



“Truth Exists. The Incarnation Happened”: Warren H. Carroll’s Catholic Historiography

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Warren H. Carroll was a fundamental figure of the late-twentieth century Catholic cultural revival. His historical works present the Church’s Christocentric view of history while utilizing the scholarly tools of a modern historian. Yet few historians, even Catholic historians working within the Catholic historiographic milieu, are familiar with the historical thought of Carroll, and even fewer have engaged his thought in their scholarship. This article seeks to rectify that deficiency by presenting Carroll’s twin historical principles, “Truth exists” and “The Incarnation happened,” as a model for Catholic historical studies.

Historiography for most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries reflected an obsession with economic and technological progress. History was not the story of men and women; rather it was the story of how material progress shaped people. Christian historians who sought to infuse their histories with their belief in the Incarnation became an endangered species, and as the twentieth century marched onwards, Catholic historiography, like the Catholic university, fell in line with the prevailing culture. The result was that a Catholic historian, especially in American academia, became indistinguishable from his secular contemporaries.¹ The traditional Catholic understanding of history, beginning with St. Paul’s bold statement that Christ came “in the fullness of time” (Galatians 4:4) and stretching into the twentieth century with writers like G. K. Chesterton and Christopher Dawson, fell by the wayside.

It took a self-described “pagan Deist,” a convert like Chesterton and Dawson before him, to reorient Catholic historical studies in the late-twentieth century. That convert was Warren Hasty Carroll. Decades before George Marsden declared that there was a place for religious faith in the academic study of history, Carroll had already begun a fruitful career producing scholarly historical research from a strongly Catholic viewpoint.² Although Carroll was widely regarded “as a significant contributor to Catholic education” and as “a leading figure in historical scholarship on Christian history,” his role as a trailblazing Catholic historian has diminished in recent years.³ Few Catholic historians, even those seeking to

continue the renaissance of Catholic historical scholarship in which Carroll played so crucial a role, examine his historical ideas in their work.⁴ Reasons for this dearth of scholarship vary, ranging from the unabashed prominence of Catholic theological claims in Carroll's works to his tendency to use almost exclusively secondary sources. Carroll, it seems, was not concerned with adding something new to historical scholarship.⁵

These are not cursory issues; to use philosophical terminology, they get at the essential nature of Carroll's work. His tendency to shape his view of historical events through his Catholic Faith remains one of the key distinguishing features between his corpus and the writings of other historians. His use of predominantly secondary sources was likewise intentional, especially in his multi-volume *A History of Christendom* series. For such a monumental project, Carroll concluded, "it would not be a reasonable expenditure of time and effort" to delve into all of the primary source material, "since so many painstaking and conscientious scholars have already investigated the primary sources with the utmost care and reported thoroughly on them."⁶ When Carroll does use predominantly primary sources in his work, as in his *Isabel of Spain: The Catholic Queen* and *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Revolution*, it marks a genuine contribution to the historical subjects examined.⁷ However, Carroll saw himself neither as a great innovator in historical studies nor as a contributor to new historical studies. Rather, he saw himself as presenting the great story of humanity "from the Christian point of view, in a time when this kind of history has virtually ceased being written."⁸

Thus, Carroll's historical vision remains, for the most part, critically unexamined by historians. It is the primary aim of this essay to present his historiography to foster such scholarly conversation. This essay endeavors to present Carroll's historiography in two essential propositions, his two "watchwords": "Truth exists" and "The Incarnation happened."⁹ The paper examines what Carroll says about these propositions in his writing and speaking and how he looks at specific historical topics. In this way, historians unfamiliar with Carroll's work will receive an introduction to his historiography, as well as some possible ways to use his historical vision in their specific fields of study.

TRUTH EXISTS

Before Warren Carroll became a Catholic historian, he was a vigorous defender of objective truth. Despite his nominally Christian upbringing, by the time he entered Bates College in 1949, Carroll was, in his words, a "pagan Deist."¹⁰ With this Deism came a love of objective truth, a love that would ultimately lead Carroll to the Catholic Church. He soon found

though that many of his professors and fellow students did not all share this devotion to reality.¹¹ As he later lamented, "I was really distressed by the prevailing attitude in the academic world, even back then. . . . Even then, I did always believe in the existence of objective truth and in a high standard of morality."¹² Elsewhere, he commented, "I saw what was wrong with modern education a long time before I saw what was right about Christianity. . . . The people teaching in the university didn't care whether truth existed or not, and it didn't matter to them. It mattered a great deal to me, it always did."¹³

Carroll did not acquiesce to modernity's rejection of objectivity. Instead, he began his life-long mission to defend truth. In 1963, he wrote "Law: The Quest for Certainty," for the *American Bar Association Journal*; the article attacked the rejection of absolute truth in academia, particularly in legal studies. There Carroll notes that, "Law stands as the guardian of a rational reality above and beyond the current whims and passions of men."¹⁴ Without objectivity, there can be no justice, no truth, and no law.

