹⁷² "St. John's Students Attend Conference," *St. John's Record* 48, no. 13 (May 2, 1935): 1, 2

¹⁷³ "Internat'l Relations Club Delegates Will Meet in Sioux Falls," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 10 (March 26, 1936): 1, 7.

“*Status quo versus Revision*”¹⁷⁴ philosophy of post-war Europe, examining treaties of the last 400 years and blindness of static settlements. He remarked that the aim of law is to provide both security but also admit change, “for security alone leads to injustice (Germany after the Treaty of Versailles) or to chaos which is war; and change alone leads to anarchy.”¹⁷⁵ Nine subtopics that reflected a range of current and critical interests throughout the world were the subjects of roundtable discussion, but the topic of Hynes’s roundtable was not listed.¹⁷⁶ Hynes and his IRC companion Joe Boese, due to the floods, had spent fourteen hours in Willmar trying to get to Sioux Falls, and then missed by two minutes the train returning to St. John’s. Thus they had to “bum” a ride, presumably hitchhiking, back to St. John’s on a very early, cold spring night. He was later teased by friend Tim Donohue, writer of “Campus Shots,” who referred to Emerson as “Father Hynes.” Donohue wrote, “[Emerson] found a new love in the line of cities, he thinks Sioux Fall is the ‘tops,’ thus causing the boys from that fair city to throw out their chests. However, since the only other town he’s seen is Winnebago you can’t take too much comfort in the statement.”¹⁷⁷

Emerson’s involvement in the IRC also meant he received visitors on and off campus, which opened opportunities for conversations with campus guests. For example, in his senior year English economist Christopher Hollis returned to St. John’s to speak and, with typical Benedictine hospitality, the IRC hosted him as a guest at an informal

¹⁷⁴ “Joseph Boese Is Highly Acclaimed for Paper at I.R.C. Conference,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 11 (April 2, 1936): 1.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ “Internat’l Relations Club Delegates Will Meet in Sioux Falls, 1, 7.

¹⁷⁷ Timothy Donohue, “Campus Shots,” *The St. John’s Record* 49, no. 11 (April 2, 1936): 3.

dinner.¹⁷⁸ Meeting speakers, presenting papers and leading numerous round table discussions all opened opportunities for conversation.

Emerson was elected president of the IRC early in his junior year, one of the most active clubs on campus and taken seriously by its members.¹⁷⁹ That fall, in order to foster increased intentionality of club members, he oversaw a move to tighten the membership application process.¹⁸⁰ Still, there was a drive for new members and Emerson addressed the student body to describe the purpose, procedure, and nature of the work of the club.¹⁸¹ He opened the first meeting to both extend welcome and to outline the aims of the club, which were “the acquirement of better understanding between the nations of the world and to insure peace and concord.”¹⁸² He then introduced students who talked on “The Constitution and the New Deal.” Other topics included “Recent Trends in British Foreign Policy,” “The Problem of the Far East,” “Hitler’s Germany,” and “The Italo-Ethiopian Situation.”¹⁸³ In December of that year Emerson chaired the round table discussions at the College of St. Benedict’s on the Italo-Ethiopian situation.¹⁸⁴ During that same year, the IRC and Debate clubs were provided with a seminar room for both club gatherings and some classes,¹⁸⁵ which showed college support for the work of the IRC and debate club. Both clubs could meet in the seminar room for mutual studies and conversation aimed for “deeper understanding and appreciation of the subject matter”¹⁸⁶ in the fields in which the students were working. As president, Emerson gained experience in public

¹⁷⁸ “C. Hollis to Visit, Speak Here Again,” *The Record* 50, no. 5 (February 18, 1937): 1.

¹⁷⁹ “I.R.C. Demonstration on Sunday Evening,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 21 (October 3, 1935): 1.

¹⁸⁰ “E.M. Hynes Elected President of I.R.C.,” 2.

¹⁸¹ “I.R.C. Demonstration on Sunday Evening,” 1.

¹⁸² “International Relations Club Demonstration of Last Sunday Evening Arouses Student Interest,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 22 (October 10, 1935): 1.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ “I. R. C. Club Members Hold Joint Session,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 30 (December 5, 1935): 2.

¹⁸⁵ “Seminar Room Provided for Advance Courses,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no.21 (October 3, 1935), 1.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

address and facilitating meetings as well as working with infrastructure needs through the acquisition of a space where resources could be used more effectively.

1935-36 was a tenuous time in world events while Emerson was the president of the IRC, a world trying to recover from World War I and stumbling toward another. Editorials in the *Record* reflected students' growing concerns about Mussolini marching on Addis Ababa and concerns about being pulled into a European war. One editorial approved the spirit of conscientious objection to the "aims of the always embattled capitalists... no fighters – no fighting."¹⁸⁷ Struggling to make sense of the catastrophes of WWI, an editorial in November of 1935 asked if it could be worth the price considering the masses of men mobilized, the 9,000,000 died in action, 22,000,000 wounded – 7,000,000 of those permanently disabled, and the 5,000,000 missing. There was a palpable fear that although the dove of peace came out after the war and idealists thought it safe for all time, that yet again the world was caught up in "that same insidious web of international entanglements which made the Great War possible."¹⁸⁸

As part of the IRC's "aim to help in any logical way to foster peace efforts,"¹⁸⁹ the club directed the campus participation in the World Peace Federation's peace vote held around the world. The IRC distributed cards by which the students could "help avert the awfulness of another and far greater world cataclysm."¹⁹⁰ The effort intended to

outlaw war by a nation-wide popular vote, to be held in every country throughout the world simultaneously, on the question of war in order that the people should have the opportunity, in a legal way, to express their viewpoint towards this greatest curse of

¹⁸⁷ Edmund Piotrowski, "The Marching Man" (editorial), *St. John's Record* 48, no. 25 (October 31, 1935): 4.

¹⁸⁸ Edmund Piotrowski, "Is it Worth the Price" (editorial), *St. John's Record* 48, no. 26 (November 7, 1935): 4.

¹⁸⁹ I. R. Club Sponsors Student Peace Vote," 1.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

humanity. The result of this vote to become an amendment to the constitutions of all countries, thus outlawing war as a means of settling international differences. The World Peace Federation is a non-political, non-profit, and highly patriotic organization and therefore favors adequate national defense in times when invasion into foreign countries is still possible. If you are opposed to war and believe that you should have the right to vote on this vital issue, the World Peace Federation gives you the only means of expression by which governments are informed of the will of the people.¹⁹¹

The results of the peace pledge ballot sponsored by the IRC showed “that 465 of the faculty and students of St. John’s ardently desire world peace.”¹⁹² Over ninety percent¹⁹³ registered their “protest of war as a means of settling disputes.”¹⁹⁴ The same Christmas week the *Record* reported the peace pledge survey, it also editorialized that to have peace to men of good will meant intentional work with a will for peace and aid to fellow people. Further, “The manner in which the local student body responded to the recent peace vote sponsored by the International Relations Club attests to the fact that modern youth is aware of its duty and its burden. The resulting total of some 465 students and faculty members who registered their vote give ample proof of the current trend of thought of those who will have to do the fighting in any possible future belligerency.”¹⁹⁵ Awareness and concern of the tenuous world situation remained high on campus. After Hitler sent armies into the Rhineland, an editorial commented on the war hysteria

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² “Peace Enrolls Many Johnnie Advocates,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 32 (December 19, 1935): 3.

¹⁹³ “School Enrollment Reaches New High,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 19 (September 19, 1935): 1. At the time of the survey, there were 327 students in the college and 114 in the college preparatory division that year, and 64 in the department of theology, a total of 505 students.

¹⁹⁴ “Peace Enrolls Many Johnnie Advocates,” 3.

¹⁹⁵ Edmund Piotrowski, “Glory to God in the Highest” (editorial), *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 32 (December 19, 1935): 4.

gripping the world and that the “oldsters....perhaps with the best of intentions, they have done nothing but prepare the stage for the tragedy that we young people will have to act out when the curtain rises.”¹⁹⁶

Emerson joined writing with analysis and spoke out to his peers about the importance of doing so. He wrote in an editorial: “there is a difference between literacy and culture, between being able to read and write and being able to think. The American system has turned out an amazing number of fact-repeating young people who know all the rules, formulas, and statistics and nothing about their application or about appreciation of those things which rise above mere facts.”¹⁹⁷ Emerson wrote about many disturbing world issues in the column “Today’s History” while president of the IRC. The two extracurricular activities connected in ways to powerfully support each other; both activities required research, analysis, and writing skills, and often intersected in content. It seems likely that his success in both activities confirmed what faculty advisors had already noticed, that Emerson was exceptionally intelligent, very capable, as well as enjoyable to work with. More doors of opportunity opened; he was appointed Editor-in-Chief of the *St. John’s Record*, and became class president. In all likelihood, both experiences further positioned him to be invited into and be successful in the Catholic Backgrounds course, which furthered both deeper intellectual understanding and ethical analysis of the problems of the day.

Institute for Social Study

The Institute for Social Study was a collaboration of Emerson’s mentor, Rev. Virgil Michel, with the State Federation of Catholic Societies – also known as the Central

¹⁹⁶ Edmund Piotrowski, “The Meek Shall Possess the Land,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 8 (March 12, 1936): 4.

¹⁹⁷ Emerson Hynes, “American Education Week Proclaimed by Roosevelt” (editorial), *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 26 (November 5, 1936): 4.

Verein. One weekend per month individuals from St. John's and the surrounding community would meet to present and listen to lectures and engage in discussions. By the time Hynes was a senior, many of the papers of the Institute were to be published as a series of pamphlets for those "interested in a remedy for the economic and social ills of the world."¹⁹⁸ Virgil Michel was a regular presenter.¹⁹⁹ Additional influential presenters included Dunstan Tucker,²⁰⁰ Martin Schirbir,²⁰¹ Ernest Kilzer, Walter Reger, and Godfrey Diekmann.²⁰² A wide range of problems were addressed including, for example, "Modern Individualism and Its Social Effect,"²⁰³ and "The Basis of Human Rights."²⁰⁴ Issues of property and ownership were presented by Mr. Kunkel from the Central Verein, who explained that the capitalist system is not from Catholic doctrine, but rather an outgrowth of the 18th century and a pagan system. He suggested "the hope for the future lies in small groups like the Social Study Club."²⁰⁵ Virgil Michel presented on "The Historical Survey of Ownership" and "Purpose and Duty of Ownership,"²⁰⁶ and "Capitalism, Ownership, and Finance."²⁰⁷ It also extended into greater Minnesota, for example, a series of eight lectures on the *Quadragesimo Anno*,²⁰⁸ the encyclical by Pope Pius XI on the reconstruction of the social order, was begun by Father Virgil Michel in St. Paul as part

¹⁹⁸ "Printing Complete on Study Club Pamphlet," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 30 (December 10, 1936): 2.

¹⁹⁹ "Institute for Social Study has Meetings Last Week-End," *St. John's Record* 48 no. 1 (January 17, 1935): 1, 3. "Fourth Conference of Institute Held," *St. John's Record* 48, no. 12 (April 11, 1935): 1, 3. These are two examples. Virgil Michel presented at almost every Institute.

²⁰⁰ "Fourth Conference of Institute Held," 3.

²⁰¹ "Social Study Group Meets Last Week-End," *St. John's Record* 48 no. 8 (March 14, 1935): 1, 3.

²⁰² "Institute for Social Study Meets Feb. 9, 10," *St. John's Record* 48 no. 4 (February 14, 1935): 1, 2.

²⁰³ "Institute for Social Study has Meetings Last Week-End," 3.

²⁰⁴ "Social Study Group Meets Last Week-End, 3.

²⁰⁵ "Fourth Conference of Institute Held," 3.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ "Economics is the Main Topic of Discussion at Second Meeting of Social Institute," *St. John's Record* 48, no. 28 (November 21, 1935): 2.

²⁰⁸ Pope Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*, 1931. Accessed January 14, 2014, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19310515_quadragesimo-anno_en.html

of the Institute.²⁰⁹ In due course the lecture circuit reached into Chicago and Grand Rapids.²¹⁰

The Institute was intended as a gathering of “Catholic young men who are interested in the attitude of the Church toward our modern social problems.”²¹¹ Rev. Virgil Michel, proposed the formation of a local chapter of the Minnesota Central Verein in order to train the Catholic laity by “inculcating ideals of social and political justice, to assume its rightful place in the affairs of society. Too many of our Catholic lay people are content to live their lives according to the prescribed precepts without any thought of applying their principles in the common attempt to make this a better world in which to reside.”²¹² The Institute for Social Study was an opportunity for “training for a true Christian outlook on problems of our day; and the development of a new and fresh method of attack on certain influences pernicious to truth and justice and freedom.”²¹³ Although the Institute was designed primarily for the Central Verein, Virgil Michel urged the student body to take interest in social problems “not so much to correct you in matters of discipline as they are to arouse in you an interest in the social changes now taking place.”²¹⁴ A man of action, Virgil Michel also organized a student unit for social study, in which students prepared and presented papers.²¹⁵

Although the weekend institutes were developed for delegates from the Central Verein, Emerson was exposed to the Institute through several means. First, since it was

²⁰⁹ “Social Institute to Hold First Meeting on October 26, 27,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 23 (October 17, 1935): 1.

²¹⁰ “Rev. Virgil, Dean, To Make Extensive Trip,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 29 November 28, 1935): 1.

²¹¹ “Social Study Group Meets Last Week-End, 1.

²¹² Edmund Piotrowski, “What is Your Opinion?” (editorial), *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 27 (November 14, 1935): 4.

²¹³ Joseph Duffy, “The Institute for Social Study” (editorial), *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 1 (January 17, 1935): 4.

²¹⁴ “Dean Urges Interests in Social Problems,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 1 (January 17, 1935): 2.

²¹⁵ “Dean Organizes Student Unit for Social Study,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 28 (November 21, 1935): 1.

the sort of event that Emerson was very interested in, he was likely in the student unit mentioned above. Second, the detailed reporting of the weekend sessions could have only been written by students who attended and participated in round table discussions, and as a writer for the *Record*, it is likely that some of those reports were written by Emerson. Also, he was likely encouraged by faculty to attend. For instance, he had the courses Catholic Revival, taught by Fr. Dunstan Tucker, and Principles of Sociology, taught by Rev. Ernest Kilzer, both regular presenters at the Institute whom most likely encouraged attendance. In the spring of 1935, the *Record* reported that Virgil Michel reviewed the value of the Institute and regarded students' involvement: "Not only have the students gained considerably," but the faculty had also.²¹⁶ As an academically motivated and successful student, Emerson was likely one of those involved. One means of Emerson's involvement was through one of his courses, Social Movements and Community Projects,²¹⁷ in which the students read papers and led discussions at the Institute that year.²¹⁸ The *Record* reports that Emerson presented to the Institute,²¹⁹ and a letter from Emerson to Rev. Vigil Michel confirms that Emerson lectured at the Institute in his senior year.²²⁰

One Institute for Social Study during Emerson's sophomore year was on the theme of family. One speaker, Miss Margaret Sullivan, spoke on Christian feminism. Another speaker on the Christian family noted the equality between husband and wife. Fr. Roger Schoenbechler spoke on the breakdown of family, noticing traditionally

²¹⁶ "Virgil Michel Reviews Values of Institute," *St. John's Record* 48, no. 16 (May 23, 1935): 3.

²¹⁷ College transcript for Emerson Hynes, Hynes family archives. Emerson's transcript from St. John's confirms he was in this class.

²¹⁸ "Institute for Social Study to Reconvene," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 23 (October 15, 1936): 1.

²¹⁹ "Social Institute Completes First Semester Conferences: Quadragesimo Anno, Typical Coops, Are Discussed," *The Record* 50, no. 1 (January 14, 1937): 2.

²²⁰ Emerson Hynes, "My dear Father Michel" [letter], December 14, 1937, St. John's Abbey Archives.

Catholic concerns of neglect of family prayers, but also social forces that took family members away from the home, sweat shops, child labor, lack of proper food for the working class, non-ownership of the home, and the doctrine of individualism.²²¹

Although it is unknown if Emerson attended this particular session, he seemed to have carried forth a philosophy of equality between husband and wife. His daughter Mary, for example, recalled how highly Emerson esteemed and valued the work of Arleen, his wife, both in and outside the home. Further, Mary, a university professor, said her father never suggested either overtly or covertly that she could not succeed in her activities and work. She grew up believing her father thought she could flourish in any profession.²²²

In his junior year the Institute for Social Study had one weekend on economics, a topic Virgil Michel wanted to address.²²³ Another weekend of the same year, Rev. Virgil presented on both socialism and labor unions based on the *Quadragesimo Anno*, Rev. Dunstan Tucker on modern culture, and Rev. Ernest Kilzer on distributism. Kilzer upheld distributism to be a remedy to the economic ills of the day, breaking up of monopolies, creating smaller industrial units, and the back to the land movement would bring a sound economic system to benefit all “rather than the mere few who now receive partially all the benefits arising from industry.”²²⁴ Emerson later wrote on distributism and included some related concepts in his dissertation. Many Institute weekends focused on economics to deepen understanding of its connections to social problems and consider the consequent social implications. For example, Virgil Michel presented on the nature and purpose of money, which looked at historical considerations, barter, credit, and

²²¹ “Social Study Group Discusses ‘Family,’” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 15 (May 16, 1935): 1, 3.