This has happened on at least two memorable occasions in history, after a period when law had abdicated almost entirely in favor of the arbitrary power of an absolute monarch, and that monarch fell. The result was to bathe the world in blood. One of those occasions was a hot July day before a prison called the Bastille; the other was late of a wintry October in the city that used to be called St. Petersburg.¹⁵

Carroll released several spoken word albums in the mid-1960s, particularly *Universities Against Truth* in 1966. Again, Carroll was on the attack against relativism in American universities. Objectivity held sway in Carroll's mind and transformed his life and his historiography.

Carroll's conversion to Catholicism in 1968 amplified his zeal for the truth. This became apparent in Carroll's work for the Christian Commonwealth Institute and *Triumph Magazine*. In a January 1973 article entitled "The Modern University: Mission Territory," Carroll looks at how modern universities became the centers of relativism. In presenting this sordid history, Carroll traces the growth of relativism from the Protestant rejection of the Catholic Church through the complete rejection of Christ during the Enlightenment; the scholarly rejection of Catholic historiography stemmed from this historical rejection of truth.¹⁶ Therefore, Carroll realized, a properly restored Catholic historiography must hold as essential the proposition "Truth exists."

This emphasis on objective truth manifests itself in Carroll's historiography in three ways. First, Carroll places a great emphasis on the importance of memory in historical writing. Second, Carroll notes that historians should avoid bias when writing. Third, stemming from the second point,

Carroll holds that historians should admit their particular viewpoints concerning historical topics, especially controversial ones.

Carroll famously wrote, concerning historical memory, that “the historian is the guardian of memory. Whatever his personal sympathies, it is his duty to stand watch on the ramparts of time, and rescue the truth—however unwelcome—from oblivion.”¹⁷ This matches a point he made decades earlier: “To tune out history is to tune out life and to blank out memory. A people which does not know its own history is like a man with amnesia.”¹⁸ This statement has particular importance for the Catholic historian, for Catholicism is a fundamentally historical religion; our identity as Catholics is tied up with historical claims, namely, those concerning the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. These claims about Christ are either historically real or they are fabrications. The source of the earliest history of our Faith, the essential story of Christ, comes from the memories of the first followers. If truth exists, and if memories are true accounts of what happened, then a historian has a particular calling to preserve the memories of a people, without changing the memories to fit a preconceived agenda.

This connection between the historian and historical truth means it would be particularly offensive if a historian embraced a bias regarding his historical topic. Carroll distinguishes between bias and a historical viewpoint. A historian’s historical viewpoint is the perspective through which the historian presents the historical record; a viewpoint helps the historian sift through historical data, simplifying a process which Carroll calls “the most difficult single task in historical research.”¹⁹ A bias, on the other hand, rejects historical information simply because it does not correspond with the historian’s preconceived agenda. Carroll takes particular issue with modern historians’ bias against the action of the supernatural in history, particularly through miracles. In his article “Banning the Supernatural: Why Historians Must Not Rule Out the Action of God in History,” Carroll explores several examples of historical events (such as recent Marian apparitions and the seeming demonic possession of Rasputin) during which supernatural forces seem to have intervened directly in history. Contemporary historians try to explain these seemingly miraculous events through natural means with only limited success. Carroll argues that their anti-supernatural bias, and thus their closed-minded historiography, damages their historical analysis. Carroll concludes:

Historians must apply all genuine critical standards of scholarship when dealing with these reports. But the arbitrary *a priori* assumption that apparitions and miracles and the Incarnation itself could not have happened, that historical events never transcend the natural order, is not a critical standard. It is a flagrant bias which ought to be firmly

rejected. Jettisoning this prejudice is a reasonable and fair position to demand even from non-Christian historians. For the Christian historian it is nothing less than a duty.²⁰

Carroll does not demand historians admit that history proves these events are true miracles; such proof is beyond the realm of historical study and requires true religious Faith. Rather, a historian should at least be open to the possibility that the supernatural could explain some historical events. At the same time, "claims of the miraculous and the supernatural must be subjected to the same tests as all other historical evidence, but must not be rejected out of hand."²¹ There are, after all, "many more spurious apparitions and alleged miracles than genuine ones."²²

Likewise, the Catholic historian should not try to cover-up the sins of Catholics, nor try to paint the popes as perfect, as in Peter de Roo's five-volume "apologia" for Pope Alexander VI; it is the historian's responsibility to "face the truth, however unpleasant or unwelcome."²³ In his own writings, Carroll offers critiques of the "heroes" in his histories. For example, Carroll lauds Christopher Columbus for his history-making voyages. He sees God's providential hand in Columbus's life, from his childhood through his encounters with Queen Isabel of Spain and his subsequent voyages to the New World. However, historical impact does not make Columbus a saint. In his fuller treatments of Columbus, Carroll examines in detail the explorer's failings as an administrator, in particular how he allowed the Spaniards to take native slaves and on his own part treated captured natives without the justice one would expect of a Christian hero.²⁴ Even though Columbus was a hero thanks to his historical achievements, Carroll is sure to admit how, "Heroes need not be perfect; indeed, given the fallen nature of man, none can be perfect. It is right to criticize their failings, but wrong to deny their greatness and the inspiration they can give."²⁵ It would be dishonest of Carroll to dismiss Columbus's flaws, to paint him as perfect. His vocation as historian was to reject the bias such whitewashing entails.

Carroll is also critical of historians who reject older accounts of the saints because they fall into the category of hagiography and, as such, contain stories of miracles. One particular example of this is the life of St. Cecilia.²⁶ Carroll comes down on the side of the traditional record of the saints, such as the Acts of St. Cecilia's martyrdom, not because they are older stories, but rather because there is no valid reason given by the historical critics to reject the older stories' information. When other evidence, such as the reports from the excavation of St. Cecilia's body in 821 and 1599, corroborate the Acts' account, there is no reason other than bias to reject St. Cecilia and her martyrdom as a mere Christian legend.

Connected to Carroll's rejection of bias is a call for historians to be more upfront about their historical viewpoints, especially when concerned with controversial historical topics. Every historian must have some scope to search through the excess of historical data; the claim that the only objective history is one without a historical viewpoint is false. A historian can write a good, objective history of a religious topic from within that religious tradition just as well as a historian from another faith tradition.²⁷ Carroll was adamant that a historian, especially a Catholic historian, should admit his historiographical position and include his faith in his writing.

We cannot, therefore, set aside our faith into a corner over here, and then write our history as though it did not exist, and that is what almost all historians today are doing, including almost all who call themselves Catholics. They don't write history as Catholics; they try to write it as though they weren't Catholic, so you can't guess if they are Catholic or not.²⁸

In regards to biography, Carroll asks, "Is full so-called 'scholarly objectivity' desirable or even possible in biography? If the author is truly neutral toward his subject, it is hard to see how that subject, at least in the case of biography, has 'come alive' for him. Rarely are we wholly neutral towards anyone we know well."²⁹ When examining a subject, biographers and historians should weigh the actions, both good and bad, of the historical figure, as we would anyone else we know well. The historian is free to express his view of his subject, not in colloquial terms but weighed in light of the historian's worldview. In the case of Columbus, this might take the form of specific reactions to what Columbus achieved or experienced. Take, for example, Carroll's account of the climax of Columbus's 1493 return voyage from the New World. Columbus's ship tossed about only a few hundred miles from the coast of Spain, caught in an Atlantic storm. Of this crucial moment in Columbus's expedition, Carroll writes, "There is no more dramatic moment in all of maritime history."³⁰ While one could make a case for including Columbus's successful navigation of the storm among the most dramatic moments in the history of navigation, Carroll's use of the superlative ("no more dramatic moment") reflects his personal opinion on the subject. He shows the reader not what the reader must think about a particular historical moment, but rather what the historian himself believes. It makes the study of a historical event more personal by drawing the reader into the historical person's story and by forging a bond between the historian and the reader. The reader, in a sense, can know not just what the historian knows, but can get to know the historian himself.

Carroll draws heavily from biographies for his histories, a decision stemming from his view that individuals shape historical events. That role of persons as players in history, rather than sociological or economic trends, stems less from Carroll's emphasis on objectivity, more from his bold, Christian claim that "The Incarnation happened." It is to that claim that we now turn.