²²² Mary Hynes, personal communication, January 12, 2013.

²²³ “Social Study Institute to Meet This Week-End,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 24 (October 24, 1935): 1.

²²⁴ “Social Study Institute Convenes, Dec 14-15,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no.32 (December 19, 1935): 3.

analysis of problems of money. In this same event, Peter Maurin from *The Catholic Worker*, whom Emerson later met again and corresponded with,²²⁵ participated and responded, stressing that Catholic laity have a duty to solve economic and social problems. Further, Maurin added, non-Catholics look to Catholics for leadership and knowledge of true principles.²²⁶

In February 1936 the Institute focused on civil powers and the need and purpose of a civil society.²²⁷ Another session was on communal life and activities including the houses of friendship (Hospitality Houses).²²⁸ One weekend of study focused on action, specifically, the organization of study clubs as a means to remedy that too many lay people knew more about mundane matters than about their religion.²²⁹ When Emerson returned to be part of the faculty at St John's in the fall of 1939, he almost immediately started organizing study clubs. He worked with the Catholic Rural Youth Information Center, which possibly was an organization Emerson founded under the NCRLC.²³⁰ Emerson developed two years of detailed materials for youth outlining a study of a philosophy of agriculture that enabled humans to perfect themselves, including the meaning of society, the rural family as a productive unit, the importance of environment, the justification of ownership, limitations of private property, and the dignity, joy, and

²²⁵ Emerson Hynes, "My dear Father Virgil" [letter], November 14, 1938. Virgil Michel Collection, St. John's Abbey Archives. Emerson Hynes, "My dear Father Virgil" [letter], October 5, 1938. Virgil Michel Collection, St. John's Abbey Archives.

²²⁶ "Institute for Social Study Has Monthly Week-end Conference," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 1 (January 16, 1936): 1, 3.

²²⁷ "The Institute for Social Study will hold a weekend conference..." *St. John's Record* 49, no. 3 (February 6, 1936), 1.

²²⁸ "Conferences Scheduled for Social Institute," *The Record* 50, no. 3 (February 4, 1937): 1.

²²⁹ "Catholic Action is Discussed by Institute for Social Study," *The Record* 50, no. 8 (March 11, 1937): 2.

²³⁰ The Documents for this Center were listed with Emerson's address in Collegetown.

necessity of work.²³¹ The focus of the Institute of Social Study provided a model of organizing and a means to move beyond awareness into action. Developing study clubs was one strategy Emerson employed in his own work toward social justice and reconstruction.

In the spring of 1936, the same spring Emerson was president of the IRC, a range of topics overlapped with interests of the Institute for Social Study and were also topics Emerson was to consider throughout his life. Virgil Michel convened roundtables on governmental regulation of business, noting that “Laissez-faire theory was a reaction against middle-age control of business.”²³² But he also remarked on the weakness of Laissez-faire in practice and stressed the great need for a certain amount of control in response to the “greater complexity of life in conjunction with disintegrating individualism which prevail in our country today.”²³³ The next month Virgil Michel presented on International Society, of which the purpose is peace. Rev. Dominic Keller proposed nationalism was the modern substitute for religion. Rev. Ernest Kilzer presented on ethics of war and said “it is impossible to justify any modern war with Christian ethics.” Related, Rev. Benjamin Stein presented on the Mystical Body and war and said, “The simultaneous existence of war and Christianity is inconsistent. War involves a necessary hatred of fellowmen and a feeling of animosity.” Rev. Dunstan Tucker, presented on cultural and social values and emphasized the “bearing religion has

²³¹ Emerson Hynes, “Catholic Rural Youth Information Center,” *National Catholic Rural Life Conference*, February 18, 1940, Hynes Family Archives. Emerson Hynes, “Catholic Rural Youth Information Center,” *National Catholic Rural Life Conference*, May 6, 1941, Hynes Family Archives.

²³² “‘Question of Jurisdiction’ is Topic of Social Institute,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 8 (March 12, 1936): 2.

²³³ *Ibid.*

on the social value of culture.”²³⁴ Hynes later expanded on religion and culture in his dissertation when he wrote on rural life as the “hand maid of culture.”²³⁵

Near the end of Emerson’s junior year, Rev. Virgil Michel announced that the Institute for Social Study was to be part of the college curriculum beginning the following year. When the Institute for Social Study reconvened in the fall, students from the course Social Movements and Community Projects researched, presented papers, and led discussions. The focus during that year was on the cooperative movement and special emphasis was given to credit unions with the practical aim to establish credit unions in local communities. In the first weekend Institute of the year, the conclusions “reached in the papers and discussion as to the benefits of the movement were that credit unions provide a recourse from the rapaciousness of loan sharks, promote the virtue of thrift, eliminate many of the disagreeable features of installment buying, aid families and individuals in distress, train members in the management of their money, and serve to propagate home industries.”²³⁶ Father Mulkerin summed up the essential philosophy, “The basic principle of a credit union is to make money the servant of man not man the servant of money.”²³⁷ This appealed to Emerson. When he later returned to St. John’s as a faculty member, he got involved with the Collegeville Community Credit Union, which initially organized while he was at graduate school.

As a student in the Social Movements and Community Projects and Catholic Backgrounds research courses, Emerson participated in the Institute. Under the guidance

²³⁴ “Internationalism is Discussed in Session of Social Institute,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 13 (April 30, 1936): 1,3.

²³⁵ Emerson Hynes, 1939. “The Catholic Church and Rural Life with a Special Consideration of the Church in the United States” (master’s dissertation, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN., May 1939), 17.

²³⁶ “Social Institute Marks Initial Meeting With Large Attendance,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 24 (October 22, 1936): 1.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

of Rev. Virgil Michel, students researched material and prepared for discussion. As already mentioned, some of the topics included Christian sociology, new money theory, the scope of the liturgical movement, and agrarianism, and some authors were Jacques Maritain, C.H. Dawson, G. K. Chesterton, and Hillaire Belloc.²³⁸ One topic Emerson presented to the Institute was “Principles of Catholic Rural Movement,”²³⁹ a topic on which Emerson would later publish.²⁴⁰ At the December Institute that year, Emerson argued against “Co-ops as Solution to Economic Problem.”²⁴¹

During graduate school, Emerson published an article in *Free America*, in which he outlined potential problems of cooperatives and favored distributism as a better economic system. Emerson wrote to Fr. Virgil Michel,

I have been following the Social Institute programs in the Record and notice that you have gone back to the policy of having all the lectures given by members of the faculty--perhaps because the topics are of a more difficult nature this year. But you may be interested to know that some of the active work you caused one of your students to do last year has borne (sic) a little fruit. You will recall that I always had a fear of consumers' cooperatives, and the “Cooperative Notes” in Free America for the last few issues have seemed to bear out my conclusion that cooperatives necessarily tend to expand excessively until they become little better than the trusts and monopolies they displace. So over a month ago I sent home for my syllabus of the Social Institute, revived and clarified the arguments I raised against consumers' cooperative at one of the week-end meetings last

²³⁸ “Catholic Sociology Course Now Offered,” *St. John's Record* 49, no. 20 (September 24, 1936): 2.

²³⁹ “Social Institute to Convene May 1-2,” *The Record* 50, no. 13 (April 29, 1937): 1.

²⁴⁰ Emerson Hynes, “The Most Vital Movement,” *Commonweal* (21 October, 1938): 670-672. This is one example. For further examples, please see Appendix A for full list of publications.

²⁴¹ “Institute for Social Study: December 13-14,” *The Record* 49, no. 30 (December 10, 1936): 2.

year, and sent it to Free America... The editor recently informed me that they are going to print my article...²⁴²

Emerson's "apprenticeship" experience in the Institute for Social Study began to extend into his professional life while in graduate school.

The new course, Catholic Backgrounds – already described in greater detail in the education chapter – also supported activity in the Institute for Social Study as they investigated much of the philosophy of Catholic social thought. The objective of the course was to include Catholic revival of the time, the liturgical movement, Christian sociologists, personalism, distributism, the corporative order in Catholic thought, life and ideas in the Middle Ages, the new money theory, and the agrarian movement. "This curriculum aims to give a mastery of the best forwardlooking Catholic thought of our day, with special reference to programs and ideas regarding social and cultural reconstruction."²⁴³ Framed in Virgil Michel's ideal of education, as already mentioned in the earlier chapter, it emphasized students' individual research and inquiry. Thus there was no set of formal lectures, rather a procedure of guided reading and roundtable discussions.²⁴⁴ Virgil Michel was already preparing students for leadership via presenting at Institute events, and this aim intersected well with his goal for Catholic Backgrounds, which was designed to be valuable for students who expect to "occupy places of leadership, editorial or otherwise, on our modern world and...to function more effectively as true Christian apostles."²⁴⁵

²⁴² Hynes, "My dear Father Michel" [letter], December 14, 1937.

²⁴³ "Educational Venture Will be Undertaken: Course Will Deal With Catholic Reconstruction," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 17 (May 28, 1936): 1, 2.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

In January of his senior year, Emerson presented his paper “Public Ownership and Decentralization” at the first Institute of 1937, which “discussed the problem of the concentration of wealth in light of the ‘Quadragesimo Anno.’ He emphasized the basic soundness of the pontiff’s statement that nothing should be owned and controlled by the government which can be in the hands of individuals without detriment to the common good.”²⁴⁶ He also became an advocate for the Institute, calling it an “example of a laudable kind of Catholic Action – the study club, a small group willing to study and learn and to pass on to others what has been assimilated.”²⁴⁷ Yet, he lamented, only about a dozen students took advantage of the opportunity in the first semester and encouraged every student to attend at least one conference in the spring semester.²⁴⁸ He took advantage of those opportunities in college, and when he returned to St. John’s as a faculty member, he organized similar study groups for young people and then later was active in the American Benedictine Academy Social Sciences Section.²⁴⁹

Ethics was imbedded in the Institute for Social Study and was embraced by Emerson. Years later Emerson wrote, “Ethics must be the headmaster of the social sciences.... But the basis of a meaningful moral system is that men can know the real distinction between right and wrong, whether it be a single act or a process of related acts. In a complex series it may be that we must have a suspended judgment, but at least we cannot hold that a thing is essentially good and bad at the same time.”²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ “Social Institute Completes First Semester Conferences, 2.

²⁴⁷ Emerson Hynes, “Social Institute is Training in Catholic action” (editorial), *The Record* 50, no. 3 (February 4, 1937): 2.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹ This is documented in photographs in the Hynes Family Archives.

²⁵⁰ Emerson Hynes, “Contemporary Social Sciences,” review of *Capitalism Explained*, by Thomas Wiley, *Commonweal*, (July 17), 1942, 305.

In the Institute, ethics was not separate from the religious impulse. Part of the tradition of every Institute was also to have a spiritual conference. At least one session, for example, connected back to the early Christians.”²⁵¹ Organized around Catholic principles of social justice, the religious philosophy of the Mystical Body of Christ was fundamental to the Catholic understanding of social justice. The concept of the Mystical Body of Christ put forth that individuals, while playing several parts, are united as members of one body, a moral unity realizing a common end,²⁵² and was part of the Institute for Social Study and the college courses that emerged from the Institute. It was a concept fundamental to his moral outlook, but it was only part of his religious interests during his time at St. John’s.

Religion

Emerson valued his religious life and the religious grounding of the college. St. John’s was to foster his religious growth toward the principles of Catholic social justice and Benedictine ideals. His concerns through life were to be dedication to the common good via social and rural issues, but the foundation of all, for Emerson, needed to be religious. St. John’s fostered spiritual values in many ways both curricular and extracurricular. For example, Virgil Michel, Godfrey Diekmann, Dunstan Tucker, other monks and Catholic lay people such as Peter Maurin and Dorothy Day regularly addressed the student body.

Father Virgil addressed all the men in the beginning of Emerson’s third year on “The Purpose of Catholic Education.” It was not to be forced; in Catholic principles and ethics, he concluded that thinking men would see the reasons “for giving your life the

²⁵¹ “Social Institute Marks Initial Meeting With Large Attendance,”3.

²⁵² New Advent. “Mystical Body of Christ.” <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10663a.htm>

meaning and the norm of conduct which is to be found in Catholicity.”²⁵³ Virgil Michel, as mentioned earlier, gave, for example, prominence to the *Quadragesimo Anno*, which considered the social duties of wealth and the basis and limits to ownership.²⁵⁴ Influenced by Michel and others, Emerson took Catholic education and Catholic teaching and values seriously. For example, in an editorial in his senior year, he compared the evils of individualism and *laissez-faire* philosophy to the dangers of the contrary theory that the human being is a minute cog in the magnificent institution of the State on behalf of attaining the highest material cravings. Echoing Maurice Reckitt’s lament that the “Focus is no longer on Man but on Plan,” Emerson clarified, “As students of a Catholic college we should realize that the only Plan is one of a return to Christian principles, and Catholic Sacramentalism. The Mystical Body of Christ is the one Plan which will work, for it alone takes cognizance of Man; it teaches the brotherhood of man, not the mechanization of man’s personality; it demands sacrifice to and love for God, not the deification of the State.”²⁵⁵

Emerson believed that “to achieve social justice we must return to Christian principles in our daily lives, in our every action.”²⁵⁶ For Emerson, this also meant engaging in practices that foster spiritual awareness, including, for example, traditional practices of prayer, which he advocated for St. John’s students in an editorial during “the month of the rosary.”²⁵⁷ He urged students to take retreats, that “retreat is a spiritual privilege...invaluable experience in the modern world...time of withdrawal from the

²⁵³ “Rev. Virgil Speaks on ‘Catholic Education,’” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 19 (September 19, 1935): 2.

²⁵⁴ “Dean Lectures on Papal Encyclical,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 26 (November 7, 1935): 1.

²⁵⁵ Emerson Hynes, “Danger on Another Front (editorial),” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 22 (October 8, 1936): 4.

²⁵⁶ Emerson Hynes, “Social Justice is not a Matter of Politics” (editorial), *St. John’s Record* 49 no. 26 (November 5, 1936): 4.

²⁵⁷ Emerson Hynes, “The Crown of the Blessed Virgin” (editorial), *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 23 (October 15, 1936): 4.

normal mode of life – from study, extracurricular activities, athletics, bull sessions, and light reading – for the purpose of analyzing the state of one’s soul. It is a spiritual inventory where old accounts are checked, the poor stock thrown out, and new lines are added.”²⁵⁸ He also made an argument for organ concerts to be held Sunday afternoons during Lent.²⁵⁹ He observed Lent, and encouraged others to do likewise, suggesting attendance at Stations of the Cross. He urged students from St. John’s to abandon passive attitudes and “really begin to live Catholic lives.”²⁶⁰ The religious environment at St. John’s reinforced patterns set earlier in his development. The daily practices attending to one’s spiritual life were, for Emerson, part and parcel of tuning the consciousness of one’s inner spiritual structures to support an ethical and intellectual outlook toward social justice.

Emerson’s Christian practices were not limited to Catholic practices of worship. He held a personal responsibility to foster his inner propensities and religious understandings toward work for social justice. In an editorial “Social Justice is not a Matter of Politics,” Emerson emphasized that

readjustment of our political and social structure must come from the people, not from their leaders; it must be a change not only of the structure, but of the spirit and the philosophy motivating the entire organ of society...principles of justice, of charity, and of brotherly communion must be a part of all our social relations if we are to achieve the millennium....To achieve social justice we must return to Christian principles in our daily lives, in our every action. Our business transactions and our social obligations should be

²⁵⁸ Emerson Hynes, “Retreat is a Spiritual Privilege” (editorial), *The Record* 50, no. 2 (January 21, 1937): 2.

²⁵⁹ Emerson Hynes, “Organ Concerts Asked for Sunday Afternoons” (editorial), *The Record* 50, no. 4 (February 11, 1937): 2.

²⁶⁰ Emerson Hynes, “Not Too Late to Start Observing Lent,” *The Record* 50, no. 8 (March 11, 1937): 2.

guided, not by expediency, but by morality. Economics and sociology must be recognized as kindred subjects by business men as well as by moralists. If we wish, therefore, to establish national social justice, we should not look first to the government, but should start with ourselves.²⁶¹

This grass roots approach, to begin first with one's self, has large implications. Although there is no evidence that Emerson read *Hind Swaraj*²⁶² by Mohandas K. Gandhi – written in 1908 – there is a compelling similarity in Emerson's comments to those of Gandhi's essay, that is, if we want to create a just and humanitarian country and government, we must simultaneously work on ourselves, nurturing what Gandhi termed soul force. Emerson embraced the responsibility to do "soul work," and expanded outward in his work in family, community, and eventually country and government.

Emerson was greatly impressed with the encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* published by Pope Pius XI in March of 1937. Emerson wrote,

It is perhaps the most vigorous, most brilliant, and most important of all his long series of letters to the world. One cannot read the inspiring words of Pope Pius without sensing the brilliance of his intellect, the thorough catholicity of his vision, and the holiness of his person, especially brought out by his kindly solicitation for the poor, the laborer, and the persecuted. *Divini Redemptoris* is a condemnation of atheistic Communism, but it is also a guide for living a truly Catholic life *in the world*. The Holy Father defines communism, explains its false concept of man, the family, and religion, and shows its sad consequences in Russia, Mexico, and Spain. Then, for contrast, in a most clear and concise manner he outlines the doctrine of the Church on the nature of man and of society...[and] calls for a

²⁶¹ Hynes, "Social Justice is Not a Matter of Politics" 4.