THE INCARNATION HAPPENED

While all historians, no matter their religious convictions, can and should rally to Carroll's first proposition, that objective truth exists, it is his second proposition that sets the stage for an authentically Christian vision of history. The proposition that "The Incarnation happened." flows from the proposition of objective reality. Christ's Incarnation is not merely a declaration of religious faith. It is one of historical reality. Christ is either God or He is not; either He rose from the dead or it is a farce. Thus, Carroll emphatically states, "If those Christian beliefs are objectively true, then the universe is almost literally turned upside down. A whole new hierarchy of values and of historical significance springs into being."³¹

The reality of the Incarnation affects the Catholic vision of history in three ways. First, Catholic historians should focus on how the actions of men and women make history. Secondly, Catholic historians must view all historical events in light of the Incarnation, producing a Christocentric history. Lastly, Catholic historians must note the role of the supernatural in history.

Contrary to historiographical trends of the early and mid-twentieth century, which located the cause of historical change in socio-economic forces, Carroll stresses that the true causes of historical change are human and divine action. Carroll's dramatic phrase "One man can make a difference" captures this mindset. Christ did not come to redeem "an economic ideology or social structure"; rather He came to redeem souls, and thus, "Persons, individuals, souls, are what are really important from the Christian view. They are at the center of the action."³² Carroll's work abounds with examples of this emphasis on human historical actors. One example suffices here. In *1917: Red Banners, White Mantle*, Carroll traces the main events of the First World War and the October Revolution through the actions of historical figures (Vladimir Lenin, Pope Benedict XV, Blessed Karl of Austria, and the children at Fatima) in light of spiritual events (Rasputin's possession and the visions of Mary at Fatima).³³ Carroll's historical account reads as a dramatic story with heroes and villains tied up in a grander historical narrative, namely that of our Salvation. In comparison, standard histories of the First World War focus more on diplomatic and

technological factors than the historical actors of the period, and few if any examine the war in light of the cosmic ramifications of Fatima and Moscow. Carroll's approach to writing this and other historical stories presents a fuller perspective of historical events, a "personalist history."³⁴

Just as human persons acquire a new sense of historical worth in light of the Incarnation, so also does the historical record as a whole. Like the Catholic historiographical tradition before him, Warren Carroll's own historiography is Christocentric, that is, it regards the Incarnation as the central and most important event in history. "History indeed, from the Christian point of view, has a beginning point, a central point or peak point, and an end. The beginning is the creation, the central point or peak is the Incarnation, and the end is the end of the world and the last judgement."³⁵ God prepared the world for His coming prior to the Incarnation, and then, having established His Church once He came, remained active in history through His Mystical Body. Focusing on the historical figures and events that prepared the way for Christ or continue His work after His Ascension, the Catholic historian can examine other historical figures and events that other historians might examine, but in an authentically Catholic way. Such a process does not succeed when a historian forces his Catholic Faith into his historical study, as if his Faith is another, equal facet of his historiography; rather, beginning with his Catholic worldview, the historian views every historical subject through this Christocentric lens.

Practically speaking, this method works in a variety of ways. For example, a historian studying ancient, pre-Christian Babylonians might reflect on how the Babylonians, in their civilization and their virtues, prepared for the coming of Christ. This incorporates an understanding of what theologians call natural revelation or what ethicists call natural law; this points to the truths about God and the world accessible through non-supernatural means. A Catholic historian can also examine the Babylonians in light of how their actions molded the Israelites into the nation in which God became Man.³⁶ In his own writing, Carroll does just that, viewing, for example, the Babylonians in light of the Israelites, not Israel in light of Babylon.³⁷ Carroll's method can also examine particular socio-historical events in light of Christ's Mystical Body, the Church. In reality, this leads to Carroll presenting the history of Europe's Age of Discovery through the lives of missionaries. He thus examines the migration of colonists, the trade and exploitation of natural resources, and the treatment of native populations in light of these Christian missions.³⁸ Carroll uses this method even when discussing non-religious historical subjects, examining the great industrialists of America's Gilded Age in light of the Gospel's teachings on human dignity and the Church's social teachings.³⁹ Doing

this allows the reader to see how God works in historical societies, even those who do not know Him.