²⁶² Mohandas Gandhi, *'Hind Swaraj' and Other Writing*, ed. Anthony J. Parel (Cambridge, United Kingdom, Cambridge University Press, 2009).

renewal of Christian life, detachment from worldly goods, practice of Christian charity, justice for labor, education for both youth and adults, and prayer and penance. He exhorts priests to go to the working man...in general go to the poor.²⁶³

The encyclical appealed to the laity to practice Catholic action and aid priests “in relieving from material and spiritual suffering their brethren...to organize propaganda on a large scale to disseminate knowledge of fundamental principles...on which a Christian social order must build.”²⁶⁴ The encyclical informed Emerson’s clarification of values and he used his editorial position on the *Record* to advocate the worth of those values.

Notably, Emerson held spiritual and moral values above material values. For example, his Christmas editorial as Editor-in Chief explained some nuances of those spiritual values. It seemed to him that Christmas was when the true spirit of the Mystical Body of Christ was lived most fully. His greetings were “first of all for your spiritual growth and happiness during the coming year, since ultimately that is the only basis of happiness. But we wish you the best of material prosperity and pleasure also; man’s sojourn on this earth was not meant to be devoid of joy as certain fanatics have sometimes taught. As long as the material does not interfere with the spiritual, may the best of it be yours!”²⁶⁵ He found deplorable the capitalistic definition of the true test of man as one who could save money. He countered “neither hoarding nor the unchecked spending of money has ever brought happiness; and that historically the finest men who have enjoyed life to its fullness, have been men who have had a contempt for money in

²⁶³ Emerson Hynes, “Pope Pius Issues Remarkable Encyclical” (editorial), *The Record* 50, no. 12 (April 22, 1937): 2.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Emerson Hynes, “Record Staff Extends Holiday Greeting” (editorial), *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 31 (December 17, 1936): 4.

itself and have concentrated on intellectual and spiritual pursuits.”²⁶⁶ He believed that college men ought to cultivate these true values, not valuing money as the measuring stick of happiness or hoarding money as a form of worship, “but the obligation is up to us – the college-trained men who have been fortunate to have a glimpse of what actually is the true test of man.”²⁶⁷

Benedictine ideals permeated the atmosphere at St. John’s. The abbey, which ran the university, was – and is – a community of monks that follow the *Rule of St. Benedict*.²⁶⁸ The rule, written by Benedict in the sixth century, emphasizes a balance of work, prayer and study. It also emphasizes balanced living, conversation in the world, hospitality, community, and the experience of God. It is neither a harsh method nor one of physical depredations, but is rather “a way of life, an attitude of mind, an orientation of soul.”²⁶⁹

The abbot was invited by Emerson to contribute a guest editorial on behalf of celebrating St Benedict. Alcuin wrote about Benedictine ideals, that the students are the beneficiaries of the faculty who venerate St. Benedict. In this sense he wrote, the student is the spiritual progeny of St. Benedict and “ought to have a filial love and veneration of him.”²⁷⁰ The abbot encouraged the students to nourish in themselves the ideal of Benedict and pattern their lives after him. He went on to share the substance of a letter from a man who formerly denied God and then became an oblate, of which the outstanding

²⁶⁶ Emerson Hynes, “The True Test of Man, Old and Actual Versions” (editorial), *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 31 (December 17, 1936): 4.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ “An Introduction to Saint Benedict,” *St. John’s Abbey*, Accessed February 2, 2014. <http://www.saintjohnsabbey.org/monastic-life/order/saint-benedict/>

²⁶⁹ Joan Chittister, *The Rule of Benedict: Insights for the Ages*, New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 30.

²⁷⁰ Alcuin Deutsch, “Abbot Alcuin Voices Benedictine Values” (editorial), *The Record* 50, no. 9 (March 18, 1937): 2.

characteristic was that Christ has a claim on one's loyalty and if that is freely chosen and one is devoted, it is given without grudging or grumbling. He concluded, "There, my dear Editor, you have my message. I hope it will be understood and treasured by your fellow students. Very few of them are likely to become Oblates of Saint Benedict now or later. But St. Benedict teaches, with the majesty of 1400 years of salutary influence on men, that supreme truth which gives meaning and true direction to our lives, beside which all else is insignificant, and which I hope and pray every student of St. John's will take with him as a compass and a protection in the stumps and vicissitudes of life."²⁷¹ Whether or not this influenced his decision, Emerson was one of those who later decided to become an oblate.

In one of his last editorials as Editor-in Chief, the only one signed by him, believing "just once is it permissible for an editor to use the personal pronoun "I" – and that is on the occasion of the writing of his last editorial," he iterated counsel of an ethical nature, alluded to Virgil Michel, and imparted his religious outlook in a review of social and educational issues. "I do not believe that many of the students are taking full advantage of the opportunity to become militant, high-minded Catholics with a deep social consciousness and spirit of charity which life at St. John's would give them if they were less passive. Those who recall the remarks of Father Virgil at the last convocation will appreciate this fact. St. John's with its Benedictine traditions and its activities in the liturgical field is an ideal place for developing lay apostles, but St. John's can do no more than provide the opportunity. The students themselves must live the spirit of the movement and do so by free choice."²⁷² He also summarized some of his social concerns.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Emerson Hynes, "Thirty" (editorial), *The Record* 50, no. 16 (May 20, 1937): 2.

“In matters which transcend local life there are three points which I consider highly important and have tried to bring home during the past year: the fallacies of the liberal, modern capitalistic and of the Totalitarian philosophies; the necessity of Catholics to understand the truth of the Spanish tragedy, which implies a rightful condemnation of the American press; and the decadent position of education in the United States, its anti-intellectual, over-vocationalized, and un-unified character. The National Catholic Educational Association has issued its manifesto to Catholic colleges to stop compromising with secular institutions in matters of accreditation and curricula. The campaign must be kept up until that is accomplished.”²⁷³

Emerson fully embraced the Catholic ideals of St. John’s, the objectives of the liturgical movement, and the Christian social ideals. He also embraced Catholic education and found deep meaning and purpose in the religious aspects of Catholic life on campus and as an adult. He saw and responded to the opportunity for work, whether it be scholarly or extracurricular, to hold a purpose to further those social values and a life with meaning and purpose. Throughout the record of Emerson’s college experiences, editorials and articles repeatedly suggest that religious and Catholic social values persuaded Emerson that it is worthwhile to try to hold to the highest ideals, which for him were to live ultimately for God, living everyday with purpose and thoughtfulness toward social justice.

Catholic Worker

Emerson Hynes was introduced to the Catholic Worker movement through extracurricular activities in his sophomore year. Dean Virgil Michel called the attention of the student body to *The Catholic Worker*, which he was to make available to the

²⁷³ Ibid.

student body. An editorial sang the praises of the new publication available at “the surprisingly satisfactory price of one cent per copy. Our very evident purpose at this time is to aid Father Virgil in gaining readers for this outstanding product of Catholic thought and action literally overflowing with food for Catholic thought and goals for Catholic action....concerned in the main with our modern social problems, particularly those involving capital and labor, employee and employer. It advances the true Christian outlook upon such problems....*The Catholic Worker* will be a constant source of interest, a veritable mine of information and a bright beacon of enlightenment.”²⁷⁴

In November of Emerson’s junior year, Dorothy Day spoke on the St John’s campus on her way from Winnipeg.²⁷⁵ An article in the *Record* explained that Day had earlier been a communist who converted to the Catholic faith and was then promoting Catholic action to counteract “communistic and fascist propaganda through a campaign of counter-propaganda”²⁷⁶ of Christian ideals and principles, particularly the encyclicals of the recent popes. Day used skills she developed from working on *The Daily Worker*, published by the Communist Part USA, to serve the “destitute and helpless”²⁷⁷ through social action and *The Catholic Worker*. *The Catholic Worker*, currently in publication and well-regarded at the time of this dissertation, had within two years increased its circulation from 1,000 to 100,000. At St. John’s she talked about her work and that of her colleagues – including Peter Maurin, the “brilliant itinerant philosopher and author.”²⁷⁸ They operated the House of Hospitality in New York as well as opposed

²⁷⁴ Joseph Duffy, “The Catholic Worker (editorial), *The Record* 48, no. 9 (March 21, 1935): 4.

²⁷⁵ “Miss Dorothy Day, Editor of the Catholic Worker, To Speak at St. John’s Next Week,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 25 (October 31, 1935): 1.

²⁷⁶ “Editor of ‘Catholic Worker’ Speaks Here,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 27 (November 14, 1935): 1.

²⁷⁷ “Miss Dorothy Day, Editor of the Catholic Worker, To Speak at St. John’s Next Week,” 1.

²⁷⁸ “Editor of ‘Catholic Worker’ Speaks Here,” 1.

communism by giving speeches and debating with members of the Communist party,²⁷⁹ as well as printing Catholic responses to every Communist argument. In an interview with a *Record* reporter, Day said that fascism was a more immediate danger than communism and their work intended to bring the principles of Catholic philosophy as a counter-action.²⁸⁰

In January 1936, Emerson's junior year, Peter Maurin was on campus and made multiple appearances before the Institute for Social Study.²⁸¹ He also spoke to the student body. "An active social worker himself, and self-styled agitator," Maurin considered his activity as a Catholic worker to be "proclaiming Christian principles by means of talking and writing,"²⁸² as he protested existing conditions in society that value profit over ethics. Maurin traced the course of ethics and stood on a platform of Communitarianism,²⁸³ that is, "the community spirit, based on this that to be a man is to be human to man for God's sake," and part of which was to establish farm communes.²⁸⁴ In this visit Peter Maurin remarked on his position that a major end of education is the ability "to talk."²⁸⁵

Fostering listening and talking skills was a theme of Emerson's extracurricular work. His

²⁷⁹ In the same interview Day was asked how she had the courage to stand up to face entire mass meetings of communists and she answered by praying the Memorare, which is a simple Catholic prayer attributed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). "Remember, O most gracious Virgin Mary, that never was it known that anyone who fled to thy protection, implored thy help, or sought thy intercession was left unaided. Inspired with this confidence, I fly to thee, O Virgin of virgins, my Mother; to thee do I come; before do I stand, sinful and sorrowful. O Mother of the Word Incarnate, despise not my petitions, but in thy mercy hear and answer me.

<http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/BVM/Memorare.html>

²⁸⁰ "Miss Day Tells Interviewer of Combat Against Communism," *St. John's Record* 48, no. 27 (November 14, 1935): 1.

²⁸¹ Edmund Piotrowski, "Social Service" (editorial), *St. John's Record* 49, no. 1 (January 16, 1936): 1.

²⁸² "Topsy-Turvyism Comes When Ethics Go, Says Peter Maurin," *St. John's Record* 49, no. 1 (January 16, 1936): 2.

²⁸³ "Social Service" [editorial], *St. John's Record* 49, no. 1 (January 16, 1936): 1. This editorial suggested Communitarianism was "socialism tempered with Catholic sociology. This theory is radical as is any system that differs from the accepted viewpoint. Galileo was radical in his day!"

²⁸⁴ "Topsy-Turvyism Comes When Ethics Go, Says Peter Maurin," 2.

²⁸⁵ Edmund Piotrowski, "Thanks to the Thespians!" (editorial), *St. John's Record* 49, no. 2 (January 23, 1936): 4.

activities in debate, round table leadership, and presenting papers, and the numerous other activities already mentioned, forged a capacity for respectful and thoughtful communication toward understandings and shared meanings. Significantly, although the skill of talk was valued and practiced, Emerson also recognized the essential skill of listening, as noted when he urged the first year students “to establish the habit of being an intelligent listener and reader.”²⁸⁶

Maurin was invited to write an essay for the 50th anniversary of the *St. John's Record*, and Emerson, as editor, most likely extended the invitation. Emerson's flair seems evident in this introduction to Peter Maurin's essay:

One year ago last Tuesday a little unassuming man walked into the St. John's auditorium and proceeded to deliver one of the most thought-provoking and entertaining lectures ever given in that hall. PETER MAURIN, a medievalist and a scholar, a fiery orator with early Christian zeal, a champion of social justice, who lives the life he preaches (he has aptly been called a modern day St. Francis), thoroughly endeared himself to the faculty and student body of St. John's that evening. It is with pleasure that we print one of his Easy Essays, “The Thinking Journalist,” written especially for the golden anniversary of the Record.²⁸⁷

Emerson met up with Maurin again at the University of Notre Dame. Emerson wrote to Rev. Virgil Michel in December 1937 about some of the restrictions the University was placing on Maurin, not allowing him “to speak publically to either students or faculty at Notre Dame!”²⁸⁸ Several months later, in October 1938, Emerson spent some time with Maurin. He wrote, “meeting Peter Maurin and being with him most

²⁸⁶ Hynes, “Politics is Politics,” 4.

²⁸⁷ “Peter Maurin Writes Easy Essay for Record Anniversary Number,” 4.

²⁸⁸ Hynes, “My dear Father Michel” (December 14, 1937), 2.

of two days was one of the real pleasure for me. He just drifted in, said little at meetings, but always had a group around him in between meetings; he has quite a stock of new easy essays- -and two valuable notebooks of what I would call ‘Readings in Personalism’ ...”²⁸⁹ He saw Maurin again the following month. He wrote Michel, “Saw Peter Maurin last night and told him about your wanting him to come to St. John’s for the weekend of the next Social Institute; he was quite pleased and put down the dates in his little book, so you can be quite certain of his being there. He gave his lecture to the St. Vincent de Paul society; it was unannounced and not public, so it was permitted---but Fr. Ward and Simon and Gurian were all there---and seemed pleased with what he had to say; perhaps next spring enough pressure can be brought to force the administration to let him lecture in the auditorium. Over half his lecture is ‘new stuff’, different from what he gave at St John’s two years ago, so everyone ought to enjoy hearing him again.”²⁹⁰ Emerson naturally applied his organizational skills outside of his experience at St. John’s. In this encounter he acted as a professional in the capacity of Virgil Michel and took the initiative to be the liaison between Michel and Maurin. It is indicative of a turning point in which Emerson moved out of apprenticeship into independent professional action.

The Catholic Worker visitors to St. John’s had a strong influence on Emerson. Peter Maurin may have functioned as a role model and perhaps as nuanced mentor for Emerson. While a more distant mentor than, for example, Virgil Michel, Maurin’s emphasis on the skills of talking and writing as a “champion of social justice” drew Emerson’s attention and reflection. Here was a man, a journalist, who talked and wrote

²⁸⁹ Emerson Hynes, “My dear Father Michel” [letter], (October 5, 1938), St. John’s Abbey Archives. 2.

²⁹⁰ Emerson Hynes, “My dear Father Michel” [letter], (November 14, 1938), 1938, St. John’s Abbey Archives. 1.

about ethical living, something Emerson cared about very deeply. As Emerson was forming his adult identity, he heard and saw these undeniably impassioned individuals who breathed a philosophy of justice and action. They were persuasive models of how to live intelligent and empowered lives motivated by love.

Informal activities

Of course, extracurricular life is not all organized clubs and events, it happened informally in dorm rooms and other avenues, some of it humorous competition of wits. “Campus Shots” in the *Record* reports a chess match, “Toman, Hynes, Nemmers, Theilman *et al* are not showing their versatility by playing chess all day. The boys sit down; glare at each other; gnash their respective teeth; tear their hair, and then make a move (after two hours of thought). It ends, hours later, with ‘give up?’, and the answer, ‘Chess.’”²⁹¹

Some of the influences would be considered negative by today’s standards, for example, smoking was part of the culture of St John’s at that time. A student proprietor of cigarettes noted that the most popular brands in order were Camel and Chesterfields with about equal requests for “Old Golds and Luckies.”²⁹² Cigarette and pipe tobacco ads, regularly full-page, frequented every issue of the college newspaper, accepted as an aspect of intellectual pursuits. Perhaps hostage to the marketing of the day, Emerson was a pipe smoker in college and, although he had asthma, continued to be one for many years. “Campus Shots” columns teased, “The long awaited returns of the Wellington Pipe Club election are now completely tabulated, so here are the results of the voting for president: Emerson Hynes – 2 votes. ‘Herr’ Van Buren – 1 vote. Cleve Cram - also ran...

²⁹¹ Timothy Donohue, “Campus Shots,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 30 (December 5, 1935): 3.

²⁹² “Cigarette Proprietor Reveals Sales Secrets,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 25 (October 29, 1936): 2.