The central place of the Incarnation in Carroll's historiography distinguishes his writing from the standard "Great Man" view of history.⁴⁰ Carroll emphasizes throughout his historical works that men and women are not the only historical players; perhaps even more important to a Catholic historiography is the direct action of the supernatural in historical events. Carroll writes that the Christian historian

knows that history is more than men and events; it is the interference of the temporal with the eternal; its actors are beings divinely constituted with an immortal destiny, and consequently there are other actors on the stage with them who do not keep records or hold councils that come within the historian's purview—the hosts of Heaven and of Hell.⁴¹

Carroll held that it was the Catholic historian's unique vocation to record the supernatural acting in history, and how humanity reacts to this interaction.⁴² This does not mean that the Catholic historian should attempt to explain or interpret all of God's actions in history; it is, after all, impossible for a finite mind to explain perfectly the infinite. Carroll writes:

The Christian historian must never for a moment forget that he is like a private (or at best a corporal) describing a series of battles in which he and his fellows have engaged, but with only the sketchiest sort of third-hand information about what was actually happening at the time in general headquarters on both sides. For the headquarters of the great battle which is human history are in heaven and in hell, the world is the battlefield, and the historian can know reasonably well only what happens on the front lines.⁴³

Carroll is not concerned with the historian determining every intervention, whether implicit or explicit, of God in human affairs; admitting the possibility of God's action in history without detailing every step of God's plan fits into Carroll's vision as presented above. What Carroll does not condone is the seemingly universal ban on discussing God found in contemporary historical studies. The role of historians in reporting the actions of both God and men becomes a dividing point between Carroll and his contemporary historians, so much so that Carroll laments in "Banning the Supernatural" that, "The very possibility of action by God in history has become academically taboo. In all honesty I must say that since I began writing scholarly Catholic history fourteen years ago I have found no other contemporary historian who writes in defiance of this ban."⁴⁴

Every major historical work Carroll wrote after his conversion to Catholicism hammers the theme that God acts in history.⁴⁵ Carroll repeatedly refers to two substantial pieces of evidence for God's action in history:

miracles and the providential protection of the Ancient Israelites and the Church. Regarding miracles, Carroll writes:

To be sure, the Church does not require belief in any of them, even those which are ecclesiastically approved; but the volume of evidence on miracles associated with the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints is so enormous that to reject all of it—once its scope becomes clear—is to abandon all reasonable standards of the interpretation of historical evidence in favor of pure prejudice.⁴⁶

Miracles are not some relic of the days of Scripture; they continue today, from healings at Lourdes to the miracles needed for canonizations. History is replete with examples, and Carroll is keen to draw upon them.

Chief among Carroll's historical interests were stories of Marian apparitions and their connection to history. These appearances of Mary and their attending miracles, be it the image of Our Lady on St. Juan Diego's tilma, the healing stream of Lourdes, or the dancing sun of Fatima, testify to God's direct interaction in history; most importantly, they are among the "best authenticated historically," giving additional credibility to the historical record.⁴⁷ The historical importance of these apparitions often goes unnoticed by historians; for example, Carroll reports, "Until the appearance of my *1917: Red Banners, White Mantle*, no history including substantial material on World War I, the Communist Revolution in Russia, and other political events of 1917 had mentioned the apparitions at Fatima."⁴⁸ Carroll's conclusion is clear: when historians examine miracles like those associated with the apparitions of Mary, they cannot help but admit that something beyond human actions is at play in human history.

Carroll makes a similar point regarding the Ancient Israelites and the Church. We can see that God acts in history because the Israelites, alone among the civilizations of the Ancient Near East, survived into modern day. The grand empires of Babylon, Assyria, and Persia fell, yet today there are people who follow the religion of Abraham.⁴⁹ Likewise, the Church has survived intact through the two millennia since Christ's Ascension.

Where [asks Carroll] are the god-kings of Egypt, the emperors of Rome? Ashes to ashes, and dust to dust. Does one institution, one recognizable pattern of living, one vocabulary and set of symbols, remain from the world of the year 110 A.D., when St. Ignatius of Antioch wrote and the Emperor Trajan reigned? One, and only one: the Holy Roman Catholic Church. Nothing else of all that world survives in any institutional form that anyone not an historical scholar could detect.⁵⁰