All members are expected to maintain a D average in at least one subject.”²⁹³ A year later “Wink” was accepted as a full member into the “Hynsian faction of the Wellington Club...the ‘400’ of Pipedom.”²⁹⁴

Recreation had a place in Emerson’s life, yet it also balanced in consideration of other aspects of life, including the moral attributes of any activity. Emerson enjoyed football and mentions it in several editorials, in fact he supported St. John’s investing in lights for night games.²⁹⁵ He also strongly advocated for fan conduct that was respectful both when the going was good and when it was not. Following a basketball game, he chided his student peers when there was booing and cat-calling during a game during a brief time when it was not going well and made a plea for more sportsmanlike behavior.²⁹⁶ He likewise called for a balance in entertainment. “Recreation has been stripped of its spiritual elements and made a matter of feelings, of emotional storms – an opiate for dulling the mind and enervating the body. The movies, the frothy radio programs, high pressure football – all quite harmless if wisely taken in occasional doses but deadening to the personality and the intellect when they occupy all the leisure time of the people.”²⁹⁷ Still, he was not wholly negative. “There are operas and symphonies on the radio; there is an occasional fine movie; *Life* has not caused *Atlantic*, *Commonweal*, or *New Republic* to cease publication.”²⁹⁸ He also reflected on the role of football in college life and advocated that football ought to be only part of a program that makes for

²⁹³ Leo Heitzmann and Ach O’Toole, “Campus Shots,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 21 (October 1, 1936): 3.

²⁹⁴ Leo Heitzmann and Ach O’Toole, “Campus Shots,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 30 (December 10, 1936): 3.

²⁹⁵ Emerson Hynes, “Bright Lights for Johnnies” (editorial), *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 22 (October 8, 1936): 4.

²⁹⁶ Emerson Hynes, “Basketball Team Has the Spirit of Champions” (editorial), *The Record* 50, no. 7 (March 4, 1937): 4.

²⁹⁷ Hynes, “LIFE take U.S. by Storm,” 2.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

a full life in college, referencing the all too prevalent prominence of winning football championships over education.²⁹⁹ For Emerson there was a spectrum of recreational activities to be enjoyed, which he enjoyed throughout life,³⁰⁰ but it also mattered how one conducted one's self in the activity as well as how one positioned recreation in consideration of other aspects of one's life.

Conclusion

The totality of Emerson's college life points to maturing awareness of current events of his time, social justice issues, and a deepening capacity for advocacy and action. The extracurricular life supported both advocacy and action in response to his evolving awareness. The historical record indicates he consistently valued the importance of engagement toward the deeper more true and humane reasons to work for a better world and to nurture one's ability and creative capacity to do so. The details of his extracurricular activities indicate a motivation deeper than merely building a resume, prestige, or an engaging social life, although certainly many of his colleagues became friends for life.³⁰¹ Emerson's extracurricular life became for him a calling to work for the common good. In other words, he intended to develop skills and nurture the creative ability toward full flourishing on behalf of the common good. So although this aspect of his college life was not the origin of his moral commitment, the practice of applying his developing moral outlook while building skills supported his growth into a successful adult professional life and exemplary leadership.

²⁹⁹ Emerson Hynes, "Grid Championship Number Three" (editorial), *St. John's Record* 49, no. 27 (November 12, 1936): 4.

³⁰⁰ Denis Hynes, Interview, March 26, 2012.

³⁰¹ Letter from Arleen Hynes to Octovia, Ed and Billy, Feb. 18, 1946. Hynes family Archives. Arleen, for example, mentioned that on Thanksgiving of 1945 the Crams, the Rowans, Donohues, and others visited Kilfenora. Everyone mentioned were college friends Emerson was involved in the *Record* and other activities.

Extracurricular activities provided Emerson with valuable apprenticeship opportunities to learn crafts under the guidance of people with expertise in the profession. Specifically, Emerson had an initiatory experience learning the professional skills of research, expression and collaboration. The activities of the *Record*, the *Sagatan*, and the Scribbler's Union all clearly supported the growth of literary skills. The *Sagatan* offered writing and photography experience as well meeting the demands of publication and all of the many nuances of working with a wide range of people. The *Record* provided an apprenticeship in journalism, a form of education that aims to be balanced, that is, not to indoctrinate with propaganda but instead to inform and educate. Taken together, the opportunities as reporter, columnist, and editor were effectively an apprenticeship to take on the ethical responsibilities of leadership in the public forum.

Many of the extracurricular activities supported dialogue and conversation skills. Debate demanded research and reasoning, specifically for the purpose to thoroughly understand and analyze information for the purpose of synthesizing and articulating multiple issues and perspectives. The IRC increased awareness, research skills, and provided a forum for facilitating discussion as well as presentation skills. It was the beginning of a "think tank" advocacy for the purpose of determining action.

The Institute for Social Study similarly fostered expanding awareness, knowledge and reasoning skills, as well as providing discussion and presentation opportunities at the grassroots level. Virgil Michel's vision for the Institute was for a social reconstruction for the common good and a flourishing democracy. Thomas Jefferson said that the people alone could protect from the evils of tyranny and oppression, and that education is essential to a functioning democracy. However, he said, "The qualifications for self-

government in society are not innate. They are the result of habit and long training.”³⁰²

The Institute for Social Study offered the “long training” of social analysis and dialogic learning opportunities to the local populace, an approach Emerson continued in his professional life.

Networking is an essential aspect of group work. The prevalence of Benedictine hospitality on campus contributed to the networking that took place in extracurricular activities. Having dinner with speakers, as did IRC members for example, created comfortable conditions for people from all walks of life to come together for conversation. As mentioned, Emerson met professionals and students he worked with in the future, including Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin. The trust formed with student colleagues was lasting and Emerson continued to correspond with many of these friends throughout his life. While networking is understood to be invaluable in one’s ambitions, the tradition of Benedictine hospitality is not so simple. One has to be trained to welcome people and make each feel like a valued soul. The customs and traditions at St. John’s modeled and supported this approach. Emerson, along with his wife Arleen, had mastered the art of hospitality.

The extracurricular choices Emerson made resulted in a fuller synthesis of values and abilities that served his professional life. For example, a major aspect of Emerson’s professional life was in the realm of rural issues through his involvement with the NCRLC, teaching, and community organizing. His background informed his later work in agricultural policy issues while working as legislative assistant to Senator Eugene McCarthy, where his understanding of the complexities of both rural issues and policy

³⁰² Thomas Jefferson, “Quotations on Education,” *Th. Jefferson Monticello*, accessed Feb. 1, 2014, <http://www.monticello.org/site/jefferson/quotations-education>

offered valuable insights. Although Emerson brought affection for rural life to his college experience, he also followed rural issues on national and international levels and acquired a deeper grasp of agricultural and rural policy through his extracurricular work.

Many of Emerson's choices in extracurricular activities overlapped in skill areas and supported each other. A plethora of skills were improving: research, analytical, organizing, presenting and arguing ideas, writing, oratory, discussion leadership, conversation toward understanding, and communicating with the larger community. Further, there were also the emerging and developing executive skills of leadership: overseeing staff, facilitating the success of others, working with a wide spectrum of people, attention to multiple details, working with deadlines, and the essential time management skills. He was acquiring a tremendous discipline and mastery to work in many capacities. Considering all that Emerson was accomplishing in the academic life and his extensive and demanding extracurricular life, the totality of the college experience undoubtedly prepared Emerson well for graduate school and the challenges of a demanding professional life. When Emerson returned to St. John's in a professional capacity, the discipline and mastery he had acquired were directed into dedicated work. He not only taught classes, but he was active in professional organizations, he worked extensively with numerous community projects, he published regularly, carried out extensive correspondence, and lived out his visions in his family and their rural homestead.

Much of Emerson's experience can be viewed as a mentorship in moral thinking that was evolving with the liturgical movement with its emphasis connecting liturgy to social justice issues. In that era, under the guidance of Father Virgil Michel, St. John's

was a center where many monks embraced the spirit and subsequent work of social reconstruction. Much of the mentorship centered on a prescription for hope and action in a troubled world, that is, raising awareness, and advocacy and action toward social reconstruction promoting justice with dignity for the human person. Naturally some of this mentorship also occurred in courses, but Emerson most often dedicated himself to extracurricular activities where he could both apply his developing analytical skills and give consideration to the moral imperative. Emerson was seriously striving to understand the world he was entering into as an adult, grappling with some of the most difficult issues of the day. His experiences in several of his extracurricular activities were preparing him to examine those complexities, apply critical analysis, consider the ethical implications, and deliberate on actions to respond to the issues. This pattern was an essential approach of Emerson's throughout his life, in his professorship and work with students, the NCRLC work, community efforts with the Guild and the credit union, and his work with Senator Eugene McCarthy.

Three of Colby and Damon's criteria for moral exemplars seem to have been especially nurtured through meaningful activities and applied learning in Emerson's extracurricular life. One criterion is the "a sustained commitment to moral ideas or principles that include a generalized respect for humanity,"³⁰³ and Emerson's extracurricular life provided opportunities and mentorship toward that commitment. Another criterion is acting in accord "with one's moral ideals or principles."³⁰⁴ Emerson seemed drawn to moral concerns and his extracurricular life was rich with opportunity for Emerson to apply his moral thinking to activities as well as analysis into the tasks he took

³⁰³ Colby and Damon, *Some Do Care: Contemporary Lives of Moral Commitment*, 29.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

on. The third criterion was “a tendency to be inspiring to others and thereby to move them to moral action.”³⁰⁵ Most of Emerson’s extracurricular life demonstrated an inclination to be inspiring, through writing, editorship, history columns, in round table discussions, debate, and in the informal ways students met together. Although it is difficult to determine how inspiring his peers found him to be, it seems clear that Emerson was respected. “Campus Shots,” author Timothy Donohue, refers to Hynes as “Father” Hynes,³⁰⁶ which may indicate the sense of respect given to Emerson. Certainly one ringing endorsement of peer respect for Emerson was his unanimous election as president of the senior class. The front page article on the election in the *Record* provided a portrait of the gentle looking, bespectacled young Emerson with a slight smile gazing toward the camera.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Timothy Donohue, “Campus Shots,” *St. John’s Record* 48, no. 28 (November 21, 1935): 3

³⁰⁷ “Emerson Hynes, Editor, Elected President of Senior Class,” *St. John’s Record* 49, no. 22 (October 8, 1936): 1.

Chapter 7

Closing Thoughts

This final chapter presents some of my reflections that emerged in the process of this dissertation. It is not a conclusion of Emerson's life, but rather some meanings I have constructed throughout this investigation into human goodness. It is selected musings, some professional and some personal. To study a good person, one such as Emerson Hynes, is a transformative activity, one with such power that I know my personal and intellectual reflections will continue into the future.

This study has been many things to me. It has been a historical investigation creating a portrait of a man and thinking about human goodness. It has been a consideration of development and the college years. It has also been a part of my own history as I became aware of influences I had not before realized. I've had moments of awe as I had the honor of looking carefully at one good human life as well as the joy of conversation in interviews with people who have my utmost admiration. Emerson has had much to teach me.

Emerson had a sense of humbleness. I am not sure he would have wanted to be the focus of a biographical investigation into human goodness. There was a favorable article on Kilfenora, Emerson, and Arleen by Betty Ann Reitan published in the *St. Benedict's Quarterly*¹ in 1944. It painted a lovely portrait of a benevolent Christian home. Emerson humbly would not grant Reitan permission for the article to be published. Sr. Mariella Gable overruled Emerson's wishes and had the article published without Reitan's knowledge. Mariella wrote in a letter to Emerson,

¹ Elizabeth Ann Reiten, "Kilfenora," *St. Benedict's Quarterly*, (Winter, 1944): 16-18.

I realized that you could not possibly take any other attitude – since you are modest Christians. Also, I realized that we should never have put you on the spot by expecting you to say yes...I believe that the essay will do a great deal of good, since gracious Christian homes are very few, and one drop of concrete example goes incomparably farther than all the theory under the sun. In fact, it seemed positively wrong to me to deprive our readers of this essay just because we had blundered by asking you for a permission you could not possibly give. Since the essay features nothing that your friends might not see on a casual visit, we do not feel that the sanctities of privacy have been outraged...I trust that your charity will overcome the scruples of modesty and that you will count us still your friends.²

Although I suspect Emerson would also hesitate to be the central character of this investigation, I would suggest to him that we often look for humbleness in moral exemplars, and thus his reluctance may simply be more evidence of an ethical life.

Emerson brought so much with him to college from a family that loved him – it appears unconditionally – and cared about the arts, education, conversation, and how one lives. Yet college set him on a path and his life unfolded into meaningful endeavors. Emerson had a “favorable fate” of exemplary mentorship as well as coursework and extracurricular work that nurtured mind, heart and ethic. He participated in multiple ways of knowing, ways that influenced not just what he knew, but, perhaps even more important, how he knew what he knew. His experience at St John’s holistically supported a vision of his understanding of what would create a healthy society. His master’s dissertation was a study of the possibility and significance of rural life and culture for human flourishing. He then took that philosophy and tried to live it in Collegeville.

² Mariella Gable, personal letter to Emerson and Arleen Hynes, March 4, 1944, 1. Hynes family archives.

Eventually, he gave up a profession and a way of life he loved in order to work in another capacity for the greater good.

Emerson was part of something greater. He was part of a generation that believed one could try, and perhaps must try, to strive toward perfection. His religious sensibilities cultivated recognition of something greater than himself, yet he knew that force to be also within himself. Perhaps his agrarian roots also nurtured this inclination, where one feels humbled yet connected to the immensity of nature. He was one of “the greatest generation,” a term I know has been criticized, but I believe I glimpsed something great, and I felt it too with the people I interviewed. Perfection will not be attained, but I think it matters greatly having tried.

A Philosophy of the Soil

From his rural heritage, Emerson brought with him an affection for the land to St. John’s, and that affection was understood and nurtured. Much of Emerson’s life’s work sprang out of that affection, but his work at St. John’s was formative in thinking about rural issues in organized ways. He took his understandings in sociology and applied cultural analysis to rural life and the potential of a rich and satisfying culture centered on the seasons and soil. He understood the value of close relationship with the land, which grows the bonds of affection so essential in ethical action toward the land.³ His perception of an agrarian basis for society was universal in that an ethic of the land touches and affects all people. His experience, as with many others who have lived closely with the soil and seasons, gives evidence that we perceive meanings in our relationship with the land, what it gives us, and what we give it in return. Emerson was an

³ Wendell Berry, *It All Turns on Affection: The Jefferson Lecture & Other Essays*, Berkeley, California: Counterpoint, 2012.

advocate of human responsibility for healthy farming practices to protect the soil. He was also an advocate for vibrant rural culture, more difficult now than ever as the number of small farms has diminished far beyond the decline experienced in Emerson's time.

Emerson's attention to the land was part of a holistic approach. He believed that every person matters and therefore, every person should have the opportunity to develop their gifts and capabilities. He also believed that people need to engage in community and contribute to the common good via meaningful and relevant work. Meaningful work fundamentally connects to the soil in that people need to bring forth the things they need for existence as much as possible within a home economy. Emerson's home economy was connected to the soil in part with the production of food and local resources for housing. E. F. Schumacher later termed this a Buddhist economics,⁴ that is, one based on "right livelihood, renewable resources and proper use of the land."⁵ Another aspect of Emerson's approach upheld the benefit in following an agrarian cycle in religious life. Out of these basic values, Emerson evolved his outlook on distributism, rural life, social justice, and approach to family, work and community. Many of his ideas were published and several have relevance for today for the perceptive reader with consideration of the social contexts of the era. Of particular note is his series on work published in *The Wanderer*⁶ and *The Catholic Rural Life Bulletin*.⁷ Also of note are his reflections on

⁴ E. F. Schumacher, "Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered," New York: Harper & Row, 1973.

⁵ Jeanne Cofell, "Walking: A Narrative of my Leadership Journey," unpublished paper, 2010.

⁶ These works are listed in the Appendix of Emerson's publications. See appendix A.

⁷ Emerson Hynes, "The Dignity and Joy of Work," *The Catholic Rural Life Bulletin*, 1, no.3 (November 20, 1938): 16-18.

building a home published in *The Marianist*⁸ and also published as “Seven Keys to a Christian Home” by the National Catholic Rural Life conference and available online.⁹

In light of current understandings of global climate change, an issue so immense it has awakened public recognition to our undeniable dependence on the land and sustainable systems, it is essential to consider a philosophy of the soil. We need to consider how we nurture affections for the land and ecological systems. With greater consciousness of human dependence on the soil, we might better support the efforts of educators toward awareness and advocacy for sustainable living. Nurturing affections for land and life systems with mindfulness of necessary daily and political action are essential steps toward untangling and solving the complex environmental problems we must deal with.

Emerson put forward a philosophy of the soil, a concept of human dependence so basic, so essential it is commonly overlooked, often even by the most astute thinkers and analysts. A philosophy of the soil acknowledges human reliance on soil for the capacity to be alive on this planet. From the production of oxygen to availability of nutrients, our lives are dependent on the soil for the air we breathe and the food we eat. Every brain function and breath is dependent on healthy soil. It is not a great leap, then, to understand that healthy soil is necessary to human flourishing and culture. If we understand the significance of a philosophy of the soil, all that follows in this chapter must be understood to be utterly dependent on healthy soil: mentorship, teaching ethics, an ethic of conversation, and human goodness.

⁸ Emerson Hynes, “Building a Home,” *The Marianist*, 39: 8 (October), 11-13, 26-29. Emerson Hynes, “Building a Home, Part II,” *The Marianist* 39, no. 9 (November, 1948): 16-18, 27-28.