Nothing in ecclesiastical history presents God's preservation of the Church more dramatically than the history of the papacy. Rarely has there been a time when the papacy has not been assailed by heretics and enemies of

the Church. Yet despite continual attack since the time of St. Peter, the papacy has outlasted its enemies. The Arians sought to gain the papacy, even forcing Pope Liberius, the first pope never declared a saint, to sign an ambiguous document to support their heresy. Yet the Arians died out, and the papacy survived. Likewise, the Monophysites, through the efforts of Byzantine Empress Theodora, put their puppet on the papal throne, a priest named Vigilius; yet when Theodora called upon Vigilius to affirm the Monophysite heresy, he rejected his prior error and affirmed the truth about Christ's two natures. There are many other examples throughout the Church's history of weak popes who brought about disaster for the Church; yet even the worst of popes never officially taught a condemned heresy as the truth.⁵¹ "You can never bribe a pope," Carroll would tell his history students at Christendom College.⁵² This papal resilience is, for Carroll, proof of God's direct intervention.

The need for Catholic historians to examine the action of God in history is perhaps the most controversial aspect of Carroll's historiography. While his corpus provides a wealth of historical detail, often presenting complicated historical subjects in accessible, even exciting accounts, Carroll's works "were very little read outside of Catholic circles and probably . . . even outside the subgroup of Catholics with already self-consciously orthodox (not to mention politically conservative) views."⁵³ Carroll's aim in emphasizing God's historical actions was to bring readers closer to God, an act of historical apologetics. However, such an apologetic tool requires some theological and philosophical foundations; the idea that God guides the Church presupposes that the interlocutors agree upon the existence of God, the divinity of Christ, and that Christ established a Church, something Carroll himself admits.⁵⁴ It is thus the task of future historians to distill what might be effective for historical apologetics from Carroll's vast works.⁵⁵

At the funeral Mass for Warren H. Carroll, Christendom College president Dr. Timothy O'Donnell said, concerning Carroll's historiography, "His was a Catholic vision of history. It was not just a viewpoint—Catholicism is the prism of truth, revealing God's providential action in time."⁵⁶ For Warren Carroll, the Catholic vision of history was just that, a prism through which one could view all of historical time. This vision requires the honest recording and examining of historical events and persons, understanding the crucial role God and men play in shaping the historical story. For Carroll, history was a story filled with history makers, heroes and villains. His historical vision is one with which contemporary Catholic historians should be familiar, and which they should consider adopting in their own historical studies. It is a vision helpful not only in historical scholarship, but in living out our vocation as "the guardians of memory," as Catholic historians.

Notes

1. Christopher Shannon, "A Catholic Approach to History," *The Catholic Social Science Review* 13 (2008): 9–25, 11–12.

2. Christopher Shannon, "After Monographs: A Critique of Christian Scholarship as Professional Practice" in *Confessing History: Explorations in Christian Faith and the Historian's Vocation*, ed. John Fea, Jay Green, and Eric Miller (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 168–69, 176–77. Unlike Carroll, Marsden did not see a role for divinely revealed truth in historical studies. See James B. Lagrand, "The Problem of Preaching Through History" in *Confessing History*, 198–99.

3. Michael N. Kelsey, "Carroll, Warren H.," in *The Encyclopedia of Catholic Social Thought, Social Science, and Social Policy*, vol. 1, ed. Michael L. Coulter et al. (Lanham, Md.: The Scarecrow Press, 2007), 132. Carroll remains best known to English-speaking audiences, though recent years have seen his influence spread in Poland and in Italy ("Christendom Press Continues to Publish Well-Received Works" Christendom College website, accessed April 19, 2018, <https://www.christendom.edu/2008/03/26/christendom-press-continues-to-publish-well-received-works>; Giuseppe Butrimo, "Warren Hasty Carroll," *Santi, Beati, e Testimoni*, accessed April 19, 2018, <http://www.santiebeati.it/dettaglio/97304>).

4. Paul Radzilowski, "Audience, Method, Subject, and Faith: Dilemmas of the Catholic Historian," in *Catholicism and Historical Narrative: A Catholic Engagement with Historical Scholarship*, ed. Kevin Schmiesing (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 2. For example, *The Catholic Social Science Review's* Symposium "A Catholic Approach to History" discusses a variety of important aspects of Catholic historiography, including many ideas found throughout Carroll's works, without any reference to Carroll himself. That said, there are few scholarly studies of Carroll and his work. Of primary importance are Laura S. Gossin, *One Man Perched on a Rock: A Biography of Dr. Warren Carroll* (Front Royal, Va.: Christendom Press, 2018); Mo Fung, "Warren Carroll and Personalist History," *Fellowship of Catholic Scholars Quarterly* 23(1) (Winter 2000): 15–17; and Philippa Martyr, "When Worlds Collide: The Catholic Histories of Warren Carroll and Eamon Duffy," *Connor Court Quarterly*, Special Edition: The Christian View of History and the Revival of the Liberal Arts (2012): 239–50.