⁹ Emerson Hynes, “Seven Keys to a Christian Home,” National Catholic Rural Life Conference, 1948. Accessed February 9, 2014. <http://www.ewtn.com/library/FAMILY/7Keys.TXT>

Mentorship

Emerson's college experience, which influenced so many aspects of his life, demonstrates the lifelong benefits of exemplary mentorship. Although he was not the only influential mentor, Virgil Michel's name was repeatedly in the historical record of Emerson's life in college years. His impact was such that Emerson published articles about Michel. Emerson spoke of Michel as a brilliant synthesizer and collaborator who had profound respect for others without favoritism to education or experience. Michel had an astute wisdom in his ability to mentor and be an excellent model. His extraordinary intellectual engagement was well matched to the intellectual potential of Emerson Hynes. Michel was a highly ethical person, believed in the dignity of the human person, utilized a dialogic pedagogy, and aimed to access human potential for goodness. Further, their merging of paths was well-timed for Emerson's development and capacity to fully take advantage of this exemplary mentor. Shoup¹⁰ might call this favorable fate, but perhaps it was also Michel rising to the occasion of his vocation and a calling to mentor.

Clearly Emerson came to college with particular dispositions and skills ready to contribute and flourish. His family had provided a foundation of unconditional love and nourished a thoughtful, conversational, aesthetic and moral outlook. He had good writing ability, sound thinking skills, and solid moral values. So Emerson arrived at college well prepared for an excellent mentor.

Obviously the capacity to be ready for excellent mentorship, should it become available to any particular student, has implications. Today many students come to

¹⁰ John R. Shoup, *A Collective Biography of Twelve World Class Leaders*, Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2005.

college without the skills to effectively launch into research, writing, thinking and conversation and need remedial skill development. From 28 to 40 percent of students take a remedial course, and even up to 50 percent at some community colleges.¹¹ African American, Hispanic, and low-income students have a distinct disadvantage.¹² Students struggling academically to catch up may require particular kinds of mentorship. Yet, if Emerson's life in college demonstrates potential impact of mentorships, mentorship plays a significant role at many levels and goes beyond academic skill development.

Mentorship matters at every stage of development but has different considerations in college compared to middle and high school. College is a time that has transformative potential in the mentoring relationship. College bound students often leave their families and "strike out on their own" for the first time. As they are often no longer in the day-to-day physical abode of the parents and home, they often look to new role models and seek out mentor relationships. In a developmental time of meaningful self-authorship, students often have a unique openness to mentorship.

Emerson's experience suggests that mentorship is no small matter. Lives can change because of good and ethical mentorship. For this reason, the capacity and ability of college faculty to mentor ought to be a primary criterion for college faculty. If college faculty are not drawn to be mentors, perhaps they should rethink their role. Therefore, an essential interview question might address mentorship philosophy, experience, and

¹¹ "Hot topics in Higher Education: Reforming Remedial Education," *National Conference of State Legislatures*, Accessed February 2, 2014. <http://www.ncsl.org/research/education/improving-college-completion-reforming-remedial.aspx>

¹² Ibid. Another source is "Increasing College Opportunity for Low-Income Students: Promising Models and a Call to Action," The Executive Office of the President, The White House, Washington, January 2014. Accessed February 2, 2014. http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/white_house_report_on_increasing_college_opportunity_for_low-income_students_1-16-2014_final.pdf

potential. Further, the current model of faculty evaluation favors research and publication. These are important aspects of the work of inquiry, but it is possible we are failing students with an evaluative model that does not put equal emphasis on mentorship skills as it does research and publication. I do not mean to suggest mentoring should only be in the capacity of research and publication but that mentorship holds a role in the profession equal in value to research and publication. The work of mentorship, as evidenced in Emerson's college experience, can occur in many capacities.

The work of skilled mentorship takes time. As mentioned, there are many forms and expressions of mentorship. We could consider, for example, the generational mentorship of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. One could also examine the Oxford model of education, a tutorial model of individuals or small groups engaged in self-directed learning with a tutor. It functions in some ways as an intellectual mentorship to think deeply in a subject area. However, the spirit of an individual and a culture is not just intellectual; it is also heart to heart and woven with the ethical applications in day-to-day and professional life. Therefore, the possibility for holistic mentorship in extracurricular work must be recognized. Mentorship in extracurricular work seemed to be primary in the totality of Emerson's experience. It was not just intellectual, although that was a critical component. It also was a way to access and express his ethical life. Mentorship also takes place in the curriculum as well, as powerfully indicated in the Catholic Backgrounds course. The co-curricular model seemed ideal, for instance, the integrated scaffolding exemplified in the Catholic Backgrounds course and the Institute of Social Study, in which students prepared and presented research and analysis.

Mentorship does not necessarily come naturally. Consequently, teachers and leaders can benefit from training in skills of mentorship. Failed mentorship can do harm. In my own conversations with students I hear stories of faculty who are unaware of the potential or are absent from what could be powerful mentorship opportunities. For example, one student described an experience of assisting a faculty member with research during a summer on campus. The faculty member hired the student knowing he had limited research experience but wanted to learn. The professor gave him material to transcribe and instructions on identifying themes. The student then worked alone all week and they met at the end of each week for about an hour. The student had a somewhat uninspiring and lonely summer. One can imagine how different this experience might have been for the student if the researchers shared office space, took daily breaks to analyze the data, discuss the implications, and consider various aspects of the research. While it may have assisted the professor in the research, the faculty person did not embrace the opportunity of mentorship and it was a lost opportunity for the student, who left disillusioned about the work and pleasure of research. Mentorship takes focus, skill and time, and therefore often requires training and support for development. Mentorship is also a unique kind of education, one that requires authentic and ethical presence. In so many ways we teach who we are, and therefore, who the mentor is matters.

Vigil Michel was an influential mentor. I propose he was also influenced by Emerson, which suggests the reciprocal nature of the mentor-mentee relationship. When the Institute for Social Study first began, the presenters were all faculty. The program evolved from that point to the where Virgil Michel began the Catholic Backgrounds course and integrated students' work and presentations into the Institute. It makes sense

that as Virgil Michel saw the potential of certain students to contribute, he responded to access that potential. By that point he was aware of Emerson's capabilities in the "Today's History" column and other events. Catholic Backgrounds was designed much like the Institute, but students helped determine the direction and did much of the research work. I speculate that Michel had gradually realized the opportunity to mentor select students, created the Catholic Backgrounds course as an invitation-only class, and opportunities proceeded from there. Emerson was unquestionably among the most promising of those students. In this sense, Michel was influenced by Emerson. Furthermore, Virgil Michel encouraged Emerson to attend Notre Dame, perhaps because Michel saw in Emerson the potential to carry forward the vision of the liturgical movement with its aim for social reconstruction toward the common good.

Teaching Ethics

Emerson's experience at St. John's can inform how we teach ethics in college. In a formative time of self-authorship, college students very often want to engage in ethical analysis as part of their own self-reflection and discernment. Emerson's time at St. John's, a time when a major portion of the faculty were monastic, imparted religious ethics, which, given the time and influence of many, particularly Virgil Michel, had a decidedly social justice bent. Those same monastic members who taught and did advising in the extracurricular clubs were also involved in the Institute for Social Study with its demonstrated commitment to social analysis and social justice. An embedded focus on ethics permeated coursework, mentorship, and advisement in clubs, which reinforced ethics as part of the whole experience of life, not just one narrow expression, for example, of professional ethics. Currently, many colleges and universities do not require

ethics courses, and some require one ethics course for graduation. Although I think it can be valuable to require an ethics course, if we care about fostering moral examination and thinking in college students, we might best examine how we embed ethics into the overall experience in coursework in general, in mentorship by faculty, in advisement, and in club activities as students apply skills toward professional activity.

As an instructor of ethics, I was watchful for clues in Emerson's classroom experiences of teaching strategies and pedagogies that supported deep learning and transformation toward ethical growth. A potential unintended outcome of ethics courses can be a student's conclusion that it does not matter what one does, as long as one can justify it.¹³ Obviously this is a significant concern as the aims of an ethics course, it seems to me, would include cultivating an understanding that what one does matters, a willingness to think deeply about ethical choices, and an authentic desire to live ethically. Another limitation of an ethics course is that ethical development is life long and the instructor must make difficult choices about what the focus will be for one semester. A challenge, therefore, is to create a learning environment that engages students effectively so as to cultivate the desire to be active agents through studying and thinking about ethics as a lifelong task.

Virgil Michel's yearlong course, *Catholic Backgrounds*, provides some clues for fostering transformative learning. Importantly, Michel had a strong knowledge base and was an ideal model of a lifelong learner. His pedagogy of student engagement was central to the course. Michel brought resources and themes to the course, but active student

¹³ Nel Noddings, personal communication, n.d. Noddings shared her participation in an evaluation of a college ethics program where they found that students perceived what they learned in the class is that it does not matter what they do so long as they can justify it. Given the range of limitations on thinking, this was clearly a concern of the evaluators.

engagement rather than extensive lectures was his primary pedagogy. He regarded his students as serious scholars, albeit young adults, and respected their capacity to bring value to the class. Students' agency in the course inferred the responsibility for moral agency in the world. Student scholarship and application in professional realms, for example the Institute for Social Study, afforded a sense of purpose, moral agency, and leadership experience. When Michel appealed to the faith background of the students, he did so not with dogma, but rather with openness and meaningfulness in their lives, cognizant of the reality of their generation. Emerson's experience of genuine and meaningful learning was transformative and supported lifelong learning. His experience suggests that pedagogy faithful to intellectual integrity and designed for transformative and applied learning can foster lifelong awareness, agency, and ethical development.

An Ethic of Conversation

A prominent theme evident in the life of Emerson Hynes is his ability for ethical conversation. His aptitude was not simply in erudition and wit, but was a practiced capacity to listen, to genuinely respect, to probe for meaning, and to converse in ways that crossed bridges of understanding. I am inspired by Emerson's life lived by an ethic of conversation. His way of proceeding in the world was to strive for awareness and understanding through scholarship and dialogue. I see in his ethical action of conversation the means to personal understanding, resolving conflicts, and elevating goodness. It is a reparative and creative process of collaboration to remedy injustice. For Emerson, conversation was essential and foundational toward the common good.

Conversation is, of course, a way of thinking together. It can be a means to a flourishing moral life. Socrates provided a powerful argument that the work of the mind

is necessary rehearsal for moral action.¹⁴ It is in the working together in the exchange of heart and mind that we “hear the call of the Good....Thinking together is a preparation for living together. Thinking together is a school for conscience, an ‘academy’ in which individual human beings can in fact struggle to act as though they were moral, as though they were able to hear and obey the call of conscience.”¹⁵ Thinking together, therefore, is a moral act.

An ethic of conversation demands more than just thinking together. How we go about conversation matters. The quality of conduct and level of skills in events of conversation will affect the capacity to authentically and productively engage in ways of thinking together to nurture human flourishing. Good conduct requires openness, deep listening, honesty with self and others, reflection, clear articulation, and encountering human differences with respect.

Conversation is complex; we turn with another, we create bridges of understanding and meanings. Bridges can be authenticity, trust, nonverbal expressions, touch, humor, laughter, empathy, expressions, or any of the many nuances in conversation. For an authentic conversation, trust must be built and all must have opportunity to listen and to speak. Careful listening requires full attention in order to consider and respond to the insights of the others. Asking worthy questions that probe for meanings can be a tremendous skill. An ethic of conversation requires responding in ways that do not diminish the other person, but instead fully values each person. Skills of expression, humor, and creativity can humanize and provide delight and insight.

¹⁴ Jacob Needleman, *Why Can't We Be Good?* New York: Penguin, 2008.

¹⁵ Needleman, *Why Can't We Be Good?* 27.

Although skills and aspects of conversation may appear obvious, some aspects are less clear. We need, for instance, to acknowledge honestly the limits of our knowledge.¹⁶ Emerson's son Patrick said that one of the things his father gave him "was the gift of always asking the question – never accepting what is on the surface, always asking to see the wider implications to develop the sort of philosophical approach so that you don't get drawn into too much drama."¹⁷ An ethic of conversation requires asking questions and talking about things that matter, and do so in ways that allow us to deeply explore difficult problems that point us toward courses of action. The actions and outcomes of conversation are part of its moral dimension. It is a skill that grows over time and thus we need opportunities to learn and experience the art and ethic of conversation.

An ethic of conversation is an approach to life. It is an aspect of an evolution toward a healthy society. As part of the ethical life, conversation is invaluable in what and how we carry forward to the next generation. Emerson's children recalled sitting on the stairs out of sight, listening to their parents and guests converse. They were allowed to listen, but instructed never to repeat what they overheard. Emerson allowed the children an entry into the adult world and a model of conversation. Young people need to hear adults conversing in healthy ways to observe both thinking and process. This becomes the model they build on, especially when they can also practice their own conversation skills in places such as family meals or other arenas with caring adults. Considering how we enhance an ethic of conversation with young people may be even more important as modes of discourse change with the use of ubiquitous social media platforms.

¹⁶ Wendell Berry, "Starting From Loss," In *It All Turns on Affection: The Jefferson Lecture & Other Essays* (Berkeley, California: Counterpoint, 2012), 67-88.

¹⁷ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

The way we approach an ethic of conversation during the college years has particular implications. Emerson's life indicates a growing ethic of conversation in the college years can be a catalyst for authorship of the developing ethical self. The breadth and depth of Emerson's conversation experiences seemed influential in his developing perceptions and efficacy of himself in the world. Therefore it is worthy to deeply consider how conversation may be a pivotal mechanism for development in the college years.

Aspects of Emerson's college experience suggest there are considerations for an ethic of conversation beyond the classroom into extracurricular and informal aspects of school. Students need opportunities to engage in conversation practices long enough and often enough so they will experience its value. They need to observe adults having meaningful conversations. College students who plan to be K-12 teachers perhaps need a dedicated focus on an ethic of conversation for reflection, development, and metacognition. As teachers, they will either neglect or model the value and skills of an ethic of conversation. Further, teacher candidates will be in positions to nurture those skills so fundamental to the moral life.

Conversation has the potential to engage our ethical lives. We need to consider ways teachers and mentors potentially benefit from training and opportunities to analyze ways to approach authentic, substantive, and purposeful conversation. We need to develop strategies and opportunities to develop the skills of conversation. We also ought to consider how we design opportunities for apprenticeship in conversation where awareness, practice/application, and reflection are part of a creative and aesthetic preparatory experience for teaching.

An ethic of conversation has implications beyond schools into almost every social dimension of our lives. Emerson practiced this ethic in his own family, especially in the Collegeville years. In their rural homestead Emerson established rituals, guided family meals in conversation, and welcomed guests for conversation. There was the “thirty seconds of loving,” not deep conversation, but a fundamental human recognition that is at the heart of an ethic of conversation. There was conversation in shared chores and the work of Kilfenora. Emerson’s son Patrick recalled conversations with his father during the commute to work that guided him to develop a “perspective that is spiritual as well as practical as well as political.”¹⁸ It requires leadership and dedication to an ethic of conversation to creatively bring that principle into the day-to-day life of family.

It is important to think about and guide an ethic of conversation in family life. Healthy families, for instance, can be faithful to the concept of an ethic of conversation without reference to its specific definition. For example, authoritative parenting, identified as a parenting style beneficial for children,¹⁹ is centered on the foundational concepts of an ethic of conversation and healthy boundaries. “The authoritative parent attempts to direct the child’s activities in a rational, issues-oriented manner. She encourages verbal give and take, shares with the child the reasoning behind her policy, and solicits his objections when he refuses to conform. Both autonomous self-will and disciplined conformity are valued by the authoritative parent.”²⁰ Essential parenting skills consequently include those encompassed in an ethic of conversation. A greater understanding of the dimension of an ethic of conversation and how this is embedded in

¹⁸ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

¹⁹ Diana Baumrind, “Effects of Authoritative Parental Control on Child Behavior,” *Child Development*, 37(4), 887-907. (1966). Accessed Feb. 8, 2014.

<http://persweb.wabash.edu/facstaff/hortonr/articles%20for%20class/baumrind.pdf>

²⁰ Ibid. 891.

healthy families can inform how to foster those necessary skills and create events of conversation in family life.

Conversation is a moral action. This is not to imply, however, that it fulfills the moral life. The primacy of conversation is part of civic engagement and part of addressing complex issues. As Needleman explains, “The work of thinking together is only a step toward the power to be good, but it is a real step and therefore of immense value. It is a step we can take; a step we must take.”²¹ Conversation is a step into awareness, within self and with others, that is essential to full moral action and human flourishing.

Human Goodness

As I learned more about the life of Emerson Hynes, I began to think of his college experience as one of accessing human goodness. He arrived at St. John’s already formed as a good person; his family was fundamental to that formation. At St. John’s he had ways of accessing goodness, that is, opportunities and people who brought out his potential and helped him to grow goodness in meaningful ways. Mentorship and conversation appear to have been potent ways to access and grow goodness. Human goodness has many dimensions, but I think James Rest’s and other researchers’ four-component model of moral outlook²² suffices in this case to suggest qualities of human goodness. The first is having the sensitivity to interpret a situation as moral and have the imagination to perceive in one’s actions a network of moral relationships. The second is moral judgment, the developed skill to critically think and analyze actions and

²¹ Needleman, *Why Can’t We Be Good?* 27.

²² Muriel J. Bebeau, James R. Rest, and Darcia Narvaez, “Beyond the Promise: A Perspective on Research in Moral Education,” *Educational Researcher*, 28: 4 (May 1999): 18-26. Doi: 10.3102/0013189X028004018.

consequences in regard to moral situations.²³ The third is moral motivation, which has to do with the value one places on moral life. The fourth is moral character, which refers to inner attributes, the virtues, one's strengths and weaknesses that play a part in how one responds to others and to moral situations.²⁴ Although all of these qualities were already in Emerson before he came to St. John's, his college experience appears to have accessed and nurtured his developing moral outlook. Further, Emerson believed in a fundamental goodness in all people. In interviews I conducted with those who knew Emerson, stories illustrated an approach that respected people, an approach "where we love one another, share with one another, dialogue with one another,"²⁵ thereby allowing human goodness to come forth.

Emerson's college experience reinforced the immense value of the human person in the philosophy of personalism and the person as part of the Mystical Body of Christ. Yet the outlook was not naïve; it was continually balanced by the problems of being human, for example, the capacity for evil, the reality of injustice, or the distractions of materialism. Consequently, questions continually arose related to the concept of accessing human goodness. Much of the work of Dean Virgil Michel, for instance, was developing forums of conversation where students and professors alike researched, thought together, and dialogued on many ethical issues. One example of this was the Catholic Backgrounds class, which mobilized a pedagogy designed to empower the students toward thinking and action while engaged in the immediacy of self-directed learning in the classroom. Another was the Institute for Social Study, which involved

²³ James Rest, "A Psychologist Looks at the Teaching of Ethics," *The Hastings Center Report* 12, no. 1 (Feb. 1982): 29-36.

²⁴ Bebeau, Rest and Narvaez, "Beyond the Promise: A Perspective on Research in Moral Education."

²⁵ Patrick Hynes, Interview, July 10, 2012.

community members and students from the abovementioned class. Speakers also inspired hope and modeled the possibility of human interaction. For instance, Peter Maurin and Dorothy Day modeled a participatory interactional goodness as a remedy for social injustices.

Emerson's childhood bestowed an affection for goodness and an awareness that one's own practices must create the possibility for sustainable goodness. In college Emerson saw the balance of prayer, work, and study put forward by the almost 1500-year-old Benedictine tradition as a daily practice that creates the conditions for balanced living. Embracing practices that sustain the balance is no small achievement for a college student; it can lay the foundation necessary for a flourishing life. He took this forward in his life as an oblate and into family practices of the Divine Office, the daily and seasonal cycle of prayer and ritual. It nurtured an outlook that how one lives matters.

A model of accessing human goodness emerges out of an assumption that humans are essentially good or have an essential goodness. Clearly some would argue this point, but my purpose is not to discuss that argument in full. Moving forward with this assumption brings compelling questions as to how we can access essential human goodness. We might ask, for example, how we access human goodness in infants, in one-year-olds, in preschool. Likewise, are there ways to do this with elementary students, adolescents, young adults? Perhaps skillful conversation and dialogic education can function to access human goodness. We might also consider what human capabilities access goodness, for instance listening, empathy, reason, and love. Framing mentorship and the work of educating young people as a vocation of accessing goodness can change our understandings and pedagogies.

I believe that the concept of accessing human goodness is a powerful lens for creating and recreating ways of being in the world and ways of working with others. It holds potential in mentorship and teaching. It is not to suggest one is naïve about the potential for evil, rather, it can provide a lens to understand and perhaps even to avert evil. An approach of accessing goodness in self and others can help to nurture goodness and ethical growth.

We are all part of something greater. Emerson knew that and worked hard to add his measure toward benefiting the common good. People are drawn to goodness, which is why I consequently heard that measure of Emerson's goodness in the stories people told many years after his death. This historical biographical investigation became a journey through stories that steered toward human goodness. I came to understand that stories are a way to access goodness and also a way we understand we are part of something greater, and thus stories are fundamental for human goodness and human flourishing.

Appendix A: Publications by Emerson Hynes

EMERSON HYNES: 1915 – 1971

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Appendix B: Oral History Guidelines of the Oral History Association.

Principles and Best Practices

Principles for Oral History and Best Practices for Oral History

Adopted October, 2009

Find at: <http://www.oralhistory.org/do-oral-history/principles-and-practices/>

Introduction

Oral history refers both to a method of recording and preserving oral testimony and to the product of that process. It begins with an audio or video recording of a first person account made by an interviewer with an interviewee (also referred to as narrator), both of whom have the conscious intention of creating a permanent record to contribute to an understanding of the past. A verbal document, the oral history, results from this process and is preserved and made available in different forms to other users, researchers, and the public. A critical approach to the oral testimony and interpretations are necessary in the use of oral history.

The Oral History Association encourages individuals and institutions involved with the creation and preservation of oral histories to uphold certain principles, professional and technical standards, and obligations. These include commitments to the narrators, to standards of scholarship for history and related disciplines, and to the preservation of the interviews and related materials for current and future users.

Recognizing that clear and concise guide can be useful to all practitioners of oral history, the Oral History Association has since 1968 published a series of statements aimed at outlining a set of principles and obligations for all those who use this methodology. A history of these earlier statements, and a record of the individuals involved in producing them, is available on the Oral History Association webpage at <http://www.oralhistory.org/>. Building on those earlier documents, but representing changes in an evolving field, the OHA now offers *General Principles for Oral History* and *Best Practices for Oral History* as summaries of the organization's most important principles and best practices for the pre-interview preparation, the conduct of the interview, and the preservation and use of oral histories. These documents are not intended to be an inclusive primer on oral history; for that there are numerous manuals, guidebooks, and theoretical discussions. For the readers' convenience, a bibliography of resources is provided online at the Oral History Association website.

General Principles for Oral History

Oral history is distinguished from other forms of interviews by its content and extent. Oral history interviews seek an in-depth account of personal experience and reflections, with sufficient time allowed for the narrators to give their story the fullness they desire. The content of oral history interviews is grounded in reflections on the past as opposed to commentary on purely contemporary events.

Oral historians inform narrators about the nature and purpose of oral history interviewing in general and of their interview specifically. Oral historians insure that narrators voluntarily

give their consent to be interviewed and understand that they can withdraw from the interview or refuse to answer a question at any time. Narrators may give this consent by signing a consent form or by recording an oral statement of consent prior to the interview. All interviews are conducted in accord with the stated aims and within the parameters of the consent.

Interviewees hold the copyright to their interviews until and unless they transfer those rights to an individual or institution. This is done by the interviewee signing a release form or in exceptional circumstances recording an oral statement to the same effect. Interviewers must insure that narrators understand the extent of their rights to the interview and the request that those rights be yielded to a repository or other party, as well as their right to put restrictions on the use of the material. All use and dissemination of the interview content must follow any restrictions the narrator places upon it.

Oral historians respect the narrators as well as the integrity of the research. Interviewers are obliged to ask historically significant questions, reflecting careful preparation for the interview and understanding of the issues to be addressed. Interviewers must also respect the narrators' equal authority in the interviews and honor their right to respond to questions in their own style and language. In the use of interviews, oral historians strive for intellectual honesty and the best application of the skills of their discipline, while avoiding stereotypes, misrepresentations, or manipulations of the narrators' words.

Because of the importance of context and identity in shaping the content of an oral history narrative, it is the practice in oral history for narrators to be identified by name. There may be some exceptional circumstances when anonymity is appropriate, and this should be negotiated in advance with the narrator as part of the informed consent process.

Oral history interviews are historical documents that are preserved and made accessible to future researchers and members of the public. This preservation and access may take a variety of forms, reflecting changes in technology. But, in choosing a repository or form, oral historians consider how best to preserve the original recording and any transcripts made of it and to protect the accessibility and usability of the interview. The plan for preservation and access, including any possible dissemination through the web or other media, is stated in the informed consent process and on release forms.

In keeping with the goal of long term preservation and access, oral historians should use the best recording equipment available within the limits of their financial resources. Interviewers must take care to avoid making promises that cannot be met, such as guarantees of control over interpretation and presentation of the interviews beyond the scope of restrictions stated in informed consent/release forms, suggestions of material benefit outside the control of the interviewer, or assurances of an open ended relationship between the narrator and oral historian.

Best Practices for Oral History

Pre-Interview

1. Whether conducting their own research or developing an institutional project, first time interviewers and others involved in oral history projects should seek training to prepare themselves for all stages of the oral history process.
2. In the early stages of preparation, interviewers should make contact with an appropriate repository that has the capacity to preserve the oral histories and make them accessible to the

public.

3. Oral historians or others responsible for planning the oral history project should choose potential narrators based on the relevance of their experiences to the subject at hand.

4. To prepare to ask informed questions, interviewers should conduct background research on the person, topic, and larger context in both primary and secondary sources

5. When ready to contact a possible narrator, oral historians should send via regular mail or email an introductory letter outlining the general focus and purpose of the interview, and then follow-up with either a phone call or a return email. In projects involving groups in which literacy is not the norm, or when other conditions make it appropriate, participation may be solicited via face to face meetings.

6. After securing the narrator's agreement to be interviewed, the interviewer should schedule a non-recorded meeting. This pre-interview session will allow an exchange of information between interviewer and narrator on possible questions/topics, reasons for conducting the interview, the process that will be involved, and the need for informed consent and legal release forms. During pre-interview discussion the interviewer should make sure that the narrator understands:

oral history's purposes and procedures in general and of the proposed interview's aims and anticipated uses.

his or her rights to the interviews including editing, access restrictions, copyrights, prior use, royalties, and the expected disposition and dissemination of all forms of the record, including the potential distribution electronically or on-line.

that his or her recording(s) will remain confidential until he or she has given permission via a signed legal release.

7. Oral historians should use the best digital recording equipment within their means to reproduce the narrator's voice accurately and, if appropriate, other sounds as well as visual images. Before the interview, interviewers should become familiar with the equipment and be knowledgeable about its function.

8. Interviewers should prepare an outline of interview topics and questions to use as a guide to the recorded dialogue.

Interview

1. Unless part of the oral history process includes gathering soundscapes, historically significant sound events, or ambient noise, the interview should be conducted in a quiet room with minimal background noises and possible distractions.

2. The interviewer should record a "lead" at the beginning of each session to help focus his or her and the narrator's thoughts to each session's goals. The "lead" should consist of, at least, the names of narrator and interviewer, day and year of session, interview's location, and proposed subject of the recording.

3. Both parties should agree to the approximate length of the interview in advance. The

interviewer is responsible for assessing whether the narrator is becoming tired and at that point should ask if the latter wishes to continue. Although most interviews last about two hours, if the narrator wishes to continue those wishes should be honored, if possible.

4. Along with asking creative and probing questions and listening to the answers to ask better follow-up questions, the interviewer should keep the following items in mind:

- interviews should be conducted in accord with any prior agreements made with narrator, which should be documented for the record.

- interviewers should work to achieve a balance between the objectives of the project and the perspectives of the interviewees. Interviewers should fully explore all appropriate areas of inquiry with interviewees and not be satisfied with superficial responses. At the same time, they should encourage narrators to respond to questions in their own style and language and to address issues that reflect their concerns.

- interviewers must respect the rights of interviewees to refuse to discuss certain subjects, to restrict access to the interview, or, under certain circumstances, to choose anonymity. Interviewers should clearly explain these options to all interviewees.

- interviewers should attempt to extend the inquiry beyond the specific focus of the project to create as complete a record as possible for the benefit of others.

- in recognition of the importance of oral history to an understanding of the past and of the cost and effort involved, interviewers and interviewees should mutually strive to record candid information of lasting value.

5. The interviewer should secure a release form, by which the narrator transfers his or her rights to the interview to the repository or designated body, signed after each recording session or at the end of the last interview with the narrator.

Post Interview

1. Interviewers, sponsoring institutions, and institutions charged with the preservation of oral history interviews should understand that appropriate care and storage of original recordings begins immediately after their creation.

2. Interviewers should document their preparation and methods, including the circumstances of the interviews and provide that information to whatever repository will be preserving and providing access to the interview.

3. Information deemed relevant for the interpretation of the oral history by future users, such as photographs, documents, or other records should be collected, and archivists should make clear to users the availability and connection of these materials to the recorded interview.

4. The recordings of the interviews should be stored, processed, refreshed and accessed according to established archival standards designated for the media format used. Whenever possible, all efforts should be made to preserve electronic files in formats that are cross platform and nonproprietary. Finally, the obsolescence of all media formats should be assumed and planned for.

5. In order to augment the accessibility of the interview, repositories should make transcriptions, indexes, time tags, detailed descriptions or other written guides to the contents.
6. Institutions charged with the preservation and access of oral history interviews should honor the stipulations of prior agreements made with the interviewers or sponsoring institutions including restrictions on access and methods of distribution.
7. The repository should comply to the extent to which it is aware with the letter and spirit of the interviewee's agreement with the interviewer and sponsoring institution. If written documentation such as consent and release forms does not exist then the institution should make a good faith effort to contact interviewees regarding their intent. When media become available that did not exist at the time of the interview, those working with oral history should carefully assess the applicability of the release to the new formats and proceed—or not—accordingly.
8. All those who use oral history interviews should strive for intellectual honesty and the best application of the skills of their discipline. They should avoid stereotypes, misrepresentations, and manipulations of the narrator's words. This includes foremost striving to retain the integrity of the narrator's perspective, recognizing the subjectivity of the interview, and interpreting and contextualizing the narrative according to the professional standards of the applicable scholarly disciplines. Finally, if a project deals with community history, the interviewer should be sensitive to the community, taking care not to reinforce thoughtless stereotypes. Interviewers should strive to make the interviews accessible to the community and where appropriate to include representatives of the community in public programs or presentations of the oral history material.

Appendix C: Letter/note of inquiry to prospective participants:Email note (or telephone or letter) of inquiry to prospective participants:

Dear _____,

I am researching the life of Emerson Hynes as part of my doctoral dissertation for a degree from the University of Saint Thomas. Through family or other contacts I am aware that you knew Emerson Hynes while he was alive. I am seeking people to interview who are willing to share recollections about Emerson. Any and all events, memories, and reflections are useful for me as I attempt to create a portrait of who Emerson was, how he thought, what he cared about, and how he lived.

My research is a biographical investigation of a moral exemplar, that is, someone who cared about ethics, and strived to live those values in the complexities of life, and in what ways he may or may not have been a moral leader. My purpose is not to present Hynes as perfect or ideal, but to create a portrait of a life dedicated to the common good, to illuminate *goodness* in all its complexity and possibility in order to build understanding, inspiration, and hope. Because life is always complex as we live it, any stories and reflections can be helpful.

If you are willing to be interviewed, the interview will be semi-structured. This means I will begin with a few statements about the day's date, time, place, and so forth. I will ask a few questions to get things started and then you can simply move into topics and memories you want to talk about and find most compelling. I will ask questions in response to things you bring up. You are not obligated to answer any question. You also can end the interview at any time. If you agree, I would be very grateful if I could digitally record the oral history you would provide.

Would you be willing to talk about your recollections and thoughts about Emerson Hynes? If so, we could meet to talk about it or talk on the phone to discuss the process. When we meet, we will go through a consent form and you will have lots of time to ask questions. Once that is done we can do the oral history interview. I am willing to come to your house or meet at a location of your preference.

Thank you so much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Jeanne Cofell

Appendix D: Consent Communication Script.

Consent Communication Script

I am researching the life of Emerson Hynes as part of my doctoral dissertation for a degree from the University of Saint Thomas. My research is a biographical investigation of a moral exemplar, that is, someone who cared about ethics, and strived to live those values in the complexities of life. You are free at any time to contact me or my advisor with questions or concerns. Telephone numbers are listed on the form, which you will have a copy of.

This interview will be semi-structured. This means I will begin with a few statements about who I am interviewing, where we are, the date and so forth. I will then ask a few questions to get things started, but after that I hope that you will simply move into topics and memories you want to talk about and find most compelling. I will ask questions in response to things you bring up. You are not obligated to answer any question. You also can end the interview at any time.

The work we are doing is considered gathering oral history. As oral history, it is intended to be preserved. If you agree, this may be added to the archives at St. Johns University, which holds an Emerson Hynes collection. You may note any restrictions on the material in the archives. That is what you will be signing in one section of the consent form. If you do not agree, then this interview will be destroyed after I am done with my research unless you tell me some other thing you would prefer to do.

The person telling the stories and being interviewed, called the narrator in oral history, technically owns the copyright to the interview until you release the rights of it. You may release the rights to this interview regarding Emerson Hynes. This would be necessary, for example, if the archives were to post an excerpt of the interview for online access, etc. to make it available to researchers online. You may release copyright with restrictions or without any restrictions.

My hope is to digitally record the entire interview. But I will do this only if you agree. Otherwise I will take notes on the interview. If you agree to have the interview recorded, it will be transcribed into a hard copy document for research and preservation purposes. If you do not agree to have the interview digitally recorded, please note that in the exceptions.

Appendix E: Consent Form:**CONSENT FORM
UNIVERSITY OF ST. THOMAS****Closest to the Heart: The Life of Emerson Hynes**

[Insert IRB log number when assigned]

I am conducting a study about the life of Emerson Hynes. I invite you to participate in this research. You were selected as a possible participant because you knew Emerson Hynes. Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by Jeanne Cofell, under the advisement of Dr. Kate Boyle in the Department of Educational Leadership at the University of Saint Thomas.