5. Radzilowski, "Audience, Method, Subject, and Faith," 2–3.

6. Warren H. Carroll, *The Founding of Christendom*, vol. 1, *A History of Christendom* (Front Royal, Va.: Christendom College Press, 1985), 11.

7. Warren H. Carroll, *Isabel of Spain: The Catholic Queen* (Front Royal, Va.: Christendom Press, 1991); and idem, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Revolution* (Front Royal, Va.: Christendom Press, 1993).

8. Carroll, *The Founding of Christendom*, 11. More recent works like Brennan Pursell's *History in His Hands* (New York: Crossroads Publishing Co, 2011) have sought to continue this task.

9. Warren H. Carroll, "Principles for Writing Catholic History," in Warren H. Carroll, *The Crisis of Christendom*, vol. 6, *A History of Christendom* (Front Royal, Va.: Christendom Press, 2010), 813.

10. Lorene Hanley Duquin, *A Century of Catholic Converts* (Huntington, Ind.: Our Sunday Visitor, 2003), 170. For a more in-depth study of Carroll's life before his conversion, see Gossin, *One Man Perched on a Rock*, chaps. 2–5.

11. Carroll was a student of such notable historians as Richard Morris, Henry Steele Commager, and Garrett Mattingly ("Mission," in *The Crisis of Christendom*, 804–05).

12. Thomas J. Nash, "Christendom College: Restoring All Things in Christ," *Lay Witness*, September 1996, 20.

13. Duquin, *A Century of Catholic Converts*, 170.

14. Warren H. Carroll, "Law: The Quest for Certainty," *American Bar Association Journal* 49(11) (November 1963): 1085.

15. Ibid.

16. Warren H. Carroll, "The Modern University: Mission Territory," *Triumph*, January 1973, 18–19.

17. Warren H. Carroll, *Seventy Years of the Communist Revolution* (Manassas, Va.: Trinity Communications, 1989), 449; Carroll, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Revolution*, 591.

18. Warren H. Carroll, "The History of History and the Relevance of Jesus Christ," *Triumph*, March 1972, in *The Best of Triumph* (Front Royal, Va.: Christendom Press, 2001), 505.

19. Carroll, *The Founding of Christendom*, 11.

20. Warren H. Carroll, "Banning the Supernatural: Why Historians Must Not Rule Out the Action of God in History," *The Catholic Social Science Review* 1 (1996): 79. Paul Radzilowski summarizes Carroll's position well: "Even to set aside the supernatural, in this view, is to be untrue to what one believes, to the point of distorting one's interpretation of important events in history, for the purpose of currying favor with a current academic culture indifferent (at best) to faith. These considerations, of course, seem to militate for an explicitly Christian frame of interpretation in all good Catholic history" (Radzilowski, "Audience, Method, Subject, and Faith," 5.)

21. Carroll, "Principles for Writing Catholic History," 813.

22. Carroll, "Banning the Supernatural," 79

23. Carroll, "Principles for Writing Catholic History," 821.

24. Carroll, *Isabel of Spain*, 262–66.

25. Warren H. Carroll, "Honoring Christopher Columbus," *Faith and Reason* 18(2) (Summer 1992), accessed July 25, 2017, <http://media.christendom.edu/1992/06/honoring-christopher-columbus>.

26. Warren H. Carroll, "The Reality of St. Cecilia: An Historical Note," *Faith and Reason* 10(1) (Spring 1984), accessed July 25, 2017, <http://media.christendom.edu/1984/04/the-reality-of-st-cecilia-an-historical-note>.

27. Carroll, *The Founding of Christendom*, 12; See also Brad S. Gregory, "The Other Confessional History: On Secular Bias in the Study of Religion," *History and Theory* 45(4) (December 2006): 132–49, accessed April 26, 2018, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3874101?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents. Despite Carroll and Gregory's divergent view on historians' respon-

sibility in proclaiming religious truths through historical works (Carroll is for it, Gregory against it), both are highly critical of biased secular historians who ignore historical data and trends regarding religion because it does not conform to the historian's preconceived metaphysical beliefs.