Contacts and Questions

My name is Jeanne Cofell. You may ask any questions at any point in this process. If you have questions later, you may contact me at 320-685-4059. My advisor is Dr. Kate Boyle and you may contact her at 651-962-4393. You may also contact the University of St. Thomas Institutional Review Board at 651-962-5341 with any questions or concerns.

Background Information:

The purpose of this study is:

Exemplary leaders are people with great capacity for moral thinking and moral action. My historical inquiry investigates human moral excellence through the biographical research of the life of Emerson Hynes. My focus is to investigate the ethical outlook and lived experience as a moral exemplar, that is as someone who believed ethics to be a core imperative of life and explore how he lived those values. My purpose is not to present Hynes as perfect or ideal, but to create a portrait of a life dedicated to the common good to illuminate *goodness* in all its complexity and possibility to build understanding, inspiration, and hope.

Ethics was central to the values of Emerson Hynes; my research question is how did he attain, nurture and live out his ethical values in various avenues of his life? I will be conducting archival research, analyzing writings by Emerson Hynes, and conducting oral history interviews with individuals who were directly involved with Emerson Hynes and/or have knowledge about Hynes and want to share that information. Oral history interviews will be audio or video recorded and/or recorded through note-taking.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, I will ask you to do the following things:

To take part in a semi-structured interview at a location of your preference. The interviews may be about one to two hours long, depending on your interest and stamina. There is no required minimum time. You may end the interview at any time for any reason. You may decline to answer any question. With your permission the interview will be digitally recorded.

Risks and Benefits of Being in the Study:

It is possible in interviewing for oral history and memory that interviews could enter into sensitive areas for the interviewee. You may choose at any time to terminate the interview, take a break at any time, and you may choose not to answer any question. There are no financial or other material benefits from participating in this oral history interview.

Compensation:

There is no compensation for participating in this interview/project.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of St. Thomas. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time. Should you decide to withdraw, data collected from your interview will be used in the research project. You are also free to skip any questions I may ask.

Confidentiality:

Oral history data is intended to be preserved as historical documentation and intended to be accessible to future researchers and members of the public; therefore data is not intended to be destroyed. However, if you indicate on the consent form you do not give permission for the data to be transferred to the St. John's University archives and want the data to be destroyed, the data will be destroyed upon completion of the project. *If you sign the consent form, this will allow the digital interviews and the transcribed interviews to be transferred to the St. John's University Archives, where the data will be kept as long as St. John's University holds the Emerson Hynes Collection.*

I agree to release the data from interviews about Emerson Hynes to the St. John's University Archives into the Emerson Hynes collection.

_____ sign here and date

Please note any restrictions:

Copyright:

According to the Oral History Association, you hold the copyright to your interview until and unless you transfer those rights to an individual or institution.

I agree to yield my copyright of interviews about Emerson Hynes to Jeanne Cofell for use in research and to the repository for this oral history project, St. John's University Archives.

_____ sign here and date

Please note any restrictions:

You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent to participate in the study. I am at least 18 years of age. I agree to have this interview digitally recorded, transcribed, and photographs used in research.

Please note exceptions here:

Signature of Study Participant

Date

Print Name of Study Participant

Signature of Parent or Guardian
(If applicable)

Date

Print Name of Parent or Guardian
(If Applicable)

Signature of Researcher

Date

Appendix F: Transcriber Confidentiality Form.**TRANSCRIBER CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT
UNIVERSITY OF ST. THOMAS****Closest to the Heart: The Life of Emerson Hynes
[insert IRB log number when assigned]**

I, _____ [name of transcriber], agree to transcribe data for this study. I agree that I will:

1. keep all research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than Jeanne Cofell [name of researcher], the primary investigator of this study;
2. keep all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) secure while it is in my possession. This includes:
 - using closed headphones when transcribing audiotaped interviews;
 - keeping all transcript documents and digitized interviews in computer password-protected files;
 - closing any transcription programs and documents when temporarily away from the computer;
 - keeping any printed transcripts in a secure location such as a locked file cabinet; and
 - permanently deleting any e-mail communication containing the data;
3. give all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) to the primary investigator when I have completed the research tasks;
4. erase or destroy all research information in any form or format that is not returnable to the primary investigator (e.g., information stored on my computer hard drive) upon completion of the research tasks.

 Signature of transcriber

 Date

 Signature of researcher

 Date

Appendix G: Interview questions:

Interview: Open-ended Interview, Beginning Questions

Researcher: Jeanne Cofell

Project: Closest to the Heart: The Life of Emerson Hynes

The interviews will be semi-structured and thus questions are responsive to what the interviewee says, that is, questions may emerge in response to the interviewee. Not all the following questions will necessarily be used. The first listed questions are designed to gain context and setting and get the interview started. What follows are possible questions that could emerge or may be used to steer the conversation to initiate a line of inquiry.

How did you know Emerson Hynes?

What was going on in your life when you knew him?

Do you have any particular memories you would like to share of encounters or shared events with Emerson? (picnics, meetings, committees, gatherings, church events, school, etc?) Further questions will probe for details and significance.

Do you have a favorite memory?

Do you recall any particular conversations?

Did EH make you laugh? Do you remember any time...?

Any difficult memories regarding Emerson you would be willing to share?

Who were the primary people who surrounded EH?

Are there any particular memories that capture the essence of Emerson for you?

Could you describe "the movement" and who was part of this? Could you describe Emerson's role in this?

How would you describe Emerson's leadership ability, style and roles?

In your arena of connection (neighbor, school, colleague, etc.), what special role/job did Emerson have

In your arena of connection (family, neighbor, school, colleague, etc.) how did you see Emerson's leadership? Could you describe any particular scenarios you witnessed or knew about?

What did you see as his greatest strengths?

Weaknesses?

How would you describe Emerson's values?

Could you describe Emerson's world view?

What do you think were his greatest influences?

Could you describe particular events that made you aware of Emerson's moral outlook?

Could you describe what you believe to be an enduring lesson/memory/reflections that is consequent to your relationship with EH?

Did you see EH as having a sustained commitment to definable moral principles and if so, how did you see this and could you describe it?

Are you aware of any practices that EH did to nurture/sustain the moral life?

How did you see him act in accordance with these principles?

How did you hear EH express his moral principles?

Could you describe how he may have risked his own well-being for the sake of moral principles?

Did EH project a moral vision and what was it?

How did he generate innovative solutions to moral problems?

Could you describe any way you were inspired by EH?

Were there ways in which you felt EH was responsive to you or visa versa?

Were you aware of any suffering of EH, depression, or difficulties?

What kept EH going in the face of difficulties?

Were you aware of any events or moments that changed EH, if so, what and how?

Could you describe EH in one word?

What did EH like?

Not like?

When did EH seem the happiest?

Do you know how he rejuvenated?

Appendix H – The Colledgeville Tales by Emerson Hynes

THE COLLEGEVILLE TALES and THE TEACHER'S TALE

(Reprinted from *The Colledgeville Gazette* Founder's Day edition, June, 1966, Vol. XII, No. 1.)

A SUPPLEMENT, consisting of
the opening lines of THE COLLEGEVILLE TALES
and THE TEACHER'S TALE, complete,
being verses written by Mr. E. Hynes
for Mary, daughter,
Trinity College major in English
with concentration on Chaucer,
on the occasion of her reaching 21
January 9, 1966.
For private circulation only,
unexpurgated,
with photos from the Arleen McCarty Hynes archives.
[Photos not included.]

THE COLLEGEVILLE TALES

PROLOGUE

When gusty March with his blizzards fierce
Usurps the cold of February to pierce
All living things, covering with foot deep snow
Plowed fields and woods where wild violets grow;
When cruel Northwind with his biting blasts
Whips barren birch and maple trees, casts
Hard edged drifts across the roads, and shrouds
The sun with heavy swirling snow-filled clouds,
Driving deer and grouse to sheltered beds
While cattle huddle side by side in sheds
(So Nature each inclines to guard his kind)
Then wise men put excursions out of mind,
Postpone dances and basketball tourneys
Stay home from taverns, cancel shopping journeys;
And especially in Minnesota these snows
Sweep down the Mississippi, race the rows
Of southern counties, blanket villages
In north pine country, holding hostages.

The weather on a day this time of year
 Began ideally. The morning dazzling clear
 With diamond crusted snow and hints of spring
 Encouraged winter-tired people traveling
 To make up postponed work, visit friends,
 Repair machines and fatten dividends.
 Traffic moved from city, farm and hamlet
 With drivers unconcerned until near sunset
 When clouds appeared, ugly, dark and low;
 And suddenly strong winds, exploding snow,
 Rushed in and minutes later the whirling white
 Had blotted each landmark and road from sight.
 Headlights could not penetrate the wall
 Of wild snowflakes, and autos forced to crawl
 Bucked the rising drifts which clutched at wheels,
 Set tires spinning with scorched rubber squeals.
 The winds grew cold, increased in violence;
 Drivers hunched to peer, strained, intense.
 A single thought was in the mind of each:
 To find the nearest shelter he could reach.

In mid-state near Collegeville was Oscar's Stop,
 A gasoline station, grille and auto shop
 In open country where highways intersect.
 Here the travelers started to collect
 And fifty or more before the roads closed tight
 Made their way to Oscar's Stop that night.
 Oscar was there to greet with booming voice
 Each one as though a customer by choice.
 He brushed off snow, helped thaw frozen ears,
 Listened to their close escapes and fears.
 A bald-headed no-neck man, five foot four,
 Round as a beer barrel, broad as a door,
 Huge hands, scarred when auto wrenches slipped,
 Grease stained coveralls, boots steel tipped,
 Clear friendly eyes, cherubic smile and face,
 He was an honest host with natural grace.
 He moved among the crowd, urging all:
 "Make yourselves at home. Give a call
 To let your folks know you are safe and sound.
 Pep up! It can be fun to be snowbound."
 Nellie his wife maintained a steady pace
 At stove side, a gaunt lady with bony face
 Translating orders to the griddle top.
 Behind the counter the pride of Oscar's Stop,
 Hildegarde the waitress, dispensed cheer
 Along with hamburgers and Grain Belt beer.

And soon the group was in a merry mood
 And here are some of these who could be viewed:

/hereafter is recorded a description of
 several snowbound travelers, among them.../

Standing arm akimbo
 Tall, slightly stooped, slightly threadbare,
 Gold rimmed glasses and gray receding hair,
 Old pipe, ashes tapped out on a signet ring,
 Closely viewing each and everything
 Was a teacher, one who loved to teach
 And also was somewhat inclined to preach
 Of rural and family life and social causes.

/The company isolated in the crowded station by the
 fury of the blizzard, Oscar proposed that each
 traveler tell a tale to pass the time during
 the long night, and following is the teacher's tale/

THE TEACHER'S TALE

I feel a bit restrained, I must confess,
 By Oscar's rules and especially his stress
 On telling tales. I would be more at ease
 And would be better able, I think, to please
 If I could lead you in a colloquy
 On ideas and concepts of philosophy.
 As you will see I have no story talent
 But more than that there is enjoyment
 In philosophizing, perhaps a hidden link
 With questions children ask before we think
 They understand. They relish wondering
 Until they learn the fear of not-knowing—
 What is this and that and what is mine?
 Who made the world and me and puts the shine
 In stars? Ten thousand times they ask us "Why?"
 And our dull answers make their wonder die.

Philosophers pose these child-like questions
 Of ultimate causes, natures and connections.
 How much we value facts and mass statistics,
 How little time we have for metaphysics
 And other branches of that pure wisdom
 The Greeks held to be the highest kingdom

Of thought. It is said to lack utility
 But it calls forth and tests agility
 Of intellect as no other science can.
 Is there a moral law that governs man?
 Are universal concepts formed by me
 Since individuals are all I ever see?
 Can I be sure that anything is true?
 What can transcendental properties do
 To help me know reality of being?
 To state "What is, is," is only asking
 How essence and existence come and go,
 While saying something "is" means to know
 At once the most and least that can be said
 of it. No, philosophy is never dead
 But we to it are sadly so. I won't go on--
 Rules are the rock order builds upon
 And to tell a tale is Oscar's rule. My story
 Is about a man who had his share of worry
 One winter night. He lived in Collegeville
 Many years ago in a white house on the hill
 Overlooking Watab Valley, a modest place
 He helped construct himself in an open space
 On his ten acres among the white birch trees,
 A homestead loomed in rural tapestries.

Collegeville is not a crowded civic center--
 Four homes on the hill and four down further
 On route to the Great Northern railroad station
 Serving St. John's: fourteen century's tradition
 Of the Holy Rule of Benedict taking root
 In forested wilderness, producing fruit
 Of learning through its men's university
 Where he was teaching ethics and sociology.

He was in his booklined study late at night
 At work on classes--reading by kerosene light
 Since struggling REAs could not yet provide
 The service haughty profit-firms denied
 To farms. The temperature after heavy snow
 Had fallen to twenty-three degrees below,
 Imposing isolation. In the icy atmosphere
 The midnight train sounded twice as near
 As it rolled by. The silent cold outside
 And quiet warmth within had magnified
 His tranquility and intellectual glow
 On revisiting the dialogues of Plato.

Pipe in mouth, sunk in leather chair
 He seemed a man at peace, free of care.
 Calm before storm, pride precedes fall,
 The teacher was startled by an urgent call.

But before I go further it would be best
 To let you know some things about the rest.
 There was his wife, a classic daily witness
 Of nuptial blessings and feminine finesse.
 Her skills were varied, her love immeasurable.
 She turned a pickle barrel into a table,
 Made drapes of unbleached muslin, painted walls
 In vivid colors; on cabinet doors drew symbols
 Of liturgy and land. She printed carefully
 "In green pastures the Lord hath settled me"
 Above the window which commands and captures
 The distant hills, creek and valley pastures
 Where cattle graze and on a winter night
 Deer come to browse and play by full moonlight.
 A brown haired girl, a trifle more than thin
 With light blue eyes, tiny freckles, fair skin,
 She had the radiance of Irish innocence.
 She made her dresses of bright gay prints
 And proudly served the products of their land:
 Peas and golden sweet corn, the surplus canned;
 Eggs from hens; syrup from maple trees;
 Rich Guernsey milk, butter, cottage cheese;
 Asparagus tips, first triumph of the spring,
 Apples, plums and fruits that fall days bring;
 Fried chicken, baby-beef home corn-fed;
 Honey from orchard hives; whole wheat bread;
 Gooseberry, chokecherry jelly; wild grape wine;
 Strawberry jam; pickles of watermelon rind

She took her kitchen tasks in easy stride
 And carried on an active life beside,
 Shopping, visiting, responding to requests
 To lead the March of Dimes, having guests
 At open house, talking with the faculty,
 Avoiding women's talk of woes and treachery.
 She liked to travel, dance, go to plays
 And symphonies, read poetry and essays,
 Study art and sketch with colored chalk.
 She was thrilled before her son could talk
 By the spoon-beating response she got
 From reading him Hopkins and T.S. Eliot.

She resolutely set aside each day
 An afternoon nap and a time to pray.
 Enthusiasm was her strongest virtue;
 She followed each prospective avenue
 To learn the truth or make a better world
 And kept the banner of reform unfurled.
 Her countenance was eager when she smiled,
 She moved with easy grace though big with child.
 She was a true, a perfect rural queen,
 Scripture's Valiant Woman. Her name was Arleen.

Their firstborn son was then nearing three
 A slender towhead of enormous energy
 Who was baptized Denis by Abbot Alcuin
 With his father's brother and mother's twin
 As godparents; and shortly he went to school--
 To sleep on the desk of the dean, a princely rule
 With St. Ben's girls tiptoeing for brief looks
 While his librarian mother catalogued books.
 When he could only crawl he deep explored
 The fireplace, emerging soot colored
 With dancing eyes and joyous two-tooth smile.
 At one he hid car keys in the woodpile;
 At two he roamed the yard a feudal lord
 Challenging cow and hens with cornstalk sword.

Patrick, his brother with curly red hair
 Avidly tottering from chair to chair
 And taking his tumbles, was less than a year
 Surprising to many since the next was so near.
 (His mother had no way of knowing then
 The number would one day increase to ten).
 He would crouch, sway and pounce on a feather,
 Look up astonished and roll with laughter.
 He tossed his empty bottle on the floor
 And quickly raised expectant hands for more.
 Freckle faced, chubby, easily beguiled,
 He was a cheerful, most congenial child.

At the call he heard the teacher swiftly moved
 To his wife's side. Her face by lamplight proved
 What she could not speak until the pain
 Released her--sharp breath-catching refrain
 That begins the end of pregnancy, bitter herb
 Of love's ecstasy. Her composure was superb,
 His was less; the hospital fifteen miles away,

Firm based doubts about the old Chevrolet.
 Outside he pressed the starter; it whined
 In protest; again; again; the battery declined;
 He waited, chilled, gave another frantic thrust.
 It caught, bumping, missing, then a gust
 Of solid power. He left the motor racing,
 Rushed into the house and quickly swaddling
 His older son carried him down the road
 To Reichels; took Patrick in a second load.
 Good fences are said to make good neighbors
 But not as good as those who open doors
 In middle of night and warmly open arms
 For little children and quiet great alarms.
 The cold air stung, the crusted snow snapped
 As he raced back to his wife, coat wrapped
 On top step, statue of Eve, baby filled,
 Full of pain, moving when pangs stilled.

The car's hot exhaust gas mushroomed white,
 The body creaked, the steering wheel was tight,
 The road deserted, treacherous with ice,
 A frozen Charybdis while Scylla urged twice
 The speed. Slipping, swerving, crawling through
 St. Joseph (village named for him who knew)
 He tried to ease her rhythmical distress,
 His secret thoughts a stream of consciousness:
 Can doctor come in time---vision poor—
 Nuns pray---safe delivery never sure—
 Build baby bed---let both Grandmas know—
 Episiotomy---radio says more snow---
 Gas coupons short; can't visit every day---
 Who to teach morning class if long delay—
 Soldiers at the front, soldiers' wives alone—
 Perhaps a girl this time---granite gravestone—
 Battle of the Bulge; even when win
 Early halt of Hitler's slaughter dim—
 Hunt hired help---bills---would freeze
 If car stalls or slides in ditch---Socrates.

Common things in times of uncommon stress
 Take on qualities of great attractiveness
 And so the hospital seemed that night
 To them, the white robed nun an acolyte
 Of mercy, holding wide the door, mingling
 Lamentation of the cold with generous blessing
 As she wheeled her patient to delivery room.
 The teacher stayed behind to answer for whom

It might concern officious questions: her place
 Of birth, children, age, religion, race,
 And near the end after discreet delay
 "Will Blue Cross be responsible to pay?"

The final needs and strains of her hard labor
 He could not know. Instead he paced the floor
 Of the waiting room, that insensitive tradition
 Harshly tearing man from wife at fruition
 Of their unity. Let doctors burn with shame
 And administrators take their share of blame:
 Small wonder men have limited cognition
 Of the sanctity and pain of parturition.
 The teacher chafes and stalks, broods and plots
 Reform. He hears a baby's cry. Black thoughts
 Vanish—now transformed, he stands to stare
 At a tiny lovely daughter with ripe wheat hair.

That is the story, very common place.
 For each of us and all the human race
 It is much the same. History is not concerned
 With birth but with the born who best have earned
 Community acclaim for efforts to advance
 Frontiers, or through evilness or chance
 Brought disaster. Yet history that survives
 Needs also those who in their daily lives
 Do what must be done as mothers do.
 And now to end---a brief final view

Of this every day, every where event.
 The teacher beheld the child, then proudly went
 To see her mother, **love's** labor gained
 Smile of earned exhaustion replaced the pained.
 Hands held hard, dawn ninth of January
 In unity they pledged her name be Mary.
 Then foolish as are sometimes those love-spun
 They laughed: "Some day she will be twenty-one."

Appendix I, Prayer Litany

LITANY OF THE SAINTS

St. Emeric, make me a good person.

St. Helene, help me accept the Cross of Christ.

St. Denis, make me a defender of the faith.

St. Patrick, make me a missionary for the love of God.

St. Mary, make me sweet and humble of heart.

St. Hilary, make me a laughing boy.

St. Brigid, make me a housekeeper for God.

St. Peter, make me a rock of faith.

St. Michael, defend us with the sword of the spirit.

St. Thomas More, let us meet merrily in heaven.

St. Timothy, fight the good fight of faith.

St. Christopher, help me see Christ borne in all men.

St. Joseph, grant me the grace of a happy death.

St. Benedict, may your holy rule be our family guide.

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¹ All *St. John’s Record* and *The Record* are listed together under *St. John’s Record*.

- _____. "Catholic Action is Discussed by Institute for Social Study." 50, no. 8 (March 11, 1937): 2.
- _____. "Catholic Backgrounds, Culture Course Offered." 49, no. 19 (September 17, 1936): 2.
- _____. "Catholic Sociology Course Now Offered." 49, no. 20 (September 24, 1936): 2.
- _____. "Christopher Hollis Lectures on Europe." 49, no. 4 (February 13, 1936): 1.
- _____. "Cigarette Proprietor Reveals Sales Secrets." 49, no. 25 (October 29, 1936): 2.
- _____. "College Man Teachers Prep School English." 49, no. 28 (November 19, 1936): 2.
- _____. "Conferences Scheduled for Social Institute." 50, no. 3 (February 4, 1937): 1.
- _____. "Congressman Visits Friends at St. John's." 46, no. 26 (October 26, 1933): 1.
- _____. "Criticism of Quarterly Given by Father Conrad." 50, no. 5 (February 18, 1937): 1.
- _____. "Dean Laments Frenzied Scramble for Credits." 49, no. 16 (May 21, 1936): 3.
- _____. "Dean Lectures on Papal Encyclical." 48, no. 26 (November 7, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Dean Organizes Student Unit for Social Study." 48, no. 28 (November 21, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Dean Prods Laggards at Student Assembly." 49, no. 28 (November 19, 1936): 1.
- _____. "Dean Takes Part in Symposium: Studies Hutchins (sic) Plan for College Education." 51, no. 27, (Nov. 10, 1938): 1.
- _____. "Dean Urges Interests in Social Problems." 48, no. 1 (January 17, 1935): 2.
- _____. "Dean Writes Series on Social Problems." 48, no. 10 (March 28, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Deans Give Initial Talks to Students." 46, no. 21 (September 21, 1933): 2.

- _____. "Deans Publish." 47, no. 18 (July 7, 1934): 7.
- _____. "Debate Club Hears Cambridge Debaters." 46, no. 32 (December 7, 1933): 1.
- _____. "Debate Group Hold Initial Discussion." 48, no. 27 (November 14, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Debaters Clash With Macalester On Arms and Munitions Question." 48, no. 9 (March 21, 1935): 1, 3.
- _____. "Debaters Will Meet Talented Opposition." 48, no. 8 (March 14, 1935): 1.
- _____. "E. M. Hynes Elected President of I. R. C." 48, no. 20 (September 26, 1935): 2.
- _____. "Economics is the Main Topic of Discussion at Second Meeting of Social Institute." 48, no. 28 (November 21, 1935): 2.
- _____. "Editor of 'Catholic Worker' Speaks Here." 48, no. 27 (November 14, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Editorial Staff at Press Meet." 50, no. 5 (February 18, 1937): 1.
- _____. "Educational Venture Will Be Undertaken: Course Will Deal With Catholic Reconstruction." 49, no. 17 (May 28, 1936): 1, 2.
- _____. "Emerson Hynes, Editor, Elected President of Senior Class." 49, no. 22 (October 8, 1936): 1.
- _____. "Father Furfey, Hoffman are Principle Speakers: Catholic Press, Modern Problem, Theme of Conference; Father Dunstan and Emerson Hynes Attend." 50, no. 6 (February 25, 1937): 1, 2.
- _____. "Father Virgil, Dean, Returns From North." 46, no. 32 (December 7, 1933): 1.
- _____. "Father Virgil Michel, Dean, Dies: Succumbs to Streptococic (sic) Infection; Ill Only a Week: Faculty and Students Stunned by Loss of Noted Confrere, Friend, Scholar; Father Virgil Distinguished in Many Fields." 51, no. 29 (December 1, 1938): 1, 2, 4.

- _____. "First Publication of St. John's Quarterly Set During Holidays." 49, no. 30 (December 10, 1936): 2.
- _____. "Forty-Six Seniors Receive Diplomas Sunday: Commencement Address by Prof Martin Ruud: Class President Emerson Hynes Will Give Valedictory Speech; Prominent in All Activities." 50, no. 17 (May 27, 1937): 1.
- _____. "Fourth Conference of Institute Held." 48, no. 12 (April 11, 1935): 1, 3.
- _____. "Friday afternoon, May 24..." 48, no. 16 (May 23, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Guide to New Library Books." 50, no. 4 (February 11, 1937): 2.
- _____. "Guide to New Library Books." 50, no. 5 (February 18, 1937): 2.
- _____. "Guide to New Library Books." 50, no. 9 (March 18, 1937): 2.
- _____. "Guide to New Library Books." 50, no. 11 (April 15, 1937): 2.
- _____. "Guide to New Library Books." 50, no. 12 (April 22, 1937): 2.
- _____. "Guide to New Library Books." 50, no. 16 (May 20, 1937): 2.
- _____. "Hughes Announces Pi Kappa Delta Question." 47, no. 28 (November 15, 1934): 1.
- _____. "Hynes to Conduct I.R.C. Roundtable." 48, no. 10 (March 28, 1935): 3.
- _____. "I. R. C. Club Members Hold Joint Session." 48, no. 30 (December 5, 1935): 2.
- _____. "I. R. C. Delegates to Meet in Sioux Falls." 49, no. 10 (March 26, 1936): 7.
- _____. "I. R. C. Demonstration on Sunday Evening." 48, no. 21 (October 3, 1935): 1.
- _____. "I. R. Club Sponsors Student Peace Vote." 48, no. 28 (November 21, 1935): 1, 7.
- _____. "I. R.C. Members Hear Dr. Bohn On Europe." 49, no. 11 (April 2, 1936): 7.
- _____. "Institute for Social Study: December 13-14." 49, no. 30 (December 10, 1936): 2.

- _____. "Institute for Social Study has Meetings Last Week-End." 48, no. 1 (January 17, 1935): 1, 3.
- _____. "Institute for Social Study Has Monthly Week-end Conference." 49, no. 1 (January 16, 1936): 1, 3.
- _____. "Institute for Social Study Meets Feb. 9, 10." 48, no. 4 (February 14, 1935): 1, 2.
- _____. "Institute for Social Study to Reconvene." 49, no. 23 (October 15, 1936): 1.
- _____. "The Institute for Social Study Will Hold a Weekend Conference..." 49, no. 3 (February 6, 1936): 1.
- _____. "International Relations Club Demonstration of Last Sunday Evening Arouses Student Interest." 48, no. 22 (October 10, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Internationalism is Discussed in Session of Social Institute." 49, no. 13 (April 30, 1936): 1, 3.
- _____. "Internat'l Relations Club Delegates Will Meet in Sioux Falls." 49, no. 10 (March 26, 1936): 1, 7.
- _____. "Irish Poet Lectures on Catholic Revival." 49, no. 28 (November 19, 1936): 1.
- _____. "Johnnie Debaters Meet Duluth Team." 47, no. 7 (March 1, 1934): 1.
- _____. "Johnnie Debaters Meet Macalester." 48, no. 3 (February 7, 1935): 3.
- _____. "Johnny Debaters Take Part in Tournament." 48, no. 7 (March 7, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Johnnie Freshmen Debaters To Engage St. Benedict Team on Thursday Night." 47, no. 4 (February 8, 1934): 5.
- _____. "Joint IRC Groups Discuss Neutrality." 49, no. 13 (April 30, 1936): 2.
- _____. "Joseph Boese Is Highly Acclaimed for Paper at I.R.C. Conference." 49, no. 11 (April 2, 1936): 1.

- _____. "List of Record Editors---1888-1937." 50, no. 1 (January 14, 1937): 6.
- _____. "Liturgical Review to Observe Anniversary." 4, no. 21 (October 1, 1936): 1, 2.
- _____. "Members of *Sag* Staff Get Their Assignments." 48, no. 3 (February 7, 1935): 3.
- _____. "Minnesota College Press Association Holds Convention at Macalester, April 24-25." 49, no. 13 (April 30, 1936): 2.
- _____. "Miss Day Tells Interviewer of Combat Against Communism." 48, no. 27 (November 14, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Miss Dorothy Day, Editor of the Catholic Worker, To Speak at St. John's Next Week." 48, no. 25 (October 31, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Peace Enrolls Many Johnnie Advocates." 48, no. 32 (December 19, 1935): 3.
- _____. "Peter Maurin Writes Easy Essay for Record Anniversary Number." 50, no. 1 (January 14, 1937): 4.
- _____. "Pi Kappa Delta Announce Subject of Debate for Year." 46, no. 29 (November 16, 1933): 1.
- _____. "Piotrowski and Hynes to Be Editors of 1935-'36 Publications." 48, no. 16 (May 23, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Poetry Class Hears Sandburg at St. Ben's." 48, no. 24 (October 24, 1935): 3.
- _____. "Printing Complete on Study Club Pamphlet." 49, no. 30 (December 10, 1936): 2.
- _____. "Prominent '37 Graduate to Study Two Years at Notre Dame." 50, no. 18 (August 19, 1937): 1.
- _____. "'Question of Jurisdiction' is Topic of Social Institute." 49, no. 8 (March 12, 1936): 2.

- _____. "Record Sans Editor - - Hynes Hies Homeward." 49, no. 28 (November 19, 1936): 2.
- _____. "The Record Through 50 Years." 50, no. 1 (January 14, 1937): 4.
- _____. "Record Staff Finally Receive Their Reward." 48, no. 17 (May 30, 1935): 7.
- _____. "Rev. Virgil, Dean, To Make Extensive Trip." 48, no. 29 November 28, 1935):
1.
- _____. "Rev. Virgil Speaks on 'Catholic Education.'" 48, no. 19 (September 19, 1935):
2.
- _____. "Rev. Virgil to Lecture in the East: College Dean to be Gone for Several Weeks
on Speaking Tour." 50, no. 3 (February 4, 1937): 1.
- _____. "Rev. Virgil Travels to Sociology Meets in Central States." 50, no. 11 (April 15,
1937): 1.
- _____. "Reverend Virgil Addresses New Social Institute: Delivers Lecture on the
Unchristian Mode of Modern Life." 50, no. 2 (January 21, 1937): 1.
- _____. "School Enrollment Reaches New High." 48, no. 19 (September 19, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Scribblers Augment Membership of Union in Formal Initiation," 48, no. 23
(October 17, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Scribbler's Supplement Writing With Pingpong." 48, no. 27 (November 14,
1935): 3.
- _____. "Seminar Room Provided for Advance Courses." 48, no. 21 (October 3, 1935):
1.
- _____. "Senator Shipstead Speaks at St. Johns." 46, no. 28 (November 9, 1933): 1.

- _____. "Seventy-seventh Scholastic Term Opens with Banner Enrollment." 46, no. 21 (September 21, 1933): 1.
- _____. "Several Students Get Perfect Marks." 48, no. 3 (February 7, 1935): 2.
- _____. "Social Institute Completes First Semester Conferences: Quadragesimo Anno, Typical Coops, Are Discussed." 50, no. 1 (January 14, 1937): 2.
- _____. "Social Institute Marks Initial Meeting With Large Attendance." 49, no. 24 (October 22, 1936): 1.
- _____. "Social Institute to Convene May 1-2." 50, no. 13 (April 29, 1937): 1.
- _____. "Social Institute to Hold First Meeting on October 26, 27." 48, no. 23 (October 17, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Social Study Group Discusses 'Family.'" 48, no. 15 (May 16, 1935): 1, 3.
- _____. "Social Study Group Meets Last Week-End." 48, no. 8 (March 14, 1935): 1, 3.
- _____. "Social Study Institute Convenes, Dec 14-15." 48, no. 32 (December 19, 1935): 3.
- _____. "Social Study Institute to Meet This Week-End." 48, no. 24 (October 24, 1935): 1.
- _____. "St. John's Delegates Attend I.R.C. Meeting." 47, no. 10 (April 12, 1934): 1, 2.
- _____. "St. John's Honored by Apostolic Delegate." 46, no. 24 (October 12, 1933): 1.
- _____. *St. John's Record*. 46, no. 21 (September 21, 1933): 1-8.
- _____. "St. John's Record." 46, no. 22 (September 28, 1933): 4.
- _____. "St. John's Students Attend Conference." 48, no. 13 (May 2, 1935): 1, 2.
- _____. "Staff." 48, no. 27 (November 14, 1935): 2.
- _____. "Staff." 49, no. 19 (September 17, 1936): 4.

- _____. "Staffs Organize Scribblers Union." 47, no. 20 (September 20, 1934): 1, 2.
- _____. "Student Critics Evaluate Initial Issue of Quarterly." 50, no. 3 (February 4, 1937): 1.
- _____. "Suggestions for Reading." 48, no. 29 (November 28, 1935): 4.
- _____. "Suggestions for Reading." 49, no. 8 (March 12, 1936): 7.
- _____. "Ten Students Earn High 2nd Semester Grades." 49, no. 18 (June 11, 1936): 2.
- _____. "Three Faculty Men Attend Educational Meeting in St. Cloud." 48, no. 24 (October 24, 1935): 1.
- _____. "Topsy-Turvyism Comes When Ethics Go, Says Peter Maurin." 49, no 1 (January 16, 1936): 2.
- _____. "University Dean Speaks on Christian Education Before Assembly of College Men: Father Virgil Stresses Need for Catholic Action." 50, no. 14 (May 6, 1937): 1.
- _____. "University President's Message to The Record." 50, no. 1 (January 14, 1937): 1.
- _____. "Violin Concert Given on Tuesday Evening." 47, no. 1 (January 11, 1934): 2.
- _____. "Virgil Michel Reviews Values of Institute." 48, no. 16 (May 23, 1935): 3.
- _____. "Yearbook Will Arrive May 20, Says Hynes." 49, no. 14 (May 7, 1936): 2.
- _____. "You cannot dream..." 46, no. 24 (October 12, 1933): 2.

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