28. Warren H. Carroll, "The Catholic View of History," (audio recording of paper presented at The Catholic Vision of History Conference, Front Royal, Virginia, 1994; transcript in possession of the author).

29. Warren H. Carroll, "Non-Catholic Hagiography," *Faith and Reason* 4(3) (Fall 1978): 61.

30. Carroll, "Honoring Christopher Columbus." See also Carroll, *Isabel of Spain*, 235.

31. Carroll, "The History of History," 508. The inability of historical scholarship to prove with scientific satisfaction that Jesus of Nazareth is God incarnate does not diminish the believer's ability to view history through an Incarnational lens.

32. Warren H. Carroll, "The Catholic Vision of History," (audio recording of paper presented at Christendom College Summer Institute, Front Royal, Virginia, 1991; transcript in possession of the author).

33. Warren H. Carroll, *1917: Red Banners, White Mantle* (Front Royal, Va.: Christendom College Press).

34. See Fung, "Warren Carroll and Personalist History."

35. Carroll, "The Catholic Vision of History."

36. Carroll, "The History of History," 509.

37. Carroll, *The Founding of Christendom*, chap. 6.

38. Warren H. Carroll, *The Cleaving of Christendom*, vol. 4, *A History of Christendom* (Front Royal, Va.: Christendom Press, 2000), chaps. 12 and 13; Carroll, "The History of History," 509.

39. Carroll, *The Crisis of Christendom*, chap. 7, especially pp. 231–35.

40. The "Great Man Theory" holds that great historical figures cause historical change through their charisma, political skill, other virtues, etc. (see Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* [1840], accessed September 9, 2017, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1091/1091-h/1091-h.htm>). Carroll follows this theory to an extent, but qualifies that Supernatural factors, namely God and the Devil, play a major role as well. In a sense, his conversion to Catholicism provided for him a Christian, rather than Deist, "Great Man Theory" of history.

41. Warren H. Carroll, "Phillip II vs. William Cecil: The Cleaving of Christendom," *Faith and Reason* 1(3) (Winter 1975–1976): 61, accessed April 24, 2018, <https://media.christendom.edu/1975/12/philip-ii-versus-william-cecil-the-cleaving-of-christendom>.

42. Kelsey, "Carroll," 132.

43. Warren H. Carroll, introduction to *The Divine Courtship* by Jeffrey A. Mirus (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1978), ix.

44. Carroll, "Banning the Supernatural," 73.

45. As mentioned above, *1917: Red Banners, White Mantle* examines the Communist Revolution in light of the apparitions of Our Lady of Fatima; similarly, *The Guillotine and the Cross* (Front Royal, Va.: Christendom Press, 1991) attributes Georges Jacques Danton's political change to the French revolutionary's sacramental confession and the prayers of his second wife Louise.

46. Warren H. Carroll, "Signs of Revelation," in *Reasons for Hope*, revised edition, edited by Jeffery A. Mirus (Front Royal, Va.: Christendom College Press, 1982), 56–57.

47. Carroll, "Banning the Supernatural," 77. See also Carroll, "Signs of Revelation," 61–63.

48. Carroll, "Banning the Supernatural," 77.

49. Carroll, "Signs of Revelation," 48.

50. Warren H. Carroll, "The Divine Character of the Church in History" in *Reasons for Hope*, 120.

51. Warren H. Carroll, "Upon this Rock: Can a Pope be Deposed," *Triumph Magazine*, December 1973, in *The Best of Triumph*, 589–98; Carroll, "The Divine Character of the Church in History," 122–26.

52. "Warren H. Carroll, Founder of Christendom College: March 24, 1932–July 17, 2011," accessed August 31, 2017, <http://www.christendom.edu/about/warren-h-carroll>.

53. Radzilowski, "Audience, Method, Subject, and Faith," 2–3.

54. Carroll, "The Divine Character of the Church in History," 121.

55. Such work has already begun through writers like Steve Weidenkopf, who makes great use of Carroll's works in his own historical projects. See especially *The Real Story of Catholic History: Answering Twenty Centuries of Anti-Catholic Myths* (El Cajon, Calif.: Catholic Answers Press, 2017).

56. Timothy T. O'Donnell, "Eulogy for Dr. Warren H. Carroll, RIP," July 26, 2011, accessed March 23, 2017, http://www.christendom.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Eulogy_for_Warren-Carroll_7-26-11.pdf.